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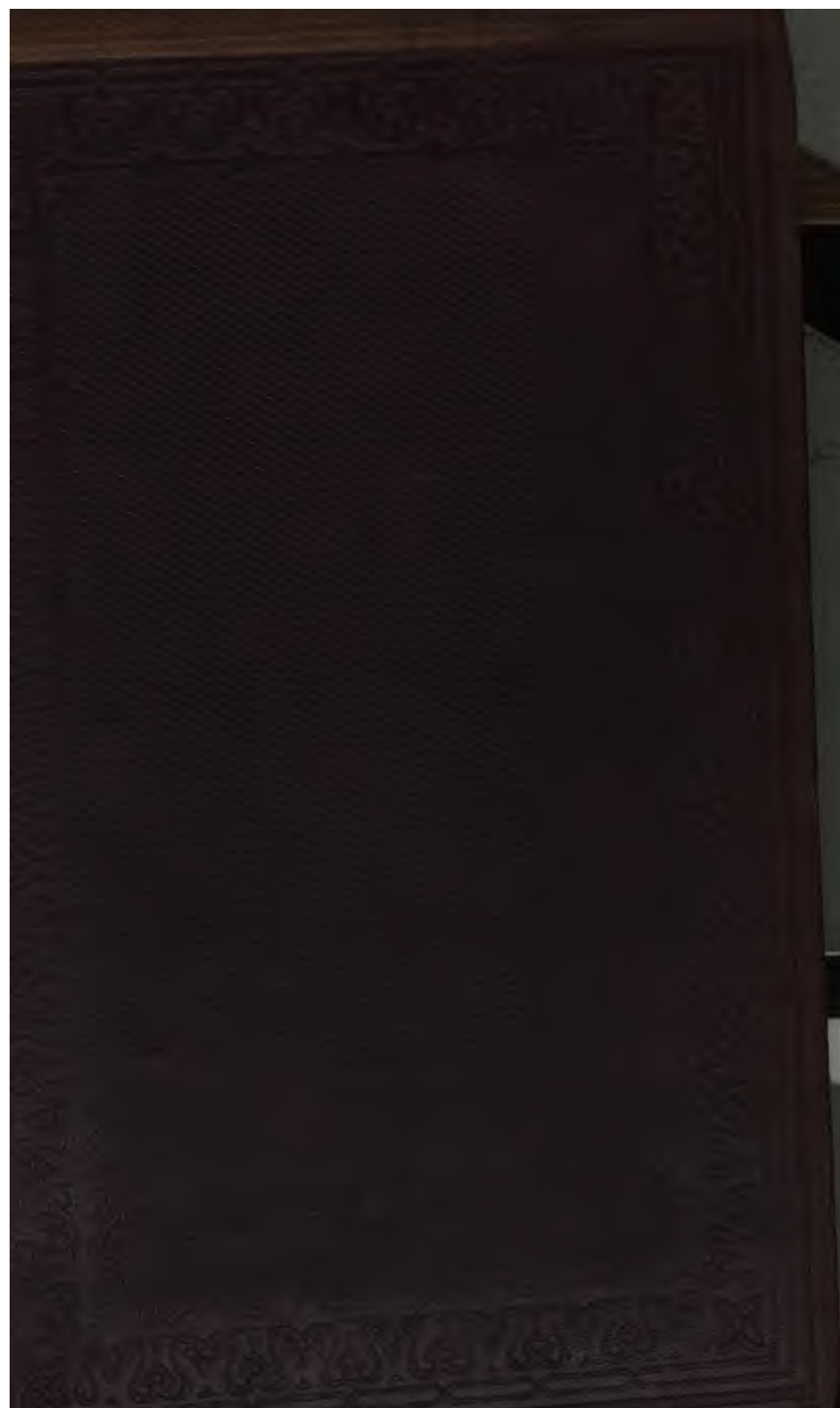
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VOL. I.

A TREATISE
OF
THE POPE'S SUPREMACY:

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

BY ISAAC BARROW, D.D.,
MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE IN CAMBRIDGE, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S CHAPLAINS
IN ORDINARY.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D., LL.D.

EDINBURGH:
JOHNSTONE AND HUNTER.
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110. b. 24.



PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE present edition of Barrow's Treatise is intended to form the first of a series of republications, consisting of the most valuable and effective works which have appeared on the Popish Controversy, which, should the publisher be encouraged in his undertaking, may form a complete Protestant Library. No such library could be deemed complete without including the masterly Treatise of Barrow; and though it has been very frequently reprinted, it was thought that, at the present time, when the controversy has been revived in such extraordinary circumstances, another edition, accompanied with Introduction and Notes, was still demanded. The Treatise is seldom to be met with now apart from Barrow's works, which usually amount to four volumes octavo. And, besides the cheapness of the present volume, it is hoped that this edition will be found to possess several advantages above all its predecessors.

The original manuscript of the Treatise is understood to be still preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge, of which Barrow was Master. But it was left in a very imperfect state; and no revision of the work, according to that manuscript, can supply the defects, or produce any thing more than the first edition by Tillotson, which, we have reason to believe, was a faithful copy of the original. No attempt, however, has ever been made by subsequent editors to improve upon the first edition of the Treatise. It has been reprinted, over and over again, exactly as it appeared in 1680. To any who will be at the trouble of making the comparison, the improvements we have made on the former editions will at once be manifest; others, and those which have cost the greatest labour, may not be so apparent. We may specify, however, the following particulars:—

1. To the Treatise is prefixed an Introductory Essay, relating to the subject, the author, and the Treatise itself. This seemed to be demanded by the distance of time since the work was published, and the peculiar aspect which the supremacy of the pope has assumed in our day. The editor has attempted here, and throughout his notes,

as far as a regard to truth would permit him, to avoid giving offence to any party holding the genuine principles of Protestantism.

2. The leading topics of the Treatise are now, for the first time, arranged in the form of contents, and also indicated by head-lines at the top of every page; thus imparting a more lively appearance to the Treatise, and furnishing, what was no easy task, an abridged view or synopsis of the various matters and arguments which it contains.

3. Short foot-notes have been appended where any obscure point seemed to require elucidation. To have given explanatory or controversial notes to every point, in a work abounding with so many references to persons and authorities, would have swelled the volume beyond all reasonable bounds.

4. As Dr Tillotson had said that the "testimonies," or quotations from the Greek and Latin, had been translated "with great care by two of his (the author's) worthy and learned friends of his own college," the present editor did not at first think of comparing them with the original. But he soon discovered that, owing to the change which our language has undergone, many of these, as they stood, were quite unintelligible, and required retouching. Thus, the quotation from Gregory at page 70, meaning that "however the evils of their superiors may displease good subjects, yet they will take care to conceal them from others," is thus rendered in all the former editions, "The evils of their superiors do so displease good subjects, that however they do conceal them from others." Again, Chrysostom's words at page 90, "Seeing the apostles were to receive the administration of the whole world, it was no longer becoming that they should keep close together (or, in each other's company, *συνπιπλεῖν*), for that would have been a great loss to the world," were rendered thus, "Seeing the apostles were to receive the administration of the whole world, they ought not afterwards to *converse with one another*, for that would surely have been a great damage to the world;" where the word "converse" is used in the obsolete sense of "keeping company with."

5. While the text of the author has been carefully preserved throughout inviolate, we have taken the liberty of altering the antiquated termination of *th* in the third person singular of verbs into the modern form, and thus, we think, facilitated in no small degree the reading of the work.

6. We have added explanatory terms [within brackets] to the numerous obsolete and unusual expressions which occur; such as "bobb off," "obventions," "discost," "acquist," "considence" for "sitting together," "insisting" for "treading," "staunch" for "strin-

gent," "passable" for "current," &c. Though the numerous blanks, denoting spaces left in the manuscript, could not, of course, be filled up, elliptical passages have occasionally been supplied, so as to complete or elucidate what would otherwise be hardly intelligible.

In fine, the greatest care has been taken in the correction of the press, many typographical errors in former editions having been detected; so that the present edition may be considered as correct as it was possible to render a work which had not the advantage of the supervision of the author.

To the "Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy" we have added the author's "Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church," which Tillotson considered it proper to append as a continuation of the Treatise, and which has always been printed along with it.

T. M'C.

EDINBURGH, *August* 1852.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

BY THE EDITOR.

SUBJECT OF THE TREATISE.

THE recent papal aggression, whatever may have been its other results, has had the effect of turning men's minds, more intently than they have been for a whole century and a half, to the study of the popish question. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the political state of England, with a papal bigot on the throne, bent on reducing it to the domination of Rome, and with papal allies on the Continent, backed by a servile faction at home, re-awakened the old controversy, that had lain dormant from the time of the Reformation, and produced an array of talent and learning in defence of protestant truth unsurpassed by any thing of the kind either before or since that era.

The Reformers had to deal with Popery as a system of religious error ingeniously defended, and as a political nuisance which required to be swept away. Their successors in the same field had to deal with it as a system of practical aggression ingeniously contrived,—an insidious foe, whose approaches were to be obviated by erecting the most powerful bulwarks. The works of Barrow, Tillotson, Chillingworth, Stillingfleet, and other champions of Protestantism, cannot be said to have been elicited by any vigorous controversial writing on the side of the Romanists. The church of Rome has seldom been largely indebted at any time to the literary advocacy of her children; but at the period to which we refer there was no defence of Popery, worthy of the name, to demand such an amount of ponderous erudition and elaborate reasoning. It was the dread of Popery as a system of religious, and more especially of political despotism, as the sworn ally of arbitrary power, that whetted the intellect and nerved the energies of these defenders of our faith. They had to contend not with Papists, but with Popery; and their names are associated with victory in a field where none have ever ventured to encounter

them, and where they have even yet no competitors. Popery is, indeed, unlike any other form of heresy; it resembles rather those odious shapes of vice which, however commonly practised, are too disreputable to admit of being avowedly vindicated. Unsupported by books, it finds an advocate in every unrenewed heart, and an argument in every unholy lust. Distrusting the fair field of controversy, it depends for success on political intrigue, and the subdolous workings of its priesthood. With such an adversary, we can only adopt measures of precaution. Like "the pestilence that walketh in darkness," the progress of the evil is most effectually stayed by drawing around the infected district a *cordon sanitaire*, in the shape of those treatises which have done good service in their day, and which may yet serve, if not to counteract the poison once imbibed, at least to arrest the contagion.

Our object in the following remarks is not to supplement the argument of Barrow in his celebrated Treatise, but to introduce the reader to it, by attempting, what did not lie in his way, to trace the delusion of papal supremacy to its origin, and to show the bearings of this on the present aspect of the Papacy.

Popery is, after all, one of the most ordinary phenomena of human error; it is but one of the many incarnations of the spirit of priestcraft. By priestcraft we mean the art of detaching the religious conscience of man from the Creator, its proper object, and depositing it in the hands of his spiritual adviser; the art which reaches its consummation by cutting off all direct intercourse between God and man, by constituting the priest the only channel of communication, and thus enabling him at his pleasure to open or shut the gate of salvation, or to prescribe such conditions of admission as may best suit his own interests or those of the system of which he forms a part.

It may seem strange how a spirit so abhorrent from that blessed gospel, which brings the Christian man into close affinity with his God and Redeemer, which confers upon him the dignity of a "royal priesthood," and classes him among "God's clergy" (1 Pet. v. 3), should ever have been ingrafted upon its simple institutes. The history of the church, however, enables us to trace the process from its earliest beginnings. Long before Constantine established the hierarchy, and conferred emoluments and prerogatives on the church as a corporate society, as early as the third century, but still more in the fourth, we discover in the writings of the more zealous churchmen unmistakable evidences of a tendency to elevate

the Christian ministry into a privileged order, superior in spiritual dignity to the Christian people, and to exalt the church above the gospel. When we hear Cyprian affirming that every bishop is in his own church, for the present, *judge in Christ's stead*; and that our Lord Jesus Christ, one and only, has power to prefer us to the government of his church and to judge of our actings;¹—when we hear Basil asserting that a church-governor (*καθηγούμενος*) is neither more nor less than one *sustaining the person of Christ* (*ἔχοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἵσταν, ἢ ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἵκεχων πρόσωπον*);²—or Chrysostom saying, “We have received the commission of ambassadors, and are come from God; for this is the dignity of the episcopate;”³—such magniloquence, however its terms may be interpreted, too surely indicates the direction which the stream was taking.

A vague notion, apparently countenanced by some expressions of the early fathers,⁴ though plainly at variance with the doctrine of the New Testament, that the Christian ministry was formed on the model of the Aaronic priesthood, may have induced some, in that infantine age, to yield more readily to these assumptions. It is needless to show that the ancient priesthood was emblematical, not of the Christian ministry, but of the priesthood of Christ in presenting the great oblation by which all the sacrificial types of the temple were fulfilled; and of the priesthood of the Christian people, who are enjoined to “present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God.” But how sorely the advocates of sacerdotal power were put to their shifts in attempting to bolster up their title is apparent from the fictions and forgeries, unparalleled in audacity and in number, which they invented. We instance only the counterfeit epistles of the apostolic Ignatius, the interpolated works of Cyprian, the fictitious councils of the church, and the fabulous Apostolical Canons and Institutions,—all of them more or less tending to invest the “clergy” (as the officers or servants of the church began to call themselves) with a power equivalent to that of their divine Master himself. The necessary consequence of all this was the gradual depression of the “laity,”—that is, the people (*λαός*) of Christ,—and the exclusive claim of the clergy to represent *the church*. One thing only was wanting to complete this strange perversion of Christianity. A priesthood required some instrument of mediation; an altar, a victim, a sacrifice, must be found or invented. This was done by converting the simple feast of

¹ Cypr., Ep. lv. ² Basil. Const. Mon., cap. xxii. ³ Chrysost. in Coloss. Orat. iii.

⁴ The allusion of Clemens Romanus, in his only genuine epistle to the Corinthians, to the Jewish hierarchy, is susceptible of a sense very different from that afterwards assigned to it.

the eucharist into a corporeal reality; and in the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass the sacerdotal theory found its fitting apotheosis.

The fundamental error of this theory, so early developed, did not lie merely in the notion of apostolic succession, or in conceiving that the powers and honours of the apostolate had been transmitted to the rulers of the church,—a point on which Barrow has made some pertinent remarks. (Treatise, p. 100, &c.) The root lay deeper, and may be found, we humbly think, in a fallacious idea of the authority vested in the apostles themselves. That idea was, *that our blessed Lord had delegated to the apostles his authority over the church.* The expressions employed by some of the earlier bishops obviously proceed on the assumption that our Lord, by giving a commission to his apostles, invested them with a share of his authority over the church, so that they after his ascension acted as his deputies, and “judged in his stead.” It is easy to see how this notion, having once taken possession of the minds of the clergy, should have germinated into all the arrogant assumptions of the Papacy; for let such a delegation once be granted, and it follows that the apostles were, during their lifetime, the vicars and vicegerents of Christ upon earth. And as it seems hard that the church should be deprived by death of officials invested with powers so large and influential, it was no abrupt transition to drop into the conclusion that, in the persons of certain rulers, distinguished by local dignity from their brethren, or occupying seats which fond tradition had ascribed to these venerated men, we are to seek the successors of the apostles in this deputed jurisdiction. The circumstance of the apostles having been divinely inspired did not necessarily imply that their jurisdiction might not descend to others, on whom the government of the church devolved; and it was not difficult to find, in Christ’s promise of the continuance of his Spirit with the church to the end of the world, something analogous to inspiration. To this some of the bishops in the fourth century actually pretended. But as clerical ambition rose to its full height, the lust of dominion proved too strong to be shared among such a multitude of claimants; and in course of time, aided by the adroit interpretation of a single passage of Scripture, which speaks of Peter in connection with the rock on which Christ should build his church, and with the keys of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xvi. 18, 19), the see of Rome,—the city which tradition had vaguely identified with that apostle, and which had now become the capital of Christendom, as it had formerly been that of the world,—attained, after many a struggle, the acknowledged supremacy. The application of the text can be clearly shown to have been a mere

after-thought,—a felicitous *ex post facto* argument, got up for the occasion, and never thought of for such a purpose before; but not so the fallacy of a descending delegation of divine authority in the line of apostolical succession. This upas had taken deep root in the soil, gradually blasting every thing around it, until, under the specious pretext of unity and the growing rage for centralization, the monstrous sophism reached its climax by vesting one man with the blasphemous claim of “all power in heaven and in earth.”

In thus tracing to its veritable source the primacy claimed by the pope, we are doing no more than has been done by some of its most ingenious and eminent advocates in modern times. The only difference between us is, that what they assume as a sacred truth, “in conformity with the teaching of Christ our Lord,” we hold to be a human fallacy; and what they represent as the very “point” of perfection, we look upon as the acme in the development of the “mystery of iniquity.”

“We fully admit,” says Cardinal Wiseman, in one of his late lectures, “that this transmissionary power from bishops to others in succession is in conformity with the teaching of Christ our Lord. But upon the same principle, and for the same reasons, we believe that to ONE of these particular pastors has been given a higher charge,—a charge over the other pastors of the church; and that this also is *traceable* in the same way to the commission of our Lord, and forms an essential part of the government of the church which he established. I might here at once ask, my brethren, does there seem at first sight any thing *unnatural* in this? If God appointed a number of pastors, who were to rule over other pastors, bishops over clergy, and those clergymen again had to rule over their flocks, does it seem to you any thing peculiar, extravagant, that it should be thought by a great many Christians that it pleased God to bring this system of government to a *point*, and constitute some one over all the bishops of his church to have the general rule?”*

The fallacy involved in this plausible reasoning is exactly that to which we have adverted, and admits of easy exposure. Few can study the matter calmly in the light of the New Testament (and it is well that our opponents are now willing to appeal to this uncorrupted standard, instead of the forged and garbled writings of uninspired antiquity) without perceiving that the apostles of our Lord, with all their extraordinary gifts, never claimed more than a *ministerial* authority in the church. Repeatedly, and in the most explicit terms, do they renounce every thing like a despotical or autocratic power lodged in their own persons: “Not for that we have *dominion* over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.” (2 Cor. i. 24.)

* Seventh Lecture by Cardinal Wiseman, delivered in St Mary's Church, Moorfields, on the evening of Sunday, March 28, 1852. Subject: Papal Supremacy. From our own Reporter. (*The Catholic Standard*.)

"We preach *not ourselves*, but Christ Jesus **THE LORD**; and ourselves *your servants* for Jesus' sake." (2 Cor. iv. 5.) "Neither as being **LORDS** over God's heritage (ὡς κατακυριότητες τῶν κλήρων), but being ensamples to the flock." (1 Pet. v. 3.) The designation so familiar to their lips of "Servants of Jesus Christ," "Ministers of Christ," was no mere title of honour or symbol of humility, (as it is hypocritically used by the pope, who in the same breath styles himself *Dominus Ecclesiæ*, "The Lord of the Church," and *Servus servorum Dei*, "The servant of God's servants.") but was designedly employed as an exponent of the relation in which they stood both to the Lord and to his people. That was the relation, not of masters, but of servants. Inspired servants they doubtless were; the messages they received came immediately from heaven, and these they "made known to all nations, for the obedience of faith." But the authority on which they claimed that obedience was not any personal authority delegated to them by Christ, and lodged in them as governors of the church. It was the authority of their divine Master himself, to whom they uniformly appealed, and who sanctioned their appeal by his miraculous gifts. They delivered the laws and ordinances by which the church was to be regulated; but in doing so they acted in a purely ministerial capacity,—not as legislators, but as agents of the great Sovereign of the church. "I have received of the Lord," says Paul, "that which also I delivered unto you." "So hath the Lord ordained."

From this point of view it is easy to see in what sense the apostles spoke of acting "in Christ's stead:" "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." (2 Cor. v. 20.) The character of an ambassador precludes the idea of autocratic dominion. In his own person he has no authority; he cannot move a step beyond his written instructions. Such were the apostles; and such is every faithful minister of Christ, with this difference, that instead of having his instructions imparted to him by immediate revelation, he has them recorded in the Word of God. As ambassadors, the apostles speak of "beseeching" and "praying" men in Christ's stead; as inspired writers, they announced his laws; and as appointed rulers, they *administered* them: but never do they speak of *governing the church in Christ's stead*, nor talk as if he had *delegated to them his authority over his church*.

The idea, indeed, is preposterous. Our blessed Lord declares, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth;" and on the ground of this authority he commissions his apostles to go forth and preach

the gospel in his name. But such a claim to universal power was equivalent to an assertion of his deity. It was a power which none but God could possess or exercise,—a power which he could not possibly transmit to any creature, for no creature was capable of sharing it with him,—the gift of his Father's love, and the peculiar purchase of his own blood: "HIM hath God highly exalted, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee might bow, and every tongue confess, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth." Such was the authority of Christ; and had it been delegated to the apostles, unto them every knee must have bowed, and every tongue confessed, not only in earth and under the earth, but also in heaven! Nay, they must have been "heads over all things to the church," which would be "their body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all!" Nay, farther, the saints and angels of heaven must have included them in their doxologies, saying, "Worthy are the apostles of the Lamb to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing!" Can we imagine that the lowly apostles ever aspired to such honours? No! glorying only in the cross of their Master, they never dreamt of wielding his sceptre or wearing his crown. "The crown of glory" which they anticipated was that due to the good and faithful servant after his work and warfare upon earth; but the idea of governing in conjunction with Christ in the church below they would have repudiated with as much horror as they treated with contempt the idea of "reigning as kings" with some conceited members of the church: "Ye have reigned as kings without us: and I would to God ye did reign, that we also might reign with you." (1 Cor. iv. 8.) The promise given to them of "sitting upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel," in whatever sense it may have been understood by them, they certainly never expected to see realized in any earthly enthronization. Of this, at least, we are certain, that the idea of their participating in the mediatorial honours of their Master was no sooner mooted, in the rash petition of Zebedee's children, than it was put down, amidst the indignation of the rest, by the calm and decided sentence of Christ: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; BUT IT SHALL NOT BE SO AMONG YOU." (Matt. xx. 25, 26.)

Here, however, it may be necessary to advert to another source of the fallacy, in a strange confusion of thought, not peculiar to the Romanist party, arising from confounding the government of the

church with that of earthly rulers. Our Lord having compared his church to a kingdom, and those who bear office in her being denominated rulers, it has been hastily inferred that as earthly kings rule by delegation under God, the sovereign of the world, so may the officers of the church be considered as ruling by delegation under Christ, the sovereign of the church: and on this ground it has been contended that the admission of a visible head of the church, acting as the vicar of Christ upon earth, does not supersede, but rather suppose the existence of an invisible head in heaven. Now, there certainly is an analogy drawn in Scripture between the church of Christ and the kingdoms of this world; but the error lies in overlooking the real point in which the analogy holds true. It is an entire mistake to suppose that as the moral Governor of the world may be said to delegate his power of jurisdiction to civil rulers, so Christ may be said to have delegated his spiritual power of jurisdiction to spiritual rulers. The truth is, that it is God alone, as the supreme governor, who delegates both the civil and the spiritual jurisdiction; and while he has committed civil government to the hands of civil governors, he has intrusted spiritual government,—not into the hands of spiritual governors,—but into the hands of his own Son, the sole king and head of his spiritual kingdom. The metaphor of earthly princes, ruling under God and for God, is applied in Scripture not to illustrate the power of church-governors, but the power of the Lord Christ. There is no analogy, therefore, between any delegation of power by the moral Governor of the world to earthly rulers and the appointment by Christ of officers in his church. The real analogy lies in the fact that as God has delegated a kingly power to earthly monarchs over their peculiar kingdoms, so has he delegated a kingly power to his Son over his church, as his peculiar kingdom. Let us take as an illustration the case of David, an eminent type of Christ in his kingly office. God was pleased to raise him up to feed his people Israel, assigning him that nation as his kingdom, and giving him the sole and undivided possession of its throne. In like manner has he raised up his Son Jesus, and given him the sole and undivided possession of his spiritual kingdom, the church. Let it be remembered that the Mediator holds and exercises his kingly authority by delegation from the Father: “Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion.” Our Lord Christ is, in truth, God’s vicar and vicegerent, both in heaven and on earth. And to suppose that he, himself the delegate of his Father, when he went to heaven “to receive for himself a kingdom,” can delegate his powers to others is utterly monstrous. The very fact that “the Lord God hath given

him the throne of his father David" implies that he shall retain these powers in his own hand, and that "he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever." (Luke i. 32, 33.) Earthly monarchs may divide their powers with others, or be in various ways circumscribed in their exercise; but such a partition or limitation cannot for a moment be asserted of the Redeemer's authority. The Scripture image of a kingdom is taken from Oriental despotisms, in which there was but one master, and all beneath him were subjects or servants. Earthly monarchs, even the most arbitrary, find it necessary to have their vicegerents to supply their lack of service, for they are frail, imperfect mortals,—they can neither be in all places at the same time, nor can they overtake in their own persons the labour of constant supervision; but our blessed Lord stands in no need of assistants or assessors. "Lo," he says, "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

There is nothing involved in these remarks from which it can be justly inferred that the church of Christ is autocratic, or that it is destitute of all rule or form of government on earth. It is granted that the apostles were rulers in the church, and that they speak of her pastors as those who were "over her in the Lord." What is meant is, that their authority is purely *administrative*; and in this distinction lies the whole essence of our controversy with the papal pretensions. The apostles were rulers *in* the church, they were not governors *of* the church; they did not legislate for the church, but merely administered the laws given by the "One Lawgiver;" they did not form so many foundations of the church, but were simply builders on the "one foundation," which was Jesus Christ.

But if the idea of a delegated jurisdiction, imparted by our Lord to his apostles, and by them transmitted to their successors, is so pregnant with incongruities, it becomes positively ridiculous when imagined in the hands of the pope. The subdivision of the power among many, supposed in the one case, hides the absurdity of the claim; but it develops itself in all the hideousness of caricature when the claim is put forth in behalf of one man. Perfect unity is the distinguishing prerogative of God, and in him it is the perfection of strength. With the creature it is the very reverse; union is strength, unity is weakness. To invest a human unit with the attributes and prerogatives of the Infinite One is the very perfection of human absurdity and impiety. And the pretence is all the more absurd and impious when we consider that it is, in the nature of things, impossible that the man can possess a single kingly attribute, or exercise a single kingly prerogative, properly belonging to the Head of

the church. In earthly governments, a substitute may be found qualified for all the functions of the sovereign; but in the spiritual kingdom of the church, this miserable vicar is incapable of performing a single act of that office which Christ executes as king of Zion. He can neither give repentance to Israel, nor the remission of sins,—can neither subdue the hearts nor conquer the enemies of his people,—can neither sanctify nor save their souls,—can neither bless the ordinances of grace nor manage the operations of providence. He has the name of a spiritual monarch, but not a shred of the thing itself; he has “the likeness of a kingly crown,” but not the reality. He is the greatest anomaly in this world,—the earthly head of a spiritual body,—a despot without power,—a viceroy without commission,—a shadow without a substance!

One thing only was wanting to complete this climax of fictitious authority,—the assumption of temporal in conjunction with and springing from the spiritual jurisdiction. With regard to the former, history attests the consequences of the temporal authority with which the popes were invested. We may content ourselves with the following sketch of them by Guicciardini, the celebrated Florentine historian:—

“By these foundations and means, being raised to an earthly power, forgetting by little and little the salvation of souls and the commandments of God, and bending all their thoughts to worldly greatness, *no longer using the spiritual power but as an instrument of the temporal*, resembling rather secular princes than popes or bishops, their cares and endeavours were now no longer sanctity of life, no longer propagation of religion, no longer zeal and charity towards their neighbours, but to raise arms, and to make war against Christians, managing their sacrifices with bloody hands and thoughts. They began to gather treasure, to make new laws, to invent new tricks and new devices to get money on all sides,—to use the spiritual arms without respect, for this only end,—to profane sacred things without shame, for this only purpose. The great wealth lavishly bestowed upon them and their whole court was accompanied with pride, luxury, dishonesty, lust, and abominable pleasures; their successors having no care of the perpetual dignity of the Papacy. Instead whereof they had an ambitious and pestilent desire to exalt their *children*, nephews, and kindred, not only to excessive riches, but to principalities and kingdoms; no longer conferring dignities upon men of desert and virtue, but almost always either selling them to the most giver, or distributing them to persons most fit for their ambition, avarice, and other shameful pleasures.”*

But on this point we must carefully distinguish between the temporal honours and possessions conferred on the Roman pontiff and the temporal jurisdiction which he claims in virtue of his office.

* The above is part of the famous passage in Guicciardini’s “History of the Wars of Italy,” which was expunged from the Italian and Latin editions, but restored by old Fenton in his translation of 1618, p. 177.

There can be no doubt that the Papacy, in virtue of the possessions granted it at various times by superstitious or servile monarchs, became a temporal power. The pope has his capital and his councillors, his ambassadors and his armies, his dominions and his subjects, his wars and his taxes. To all intents and purposes he is nothing less, and, in sober reality, he is nothing more, than a temporal prince. Into the circumstances which led to this worldly exaltation we do not enter. It is generally acknowledged that the foundation of it was laid by Pepin the usurper of France, when, in 756 or 758, on overcoming the Lombards, he laid the keys of the conquered towns on the altar of St Peter, and converted Pope Stephen II. into a temporal prince. "This," says father Daniel, "is, properly speaking, the original of the temporal power of the popes." The same remark is made by Ranke in his "History of the Popes;" and most writers on prophecy date from this period the union of the temporal with the spiritual power of the pope.* But it would be a grievous mistake to measure the temporal power which the pope pretends to exercise by the extent of his petty possessions as an Italian sovereign. This is a mere trifle in comparison with the temporal authority which he claims in virtue of his *spiritual*. As a spiritual prince, he asserts not merely a right to the patrimony of St Peter, but a right to dispose of all the patrimonies and possessions of this world; to depose kings, and transfer their kingdoms to others; to absolve subjects from their allegiance; and, in short, to reign as lord paramount over the whole earth. The earthly splendour with which he is invested, so inconsistent with his professedly spiritual character, may have served to keep up the *prestige* of his supremacy; but, in fact, though the pope were deposed to-morrow from his throne in the Vatican, though not an inch of territory were allowed him, though he were stripped of his purple robe, deserted by his Swiss guards and his *shirri*, and left without chancery, mint, or arsenal, he would still, in virtue simply of his *spiritual* pretensions as the vicar of Christ, retain all the claims which his predecessors have put forth to *temporal* dominion. And these claims would be acknowledged by all his devoted followers; for they are founded on the same fictitious *jus divinum* as that on which he claims the government of the church. It is assumed that the divine prerogatives of the Saviour have been transferred to the governors of the church, and to the pope, by way of eminence, as

* Mr Fleming, the ingenious author of a "Discourse on the Rise and Fall of the Papacy," dates this event from 758. Mezerai differs both from Daniel and Fleming as to the date, which he fixes at 756, but errs as to the reigning pope, whom he makes to be Stephen III.—Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. de France, tom. I. p. 446.

their head. And as Christ, the king of the church, has undoubtedly received "all power in heaven and in earth," the same universal jurisdiction is presumed to belong to his delegate and representative.*

That this extravagant claim has been made by the popes for many centuries is beyond all question. Our author has observed, in his Introduction, that Gregory II., who was ordained in 715 (several years before Pepin's dotation of temporal possessions to the pope), "may be reputed the father of that doctrine, which, being fostered by his successors, was by Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) brought up to its robust pitch and stature," p. 17. The following may be selected from many other decrees of the popes and councils, as a specimen of the authority claimed, and the grounds on which it was made to rest; it is from the famous "Extravagant" of Boniface VIII.:—

"All the faithful of Christ, by necessity of salvation, are subject to the Roman pontiff, who has both swords, and judges all men, but is judged by no one. In the power of which successor we are taught by the evangelical sayings that there are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal; for when the apostles said, 'Behold, here,' that is, in the church, '*are two swords,*' the Lord did not answer that there were too many, but merely enough. Certainly he who denies that the temporal sword is in the hand of Peter attends little to that word of the Lord, '*Put up thy sword into its sheath.*' Each, then, is in the power of the church, the spiritual and the material sword. But one is to be used *for*, the other *by* the church; one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and soldiers, *but at the nod* and permission of the priest. Thus the prophecy of Jeremiah is verified in the church and the ecclesiastical power: '*See, I have set thee this day over the nations and over the kingdoms.*' Therefore, if the earthly power turn aside, it will be judged by the spiritual power; and if a spiritual inferior, by his superior. But if the high spiritual power turn aside, it can be judged by God alone, not by man; since the apostle bears witness, '*The spiritual man judgeth all things, but he himself is judged by no man.*' And this authority is not human, though given to man and exercised by man; but rather divine, given by the divine mouth to Peter himself and his successors, in him whom he confirmed to be a firm rock, the Lord saying to Peter himself, '*Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.*' Whosoever, therefore, resists this power, resists the ordinance of God; unless he pretend, as the Manichees, that there are *two beginnings*, which we judge false and heretical, because, as Moses testifies, not *in the beginnings*, but '*in the beginning*, God

* See this point ably argued and illustrated in "The Papacy," by the Rev. J. A. Wylie, chap. v.

created heaven and earth! Moreover, we declare, assert, define, and pronounce, that TO BE SUBJECT TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS TO EVERY HUMAN CREATURE ALTOGETHER NECESSARY TO SALVATION. Given at the Lateran, in the eighth year of our pontificate."*

The portentous extravagance of such a pretence as that involved in this document might seem to place it beyond the category of human assumptions. But in a church which assigns to its priests the faculty of making, and to its followers the privilege of masticating, "the real body, blood, soul, and divinity of the Son of God," it is not easy to imagine any bounds to the ambition of the one or the credulity of the other. And the plain language of the divines of the Romish church places the matter of fact beyond all question. Bellarmine's doctrine is, "*By reason of the spiritual power, the pope has, at least indirectly, a certain supreme power in temporal matters.*" Ferraris, a great authority in that church, is still more explicit. "The pope," he says, "is of such dignity, that he is not simply man, but, AS IT WERE, GOD! and the vicar of God. He occupies one and the same tribunal with Christ. Hence the *common doctrine* teacheth that the pope hath the power of the two swords, namely, the spiritual and the temporal." The same doctrine is asserted by Baronius, the acknowledged champion of Romanism, who says, "There can be no doubt but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal; and that God hath made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church."†

The fallacy on which the claim rests is, if possible, still more glaring than the pope's assumed supremacy over the church; for, in the first place, the universal authority with which our Lord is invested as head of the church, the "power given him over all flesh," is *incapable of delegation to the creature*. It is the power of God, and necessarily implies, in order to its efficient exercise, the attributes of omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence. It is equivalent with sovereign control over all the elements of nature, the events of providence, and the hearts of men. To claim participation in this power amounts on the part of any creature to a denial of the very sovereignty in question; it is an impious attempt to pluck the crown of Deity from the Saviour's head, and to place it upon his own.

But, in the next place, to claim a temporal jurisdiction over the kingdoms of this world is to assume *what our Lord never claimed for himself, and what does not properly belong to him as mediator*. During his personal abode on earth he repeatedly disclaimed all temporal jurisdiction, and refused to interfere with

* Extrav. lib. i. tit. viii. cap. 1.

† See the authorities referred to in "Elliott's Delineation of Popery," p. 597, &c.

the province of civil rulers. "When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone." (John vi. 15.) When one of the company saluting him said, "Master, speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me," he said unto him, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" And when questioned before Pilate, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" our Lord, in acknowledging the justness of the title, took care to distinguish his claim from that which was involved in the question as put by Pilate: "Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world." Words and deeds could not more clearly attest that he claimed no temporal or civil jurisdiction over men. Nor was this jurisdiction delegated to him by the Father. It is true, as the apostle declares, that "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things" (that is, overruling head) "to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." (Eph. i. 17, 22, 23.) This implies a universal power and pre-eminence "over all things," including, of course, earthly kings and governments, so that he has a right to demand their homage, and to overrule every thing connected with their administration to the advantage of his church; but it does not imply that he is invested with the government of these earthly kingdoms, or that their rulers are to be regarded as his viceroys, ruling under him, or by delegation from him as mediator. The church is his body, his only body, of which he is the only head,—the kingdom in which he reigns, to which he has given laws, and of which he is the sole governor. To speak of his "headship over the nations" as bearing any analogy to his "headship over the church," is obviously to confound two things essentially different. Nations, though "put under his feet," as a conqueror, and though bound to acknowledge him as the head of the church, are in no proper sense the body of Christ. He can only be said to be their head in the sense of having the superiority over them, and the right to overrule them to the advancement of his spiritual kingdom. As mediator he neither gives them a corporate existence nor administers jurisdiction over them; and therefore earthly rulers neither receive their power from the Head of the church, nor are they amenable to him as their governor. Like Solomon, his prototype, he may subdue the surrounding nations, and render them tributary to the advancement of his own spiritual kingdom; but still he is not the king of the Philistines, nor of the Ammonites, nor of the Sidonians, but the king of Zion. He denies

that he has been "made a judge or a divider over them." He will neither sit in judgment over the conflicting claims of the kings of the earth, nor put his hand to the partition of their inheritances. He will neither crown nor discrown them; neither anoint nor exorcise them; he will lay no interdicts on their kingdoms, nor absolve their subjects from allegiance. "Before him," indeed, "shall be gathered all nations," and to him, in honour of his mediatorial work, shall "all judgment" be committed by the Father; but this shall not be till he shall have "put down all rule, and all authority, and all power," and men shall appear before him stripped of all earthly jurisdiction. Thus it appears that the pope claims, as the vicar and representative of the Head of the church, powers and prerogatives with which the Mediator himself has not been invested, and that the powers and prerogatives which do belong to the Mediator are such as no created being could possess or exercise.

Having made these remarks, which we consider essential to the right understanding of the question, we may be prepared to judge of the real quarter from which, among the multiform pretensions of the Papacy, danger is to be apprehended. It is *not* from what has been generally, and, we think, mistakingly, called the *temporal power* of the pope, meaning by this term his prerogatives as a sovereign, occupying a certain territory, and "armed with a little brief authority" in Rome. Of this adventitious distinction there are not a few proofs in "the signs of the times" that he may soon be denuded. To suppose that Italy, having once tasted the cup of liberty, will tamely allow it to be dashed from her lips,—that she will much longer submit to see the best of her children dragged off before her eyes to the dungeon or to exile, at the bidding of superannuated superstition, upheld by foreign bayonets,—would be contrary to all the experience of history and the ordinary laws of human nature. The temporal sovereignty of the pope, as that phrase has generally been understood, is now, in fact, a nonentity. The world has become too old to be dazzled and cajoled by the spectacle of a crowned priest in the Vatican. Mere earthly pomp and local dignity, so omnipotent during the dark ages, have lost their virtue. In an earnest and spiritual age like the present, nothing can be expected to stand that is not based on some assumed moral or religious principle. Already the more knowing of the modern advocates of Rome are beginning to talk of the papal supremacy as purely spiritual. Their language is almost evangelical. The pope is Christ; his seat is no longer on the seven-hilled city, but on the rock of St Peter; his Vatican is the conscience of man. The grand, and, it may be, the final struggle,

will be with the spiritual powers lodged in the successor of "the prince of the apostles." The mundane honours of the pope will be eclipsed in the spiritual glories of the personator of the Saviour. But just in proportion as these spiritual claims are advanced will his civil and political power be promoted; for we repeat it, and trust we have made it plain, it is in virtue of that same spiritual character that he challenges "all power in heaven and in earth." Let the pope be divested of all worldly dominion,—let him be literally reduced to the state of the apostle whom he affects to represent, when he said, "Silver and gold have I none,"—let him become a personage as obscure and unpretending as M. Roothan, the General of the Society of Jesus,—still he will be, like that official, the symbol of a sovereignty, all the more devotedly worshipped by its true devotees that it no longer boasts of earthly grandeur;—a sovereignty at eternal variance with every other form of human power that will not bend to its will,—a sovereignty essentially hostile to the British crown, and incompatible with the liberties of mankind.

Popery, in fact, so far from being unchangeable, has not only often varied from itself, but has been undergoing a gradual process of internal development, which seems only now approaching its completion. This transmutation is indicated by the various stages through which the Papacy has passed. It has gone through its period of infancy, of childhood, and of maturity; and now it seems about to reach its grand climacteric. The pope began to rise by assuming superiority over his brother bishops. His next step was to usurp, as the vicar of Christ, the powers and prerogatives of the Head of the church. His next was to claim, in virtue of this vicariate, the mediatorial "power in heaven and in earth," or a right to interfere with every thing that might, in his judgment, conduce to the good of the church. There remained only one step more,—that, namely, of challenging, as God, the supreme homage of mankind. And this stage has been now attained. Mediatorial honours will no longer suit the insatiable ambition of the Roman pontiff: he must, "AS GOD, sit in the temple of God, showing himself that HE IS GOD!" This heaven-daring pretence, by which Rome has all along identified itself with "that Wicked" spoken of in holy Scripture (2 Thessa. ii. 3–8),—a pretence always involved in the theory of the Papacy, often propounded in its schools, debated among its divines, and avowed more or less boldly by successive pontiffs,—this truly blasphemous claim, seems destined to be "revealed" more clearly and convincingly than ever, by being put forth in all its naked arrogance, and acknowledged in all its portentous magnitude.

Every thing betokens this fuller development of the papal theory. The gradual manifestation of "the Man of Sin" has been marked by a corresponding obscuration of the glory of Him who is the "brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person." At first, this appeared in the church claiming the honours of her King. Reversing her true position, as the maid looking to the hand of her master, she assumed the lofty tones of the mistress. Instead of reverentially bowing to Him of whom it was said, "This is my beloved Son; hear ye HIM;" the church points to herself as the object of faith and reverence, saying, "Hear ye ME." As the spirit of antichristianism grows stronger, we behold the Saviour degraded to a level with his own servants, and though nominally retained in the Roman Pantheon, receiving only his share of homage in common with a multitude of inferior deities. Instead of "seeing no man save Jesus only," the church of Rome says, "Let us build here three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias." But now, even this divided homage is denied the Saviour; his name, his character, and his functions, are all but ignored; his worship is superseded by that of Mary; his distinct personality is merged in the Deity; and, if they speak of him at all, it is under the phraseology of "invoking the aid of God, through the intercession of *his mother!*" It requires no great ingenuity to perceive, in this gradual sinking of the name of Christ, the ripening of the plot for the full-blown manifestation of Antichrist, "the Man of Sin, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped."

The papal theory, thus unfolded to all its extent, threatens, in our day, to become a practical reality. Under the auspices of the Jesuits, or ultramontane divines, who have gained an undoubted ascendancy in the councils of Rome, the supremacy of the pope bids fair to be set on a higher eminence than ever. No longer a mere prince of bishops, propped up by the authority of fathers and councils, he stands revealed as the "King of kings, and Lord of lords." No longer a petty sovereign in Italy, he comes boldly out as the earthly image of Godhead, clothed with the attributes of the Almighty, and challenging the sovereignty of the world. To a claim so portentous no limits can be set; to the encroachments and demands founded on it no end can be foreseen. Deity is the measure of the demands,—Deity the pretext for the encroachments. Before such a gigantic phantom of power, conjured up by superstition, the governments of this world, with all their interests, powers, and glories, shrink into insignificance.

"Why, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus; and we puny men
Walk under his huge legs, and peep about
To find ourselves dishonourable graves."

Fictitious, however, as is the basis on which the Popedom rests, not so are the agents it employs, the homage it exacts, and the means which it takes to uphold the fiction. Its agents, divided, as they may be, into the simpletons who actually believe in the pretensions of Popery, and who, if not grossly ignorant, will generally be found to labour under some mental malformation, and the sharpers whose business and interest it is to keep up the delusion, though neither of them would be formidable by themselves, become so by working into each other's hands. The largest and flashiest of impostors require the aid of their dupes; and the finger of a mere child may serve to pull the trigger of the weapon which the assassin has charged and pointed. The homage, again, exacted by the Popedom, extends to every soul that lives, and to every action and relation of life; demanding the abject prostration of every faculty, the sacrifice of every feeling, and the surrender of every right. And the means employed to bolster up the hideous phantasmagoria embrace every possible expedient, however much it may outrage the laws of God and man.

To complete the magic circle of this "Mystery of Iniquity," it only remains to be told, that, according to the well-known maxim of the Jesuits, in matters involving the interest of their church (and these may be very widely stretched), all sorts of deceit and imposture may be lawfully and even laudably practised upon heretics, provided it be done "with a good intention;" and, accordingly, all that we have now stated as "the common doctrine" of the church of Rome may be disclaimed, and pronounced, even under the solemn sanction of an oath, to be pure misrepresentation. What is more, on the same principle, it may be lawfully denied that any such maxim is held in the church of Rome as that it is lawful to practise deceit upon heretics! With a body of men calling themselves a church, convicted of holding such a principle, it would be vain to argue, and worse than vain to enter into compact. Their testimony, in their own case, like that of the convicted liar, must be held inadmissible in any court of justice, and the only safe course must be to ignore it altogether.

It follows, that to form a sound and safe estimate of the Papacy, we must, independently of any disclaimer put in by the devoted adherents of that system, examine those works written by themselves

in which its doctrines are taught, and treatises such as that of Barrow, where nothing is stated without the authority being given, and where the whole scheme is exposed to the honest light of day.

Before speaking of the Treatise itself, it may be expected that we should give some account of

THE AUTHOR OF THE TREATISE.

DR ISAAC BARROW, the author of the following Treatise, was born in London, October 1630. He was the son of Mr Thomas Barrow, and grandson of Isaac Barrow, Esq. of Spiney Abbey, a considerable estate in Cambridgeshire. His father, who was linen-draper to Charles I. (an office which, humble as it was, contributed, no doubt, with other considerations, to attach him to the royal family and to the Church of England), followed that unfortunate monarch to Oxford, and after witnessing the tragic scene of his execution, joined Charles II. on the Continent, where he remained till the Restoration. The son of the loyal linen-draper was early sent to the Charterhouse School, and destined for a scholar; but Isaac, like many others who have distinguished themselves in that capacity, manifested, in his boyish days, a decided preference of the play-ground to the school-room. His main talent lay in pugilistic achievements, and his delight was to set the other boys a-sparring. He was remarkable, too, for the negligence of his dress. "For his book," says Mr Abraham Hill, "he minded it not; nay, there was then so little appearance of that comfort which his father afterwards received from him, that he often solemnly wished that if it pleased God to take away any of his children, it might be his son Isaac."*

Seldom have parental anticipations been more thoroughly or more agreeably disappointed. Hardly had Isaac escaped from his school-companions, and entered as a student at Trinity College in the University of Cambridge, which he did in 1645, than the whole man underwent a change. The reckless, careless youth became an ardent, indefatigable scholar, an acute mathematician, and a profound divine. And yet, even under this metamorphosis, it is not difficult to discern, in the subsequent history of the man, some of the leading characteristics of the boy. His negligence of dress continued with him to the last; but it was the slovenliness no longer of the idle truant, but of the hard student. The obstreperous sports

* Some Accounts of the Life of Dr Isaac Barrow, by Abraham Hill, Esq., prefixed to Dr Tillotson's edition of Barrow.

of youth gave place to the more serious encounters of mind with mind; the vivaciousness of the lad became courage in the man; and early combativeness found a higher sphere in the field of religious controversy. Two instances of his personal courage are generally recorded of him. The first occurred during his travels, when the ship in which he sailed for Constantinople was attacked by pirates; and Barrow, disdaining the shelter of the hold, manfully fought at the guns on deck. The other was an encounter with a furious mastiff, which, having rushed upon him in the dark, he seized by the throat, and, rather than kill the animal, held it fast to the ground till he was released.

True to the paternal creed, Barrow, on entering the university, refused to take the covenant; but this refusal, though at that time regarded as the mark of a "Malignant," or one who had espoused the principles of Laudean prelacy in the church and arbitrary power in the state, was kindly connived at by the heads of the university. One day, Dr Hill, Master of Trinity College, laying his hand on his head, said, "Thou art a good lad; 'tis pity thou art a Cavalier." On another occasion, when Barrow had displeased the rest by giving too free scope to his predilections, their objections were overruled by the same good man, who observed, "Barrow is a better man than any of us." The occasion of this offence, it is said, was his Latin Oration on the Gunpowder Plot, which is now inserted in his works. There is nothing in this performance (which is written in a youthful, declamatory style) that could justly have given umbrage, unless we suppose that his description of the state of the church during the reign of James VI. was too highly coloured for the taste of the Presbyterians, and that, in adverting to the design of the conspirators to cut off the royal family, he expressed himself in terms too applicable to Cromwell to be relished by the Independents. Speaking of the episcopal church in those times, he says, "There was hardly any thing in her that pride could despise, that calumny could accuse, or that well-regulated minds could find wanting. She admitted neither old corruptions nor new-fangled fancies. Simple she was indeed, and yet not destitute of those ornaments with which ancient piety and well-consulted prudence had furnished her." If we may judge from another oration, pronounced in April 1651, in which he severely inveighs against the immoderate love of fun, wit, and ribaldry, which then prevailed among his fellow-collegians (giving us, by the way, a very different idea of the Puritans of that period from that conveyed by the morose pictures drawn of them by their opponents), it would appear that our author, even at the early age of twenty-one,

was distinguished by a more than ordinary share of judgment and good sense.

In 1655, Barrow, disappointed in obtaining a Greek professorship, determined to complete his education by travelling in foreign parts. After visiting France and Italy, he prosecuted his journey as far as Constantinople, not only gratifying his curiosity by the way, but enlarging his stores of knowledge by intercourse with living authors and by consulting libraries. It was at Constantinople that he formed acquaintance with the Greek fathers, and particularly with Chrysostom, so many quotations from whom enrich his Treatise on the Supremacy. After an absence of four years, he returned home in time to witness the restoration of Charles; an event which he hailed with unfeigned enthusiasm, and in honour of which he penned a Latin poem, charged with the most extravagant and laboured panegyric.

After this event, the scanty incidents in the life of this illustrious scholar may be comprised in a few sentences. Having received episcopal ordination, it was confidently anticipated by all his friends that a man at once so loyal and so learned would be sure, on the restoration of the old regime, to receive the highest ecclesiastical preferment. In this, however, he and they were destined to be disappointed. He was elected, indeed, to the Greek chair in his own college, and lectured for some time to empty benches. He was thereafter promoted to two professorships of mathematics; in which more congenial study he acquired a world-wide reputation, sustained even to the present day, by his name being associated with that of his illustrious pupil, Sir Isaac Newton. In 1670, he was by mandate created Doctor in Divinity. But his only preferment in the church which he had done so much to serve was a small sinecure in Wales, which he owed to his uncle, the Bishop of St Asaph, whose namesake he was, and afterwards a prebendal stall in the Cathedral of Salisbury, from his friend the bishop of that place, Dr Seth Ward. At length, in 1672, five years before his death, he obtained the mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge. On the occasion of this promotion, his majesty was pleased to say that "he had given it to the best scholar in England." Posterity, however, will generally agree that,—judging by the monarch's own estimate of the man, and by the value attached by both to the dignity of the episcopate,—the gift was far beneath Dr Barrow's deserts, and that he had too good reason for complaining, as he did, in an unpublished poem:—

*"Te magis optavit reditulum, Carole, nemo,
Et nemo sensit te rediisse minus."*

Or, as Dr Kippis has rendered the lines:—

“Thy restoration, royal Charles, I see;
By none more wish'd, by none less felt, than me.”

In his humility, however, Barrow, though sensible of the slight, was not only content with his mastership, but, dispensing with some of its more expensive perquisites, such as the luxury of a coach, he devoted himself and most of his revenue to advance the interests of the college. While thus employed, he was suddenly cut off in the prime of life. “The last time he was in London,” says his friend Dr Pope, “I observed he did not eat; whereupon I asked him how it was with him. He answered, that he had a slight indisposition hanging about him, with which he had struggled two or three days, and that he hoped by *fasting and opium* to get it off, as he had removed another and more dangerous sickness at Constantinople some years before. But these remedies availed him not. His malady proved, in the event, an inward, malignant, and insuperable fever, of which he died, May 4, *anno Dom.* 1677, in the forty-seventh year of his age, in mean lodgings, at a saddler’s, near Charing Cross, an old, low, ill-built house, which he had used for several years: for though his condition was much bettered by his obtaining the mastership of Trinity College, yet that had no bad influence on his morals; he still continued the same humble person, and could not be prevailed upon to take more reputable lodgings.”*

The remains of Barrow were interred in Westminster Abbey, where a marble monument was erected to his memory by a subscription among his friends; it is surmounted by his bust, and bears an elegant Latin inscription from the pen of Dr Mapeltoft. Abraham Hill asserts that “his picture was never made from the life, and the effigies on his tomb doth little resemble him.” And he adds, “He was a person of the lesser size, and lean, of extraordinary strength, of a fair and calm complexion, a thin skin, very sensible of the cold; his eyes gray, clear, and somewhat short-sighted; his hair of a light auburn, very fine and curling. He is well represented by the figure of Marcus Brutus on his denarii.”†

To use the words of Dr Tillotson, as editor of Barrow’s works,

* The Life of the Right Rev. Father in God, Seth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, by Dr Walter Pope, p. 167.

† There is nothing inconsistent in this account with the statement of Dr Ward, that “he could never be prevailed on to sit for his picture; but some of his friends found means to get it taken without his knowledge.”—Ward’s *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*. The likeness was taken by Mrs Beale, which Dr Kippis says was in the possession of the late James West, Esq. It has been often published, and certainly does bear some resemblance to that of Brutus.

"I shall not, within the narrow limits of a preface, so much as attempt the character of him, of whom either not a little, or nothing at all, ought to be said." He adds, that "he was exemplary in all manner of conversation, coming as near as is possible for human frailty to do to the perfect idea of St James' 'perfect man;' so that in these excellent discourses of his he has only transcribed his own practice." Mr Hill makes the same remark, observing that "his sermons were the counterpart of his actions,—the true picture of himself."

In his habits, fully as much as in his acquirements, Dr Barrow was the genuine scholar. Dr Pope, who knew him best, tells us, "He was of a healthy constitution, used no exercise nor physic, besides smoking tobacco, in which he was not sparing, saying it was an *instar omnium*, or *panpharmicon* [a cure for all diseases.] He was unmercifully cruel to a lean carcass, not allowing it sufficient meat or sleep. During the winter months, and some part of the rest, he rose always *before it was light*, being never without a tinder-box and other proper utensils for that purpose. I have frequently known him, after his first sleep, rise, light, and, after burning out his candle, return to bed before day. I say, I have known him do this; I report it not from hearsay but experience, having been his bed-fellow whilst he lived with the Bishop of Salisbury." The following reminiscences by the same author are equally characteristic of the student:—"He was careless of his clothes to a fault. I remember he once made me a visit, and I perceiving his band sat very awkwardly, asked him, What makes your band sit so? 'I have,' said he, 'no buttons upon my collar.' Come, said I, put on my night-gown; here's a tailor at hand, who will presently set all right. With much ado I prevailed with him; the buttons were supplied, the gown made clean, the hands and face washed, and the clothes and hat brushed; in a word, at his departure he did not seem the same man who came in just before." In connection with this, Dr Pope gives us a long story of a sermon preached by Dr Barrow in London, when "at the time appointed he came, with an aspect pale, and meagre, and unpromising, slovenly and carelessly dressed, his collar unbuttoned, his hair uncombed, &c. Immediately all the congregation was in an uproar, as if the church were falling, and they scampering to save their lives, each shifting for himself with great precipitation." Among the few that remained to hear the sermon was the famous Richard Baxter, on learning whose high opinion of the ungainly-looking preacher, the congregation, ashamed of their hasty retreat, would have had him to preach again, which he would on no account consent to do. The next trait rivals in simplicity Parson Adams himself:—"We

were once going from Salisbury to London; he in the coach with the bishop, and I on horseback. As he was entering the coach, I perceived his pockets sticking out near half a foot, and said to him, What have you got in your pockets? He replied, 'Sermons.' Sermons! said I, give them me; my boy shall carry them in his portmanteau. 'But,' said he, 'suppose your boy should be robbed!' That's pleasant! said I; do you think there are parsons padding on the road for sermons? 'Why, what have you?' said he; 'it may be five or six guineas. I hold my sermons at a greater rate; they cost me much pain and time.' Well, then, said I, if you'll insure my five or six guineas against lay foot-padders, I'll secure your bundle of sermons against ecclesiastical highwaymen."

These sermons, on which the good man set so much value, now constitute the larger portion of his works. They must always be admired by all who can appreciate profound thought and vigorous reasoning, expressed in a style of manly eloquence. With all their merits, however, it does not appear that they succeeded as pulpit discourses. One reason of this may have been their extraordinary length. In the delivery of one of them he spent no less than three hours and a half. On coming down from the pulpit, he was asked whether he was not tired. "Yes, indeed," he replied, "I began to be weary with *standing so long*." But, in fact, many of them were never preached at all, nor were they written with the view of being so;—a reason quite sufficient to account for their unpopularity, notwithstanding all the "pain and time" which they cost the worthy author. They are rather dissertations than mere popular addresses.* They smell too much of the lamp, and betray, in spite of the vigour and richness of their style, something of the same negligence that appeared in the dress of the man. Resembling Tillotson in the general strain of his preaching, he is more philosophical than evangelical, he is fonder of drawing the portrait of what the Christian man ought to be, than of dealing as a spiritual physician with the symptoms of disease and the means of cure in the living subject. These two eminent divines introduced a style of ministration into the English pulpit which has given place in a great, and, we trust, an increasing degree, to a more earnest theology. But they differed very materially in their style. Tillotson is elegant and harmonious; Barrow, again, clear and cogent in argument, is too intent on enforcing his blow to pay much attention to the brilliancy of his weapon or the gracefulness of his posture. In the earlier editions of "Thomson's Seasons," the following lines,

* "Les sermons de cet auteur sont plutôt des traités, ou des dissertations, que des simples harangues pour plaire à la multitude."—*Le Clerc, Biblioth. Univ.* iii. 325.

forming part of the apostrophe to Britain, which were omitted in later editions, are very characteristic of the two divines:—

“ And for the strength and elegance of Truth,
A Barrow and a Tillotson are thine.” *

THE TREATISE.

THE “Treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy,” reprinted in this volume, though by no means so finished as his other pieces, is yet, from the nature of its subject, as well as its masterly execution, the best known, the most popular, and the most valuable of all his works. It was written not long before the author’s death, after his promotion to the Headship of Trinity College, and he did not live to superintend its publication. It was published, as indeed all his English works were, after his decease, under the superintendence of Dr Tillotson, then Dean, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. It has passed through a great many editions. Walch says that the first edition of the Treatise on the Supremacy appeared in a separate form, quarto, in 1680;† but Tillotson’s edition gives the Archbishop of Canterbury’s imprimatur, bearing date February 27, 1678–9. The oldest edition which I have seen is, “The second edition, corrected,” included in the folio edition of Barrow’s works, London, 1683. In this edition, the Treatise on the Supremacy is introduced by a dedication to the Earl of Nottingham by “Thomas Barrow, the author’s father,” and an advertisement by Tillotson, “The publisher to the reader;” both of which we have reprinted. In this advertisement he says:—“This excellent and elaborate Treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy, the learned author of it upon his death-bed gave me particular permission to publish, with this modest character of it, that ‘he hoped it was indifferent perfect, though not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life.’ He designed, indeed, to have transcribed it again, and to have filled up those many *spaces* which were purposely left in it for the farther confirmation and illustration of several things by more testimonies and instances, which probably he had in his thoughts; and it would certainly have added much to the beauty and perfection of this work had it pleased God that he had lived to finish it to his mind and to have given it his last hand.” “However, as it is,” adds Tillotson, “it is not only a just but an admirable discourse upon this subject,

* “For what reason,” says Dr Kippis, “these lines were afterwards omitted by Mr Thomson, we are not informed.”—*Biog. Brit.*, art. *Barrow*.

† Walch, *Biblio. Theol.*, tom. ii. p. 208.

which many others have handled before, but he has exhausted it, insomuch that no argument of moment, nay, hardly any consideration properly belonging to it, has escaped his large and comprehensive mind. He has said enough to silence the controversy for ever, and to deter all wise men, of both sides, from meddling any farther with it." The archbishop's anticipation has been fulfilled. Barrow's Treatise has never been answered, and subsequent writers on the Protestant side have generally contented themselves with borrowing from the ample stores of this redoubtable controvertist. So far as the materials are concerned, he may be truly said to have exhausted the subject; in the matter of authorities he has almost overlaid it. In the words of a modern critic, "We can imagine nothing whereunto to liken the glorious work of Barrow but the mighty telescope of Herschel; an instrument which brings up from the abyss of space a countless multitude of luminaries, which hid themselves from the search of unassisted vision. Even so does the gigantic labour of Barrow call up from the depths of antiquity a galaxy of witnesses, which pass over our field of view in perfect order and distinctness, and shed a broad and steady illumination over the path of the inquirer."*

While Barrow's Treatise will always form a standard work on the question of which it treats, it is deeply to be regretted that the author did not live to superintend its publication. It bears evidence throughout of having been a first draught; the materials, so laboriously collected, have been hastily arranged; many gaps have been left, with the intention of being filled up afterwards; repetitions frequently occur; and in the whole style there is a carelessness and disregard to the ordinary graces of composition not to be found in any of the other writings of the author. As we approach the close of the Treatise, these defects become still more painfully apparent. The division, too, of the arguments into so many separate parts, though it serves to exhaust the question, as it were squeezing the life out of every limb of the dissevered monster, deprives the work of that condensation and continuity so essential to a popular treatise. The consequence has been, that this mighty emporium of facts, arguments, and authorities on the papal question, has shared the fate of Barrow's Sermons,—it has been more prized by the judicious few than read by the many. It is a work which few would wish to want in their library, but which, like some piece of heavy ordnance, is seldom used but on occasions of great emergency.

With all these disadvantages, however, few will deny that it is en-

* British Critic, vol. ii. p. 149.

titled to a higher place than the modest estimate of its author assigned to it, of being "indifferent perfect." As a historico-political argument against the Papacy it stands unrivalled, and must remain unanswered. ●

The argument may perhaps be found less applicable to the present aspect of the controversy than the reader may have been led to expect, inasmuch as it refers not so much to the civil as to the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope. The temporal power claimed by the Roman pontiff is, indeed, touched on in the Introduction, but the Treatise itself deals with his assumption as the head of the church. When, however, it is considered how closely these two things are connected, and how certainly both must stand or fall together, we cannot fail to see the importance of Barrow's work at the present conjuncture. It is an armory from which the protestant warrior may be supplied with every species of weapon against the arrogant pretensions of the pope.

The present editor cannot conclude this Essay, however, without expressing his regret that, in treating the question of papal supremacy, the author did not dwell more explicitly than he has done on the antichristian character of the system as developed in Scripture, and on its anti-social tendency, as the great enemy of civil and religious liberty. Barrow's argument is, so far as it goes, complete and conclusive; but he has viewed the subject too exclusively with the eye of the scholar and the recluse, and has failed to present it in the light in which it will always be felt most tangible by the student of revelation and of providence, and even by the enlightened practical philosopher. Christians are beginning now to regard Popery, not as a mere phase of religious error, or as a degenerate branch of the Christian church,—far less as a mere schism from the beau ideal of a rightly constituted church,—but as the perfected form of that grand Apostasy to which the prophets and apostles pointed with unerring finger, and which they have portrayed in unmistakable colours. And even political economists, who are not pledged to the party expedients of the day, are coming round to the opinion long ago pronounced by Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," that "the church of Rome may be considered as the most formidable combination that ever was formed against the authority and security of civil government, as well as against the liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind."

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENEAGE,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, AND
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,

THOMAS BARROW,
(THE AUTHOR'S FATHER,)

HUMBLY DEDICATETH THIS TREATISE.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THIS excellent and elaborate "Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy," which I here present thee withal, the learned author of it upon his deathbed gave me particular permission to publish, with this modest character of it, that "he hoped it was indifferent perfect, though not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life." He designed, indeed, to have transcribed it again, and to have filled up those many spaces which were purposely left in it for the farther confirmation and illustration of several things by more testimonies and instances, which probably he had in his thoughts; and it would certainly have added much to the beauty and perfection of this work had it pleased God that he had lived to finish it to his mind and to have given it his last hand.

However, as it is, it is not only a just but an admirable discourse upon this subject, which many others have handled before, but he has exhausted it, insomuch that no argument of moment, nay, hardly any consideration properly belonging to it, has escaped his large and comprehensive mind. He has said enough to silence the controversy for ever, and to deter all wise men, of both sides, from meddling any farther with it.

And I dare say, that whoever shall carefully peruse this Treatise will find that this point of the pope's supremacy (upon which Bellarmine hath the confidence to say the whole of Christianity depends) is not only an indefensible but an impudent cause, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. And nothing could have kept it so long from becoming ridiculous in the judgment of mankind but its being so strongly supported by a worldly interest; for there is not one tolerable argument for it, and there are a thousand invincible reasons against it. There is neither from Scripture, nor reason, nor antiquity, any evidence of it; the past and the present state of Christendom, the histories and records of all ages, are a perpetual demonstration against it; and there is no other ground in the whole world for it but that now of a long time it hath been, by the pope's janizaries,

boldly asserted and stiffly contended for, without reason: so that any one might with as much colour and evidence of truth maintain that the Grand Seignior is of right, and for many ages has been acknowledged, sovereign of the whole world, as that the Bishop of Rome is of right, and in all ages from the beginning of Christianity has been owned to be, the universal monarch and head of the Christian church. To this "Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy" I have, for the affinity of the argument, added, by way of appendix, another discourse of the same author's, concerning the Unity of the Church; which he so explains as quite to take away the necessity of a visible head over the whole church for the preservation of its unity: which is the only specious, but yet a very remote, pretence for the pope's supremacy; for if a visible monarch of the church were granted necessary, many things more must be supposed (which neither yet are, nor ever can be proved) to make the bishop of Rome the man.

The testimonies relating to both parts were very few of them translated by the author; which he certainly intended, having left spaces for it, and is since done with great care by two of his worthy and learned friends of his own college.

This is all the advertisement I thought necessary.

J. TILLOTSON.

A TREATISE
or
THE POPE'S SUPREMACY.

BY ISAAC BARROW, D.D.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. THE Roman party glories much in unity and certainty of doctrine, as things peculiar to them, and which no other men have any means to attain; yet about divers matters of notable consideration, in what they agree, or of what they are certain, it is hard to descry.

They pretend it very needful that controversies should be decided, and that they have a special knack of doing it; yet many controversies of great weight and consequence stick on their hands unresolved, many points rest in great doubt and debate among them.

The *κρίσιαι δόξαι* [leading tenets] of the Roman sect, concerning doctrine, practice, laws and customs of discipline, rites and ceremonies, are of divers sorts, or built on divers grounds; some established by (pretended) general synods; some founded on decrees of popes; some entertained as upon tradition, custom, common agreement; some which their eminent divines or schoolmen commonly embrace; some prevailing by the favour of the Roman court and its zealous dependants.

Hence it is very difficult to know wherein their religion consists; for those grounds divers times seem to clash, and accordingly their divines (some building on these, some on others) disagree.

This being so in many points of importance, is so particularly in this.

For instance, the head of their church, as they call it, is, one would think, a subject about which they should thoroughly consent, and which they, by this time, should have cleared from all disputes, so that (so far as their decisive faculty goes) we might be assured wherein his authority consists, and how far it extends; seeing the resolution of that point so nearly touches the heart of religion, the faith and practice of all Christians, the good of the church, and peace of the world; [and] seeing that no one question (perhaps not all questions together) has created so many tragical disturbances in Christendom as that concerning the bounds of papal authority.¹

¹ *Agitur de summa rei Christiana.*—*Bell. Praef. de Rom. Pont.* "Upon this one point the very sum and substance of Christianity depends."

This disagreement of the Roman doctors about the nature and extent of papal authority is a shrewd prejudice against it. If a man should sue for a piece of land, and his advocates, the notablest [that] could be had, and well paid, could not find where it lies, how it is butted and bounded, from whom it was conveyed to him, one would be very apt to suspect his title. If God had instituted such an office, it is highly probable we might satisfactorily know what the nature and use of it were; the patents and charters for it would declare it.

Yet for resolution in this great case we are left to seek, they not having either the will, or the courage, or the power to determine it. This insuperable problem has baffled all their infallible methods of deciding controversies; their traditions blundering, their synods clashing, their divines wrangling endlessly, about what kind of thing the pope is, and what power he rightly may claim.

"There is," says a great divine among them, "so much controversy about the plenitude of ecclesiastical power, and to what things it may extend itself, that few things in that matter are secure."¹

This is a plain argument of the impotency of the pope's power in judging and deciding controversies, or of his cause in this matter,—that he cannot define a point so nearly concerning him, and which he so much desires an agreement in; that he cannot settle his own claim out of doubt; that all his authority cannot secure itself from contest.

So indeed it is, that no spells can allay some spirits; and where interests are irreconcilable, opinions will be so.

Some points are so tough and so touchy that nobody dare meddle with them, fearing that their resolution will fail of success and submission. Hence, even the anathematizing definers of Trent (the boldest undertakers to decide controversies that ever were) waived this point, the legates of the pope being enjoined "to advertise, That they should not, for any cause whatever, come to dispute about the pope's authority."²

It was indeed wisely done of them to decline this question, their authority not being strong enough to bear the weight of a decision in favour of the Roman see (against which they could do nothing) according to its pretences, as appears by one clear instance; for whereas that council took upon it incidentally to enact, that any prince should be excommunicate, and deprived of the dominion of any city or place where he should permit a duel to be fought, the prelates of

¹ Tanta est inter doctores controversia de plenitudine ecclesiasticæ potestatis, et ad quæ se extendat, ut pauca sint in ea materia secure, &c.—*Almain. de Auct. Eccl.*, cap. iii.

² — di avertire, Che non si venga mai per qual causa si sia alla disputa dell autorità di papa.—*Concil. Trid.*, lib. ii. p. 159.

France, in the Convention of Orders, anno 1595, declared against that decree, as infringing their king's authority.¹

It was therefore advisedly done, not to meddle with so ticklish a point. But, in the meantime, their policy seems greater than their charity, which might have inclined them not to leave the world in darkness and doubt, and unresolved in a point of so main importance; as, indeed, they did in others of no small consequence, disputed among their divines with obstinate heat,—viz., the divine right of bishops, the necessity of residence, the immaculate conception, &c.

The opinions, therefore, among them concerning the pope's authority, as they have been, so they are, and in likelihood may continue, very different.

§ II. There are among them those who ascribe to the pope an universal, absolute, and boundless empire over all persons indifferently, and in all matters, conferred and settled on him by divine immutable sanction; so that all men, of whatever degree, are obliged in conscience to believe whatever he authoritatively dictates, and to obey whatever he prescribes; so that if princes themselves refuse obedience to his will, he may excommunicate them, cashier them, depose them, extirpate them. If he charge us to hold no communion with our prince, to renounce our allegiance to him, to abandon, oppose, and persecute him even to death, we may without scruple, we must in duty obey. If he interdict whole nations from the exercise of God's worship and service, they must comply therein. So that, according to their conceits, he is in effect sovereign lord of all the world, and superior, even in temporal or civil matters, unto all kings and princes.

It is notorious that many canonists, if not most, and many divines of that party maintain this doctrine, affirming that all the power of Christ (the "Lord of lords, and King of kings," to whom all power in heaven and earth appertains) is imparted to the pope, as to his vicegerent.²

This is the doctrine which, almost four hundred years ago, Augustinus Triumphus, in his "egregious work" concerning ecclesiastical power, taught, attributing to the pope "an incomprehensible and

¹ *Hic articulus est contra auctoritatem regis, qui non potest privari suo dominio temporali, respectu cujus nullum superiorem recognoscit.*—*Bochel*, lib. v. tit. 20, cap. 45. "This article is against the authority of the king, who cannot be deprived of his temporal dominion, wherein he acknowledges no superior."

² *Prima sententia est, summum pontificem jure divino habere plenissimam potestatem in universum orbem terrarum, tam in rebus ecclesiasticis quam civilibus. Ita docent Aug. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Sylvester, et alii non pauci.*—*Bell*, vol. i. "The first opinion is, that the pope hath a most full power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. This is the doctrine of Aug. Triumphus," &c., "and of many others."

infinite power; because 'great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatness there is no end.'"¹

This is the doctrine which the leading theologue of their sect, their angelical doctor [Thomas Aquinas] affirms, both directly, saying that "in the pope is the top of both powers," and by plain consequence, asserting that "when any one is denounced excommunicated for apostasy, his subjects are immediately freed from his dominion, and their oath of allegiance to him."²

This the same Thomas (or an author passing under his name, in his book touching the *Rule of Princes*) teaches, affirming that the pope, "as supreme king of all the world, may impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy towns and castles for the preservation of Christianity."³

This, as Cardinal Zabarella, near three hundred years ago, tells us, is the doctrine "which, for a long time, those who would please popes persuaded them, that they could do all things, whatever they pleased, yea, and things unlawful, and so could do more than God."⁴

According to this doctrine, then current at Rome, in the last Lateran great synod, under the pope's nose and in his ear, one bishop styled him "Prince of the world;"⁵ another orator called him "King of kings, and monarch of the earth;"⁶ another great prelate said of him, that "he had all power above all powers, both of heaven and earth."⁷ And the same roused up Pope Leo X. in these brave terms: "Snatch up, therefore, the two-edged sword of divine power committed to thee, and enjoin, command, and charge that an universal

¹ Scripsit egregiam summam de potestate ecclesiæ.—*Bell. de Script.*, anno 1801. Error est, non credere pontificem Rom. universalis ecclesiæ pastorem, Petri successorem, et Christi vicarium, supra temporalia et spiritualia universalem non habere primatum; in quem quandoque multi labuntur, dictæ potestatis ignorantia; quæ cum sit infinita, eo quod magnus est Dominus, et magna virtus ejus, et magnitudinis ejus non est finis, omnis creatus intellectus in ejus perscrutatione invenitur deficere.—*Aug. Triumph. de Potest. Eccl. in præf. ad P. Joh. XXII.*

² Thomas in fine Secun. Sentent. dicit in papa esse apicem utriusque potestatis.—*Bell.*, vol. i. Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi a dominio, et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt.—*Th.*, ii. Secund. qu. 12, art. 2.

³ S. Thomas (in lib. iii. *de Regim. Princ.*, cap. 10, 19) affirmat summum pontificem jure divino habere spiritualem et temporalem potestatem, ut supremum totius mundi regem, adeo ut etiam tales omnibus Christianis possit imponere, et civitates ac castra destruere pro conservatione Christianitatis.—*Bell.*, vol. v.

⁴ Quæ jura sunt notanda, quia male considerata sunt per multos assentatores, qui voluerunt placere pontificibus, per multa retro tempora, et usque ad hodierna suaserunt eis, quod omnia possent; et sic quod facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, et sic plus quam Deus.—*Zab. de Schism.*—[This blasphemous sentiment, which Zabarella ascribes to the flatterers, "assentatores," of the pope, has been sometimes erroneously quoted as the cardinal's own opinion.—*Ed.*]

⁵ Orbis princeps.—*Episc. Spal.*, sess. i. p. 24.

⁶ Regum rex, et orbis terrarum monarcha.—*Del Rio*, sess. viii. p. 87.

⁷ — virum, in quo erat potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cœli, quam terræ.—*Episc. Patrac.*, sess. x. p. 182.

peace and alliance be made among Christians for at least ten years; and to that bind kings in the fetters of the great King, and constrain nobles by the iron manacles of censures: for to thee is given all power in heaven and in earth."¹

This is the doctrine which Baronius, with a Roman confidence, so often asserts and drives forward, saying that "there can be no doubt of it but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal;"² and that "God has made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church."³*

§ III. From that doctrine the opinion in effect does not differ, which Bellarmine vouches for the common opinion of Catholics, that "by reason of the spiritual power, the pope, at least indirectly, has a supreme power even in temporal matters."⁴

This opinion, so common, does not, I say, in effect and practical consideration, any wise differ from the former, but only in words devised to shun envy, and veil the impudence of the other assertion: for the qualifications, "By reason of the spiritual power," and, "At least indirectly," are but notional, insignificant, and illusive, in regard to practice, it importing not, if he has in his keeping a sovereign power, upon what account or in what formality he employs it: seeing that every matter is easily referrible to a spiritual account; seeing he is sole judge upon what account he acts; seeing experience shows that he will spiritualize all his interests, and upon any occasion exercise that pretended authority; [and] seeing it little

¹ Arripe ergo gladium divins potestatis tibi creditum, his acutum; et jube, impera, manda, ut pax universalis et colligatio per decennium inter Christianos ad minus fiat; et reges ad id in compedibus magni Regis liga, et nobiles in manicis ferreis censurarum constringe: quoniam tibi data est omnis potestas in celo et in terra.—*Episc. Patrac.*, *secc. x.* p. 183.

² Politicum principatum sacerdotali esse subjectum nulla potest esse dubitatio.—*Ann.* 57, § 23.

³ Politicum imperium subjecit spiritualis ecclesiæ dominio.—*Ibid.* § 53.

* Charles Butler, Esq., in his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," adduces the following outlines of the doctrines of that class of divines called Transalpine, or Ultramontane, who dwell in or near Rome, and who are distinguished from the Cisalpine, who reside on the French side of the Alps. The Transalpine are those who are under the immediate direction of the pope, and compose his court, who are considered sounder in the faith concerning the supremacy than the French, or those who live at a distance from Rome. He says, "Transalpine divines attribute to the pope a divine right to the exercise, indirect at least, of the temporal power for effecting a spiritual good; and, in consequence of it, maintained that the supreme power of every state was so far subject to the pope, that when he deemed that the bad conduct of the sovereign rendered it essential to the good of the church that he should reign no longer, the pope was then authorised, by his divine commission, to deprive him of his sovereignty, and absolve his subjects from their obligation of allegiance; and that, even on ordinary occasions, he might enforce obedience to his spiritual legislation and jurisdiction by civil penalties."—*Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, pp. 121, 122. 8vo. London: 1825.—Ed.

⁴ Tertia sententia media et catholicorum communis, pontificem ut pontificem non habere directe et immediate ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solum spirituales, tamen ratione spiritualis habere saltem indirecte potestatem quandam, eamque summam, in temporalibus.—*Bell.*, vol. i.

matters, if he may strike princes, whether he do it by a downright blow or slantingly.

§ IV. That such an universal and absolute power has been claimed by divers popes successively, for many ages, is apparent from their most solemn declarations and notorious practices; whereof (beginning from later times, and rising upwards toward the source of this doctrine) we shall represent some.

The bull of Pope Sixtus V. (anno 1585) against "the two sons of wrath," Henry, king of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, begins thus:—"The authority given to St Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eternal King, excelleth all the powers of earthly kings and princes,—it passeth uncontrollable sentence upon them all; and if it find any of them resisting God's ordinance, it taketh more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their thrones, though never so puissant, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer."¹ And then he proceeds to thunder against them, "We deprive them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms;" and, accordingly, he deprives those princes of their kingdoms and dominions, absolves their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and forbids them to pay any obedience to them: "By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and forbid all and every of them that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commanda."²

Pope Pius V. (one of the holiest popes of the last stamp, who hardly has escaped canonization until now³) begins his bull against our Queen Elizabeth in these words (anno 1570):—"He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy catholic and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power: this one he hath constituted prince over all nations and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dis-

¹ Ab immensa æterni Regis potentia B. Petro ejusque successoribus tradita auctoritas omnes terrenorum regum et principum supereminet potestates—Inconcussa profert in omnes judicia—Et si quos ordinationi Dei resistentes invenit, severiore hos vindicta ulciscitur, et, quamvis potentiores, de solio dejiciens, veluti superbientis Luciferi ministros, ad infima terre deturbatos prosternit, &c. Dominiis, regnis, &c., nos illos illorumque posteros privamus in perpetuum, &c.

² A juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis et obsequii debito, illos omnes tam universe quam singulatim auctoritate presentium absolvimus et liberamus; præcipimusque et interdiciamus eis universis et singulis, ne illis eorumque monitis, legibus et mandatis audeant obedire.—*Bulla Sixti V. contra Henr. Navarr. R., &c.*

³ Pius V.—Quem mirum est in albo sanctorum nondum relatum esse.—*Brid. Chr.*, anno 1572.

sipate, ruate, plant, and build”¹ And in the same bull he declares that “he thereby deprives the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolves all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatsoever, in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience.”²

Pope Clement VI. (anno 1346) pretends to depose the emperor Louis IV.

Pope Clement V. (anno 1311), in the great synod of Vienna, declared the emperor subject to him, or standing obliged to him by a proper oath of fealty.³

Pope Boniface VIII. (anno 1294) has a decree extant in the canon law running thus:—“We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff”⁴ The which subjection, according to his intent, reaches all matters; for he there challenges a double sword, and asserts to himself jurisdiction over all temporal authorities: for, “One sword,” says he, “must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power; whence, if the earthly power go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual power.”⁵ The which aphorisms he proves by scriptures admirably expounded to that purpose.

This definition might pass for a rant of that boisterous pope, “a man above measure ambitious and arrogant,”⁶ vented in his passion against King Philip of France,* if it had not the advantage (of a

¹ *Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam: hunc unum super omnes gentes et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, et ædificet.—P. Pius V. in Bull. contra R. Ekiz. (Camb. Hist., anno 1570).*

² *Ipsam pretensio regni jure, nec non omni quocunque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privamus; et iterum proceres, subditos, &c.—Ibid.*

³ *Apostolica auctoritate de fratrum nostrorum concilio declaramus, illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere.—Clemen., lib. ii. tit. 9. Vide Conc. Vienn., p. 909.*

⁴ *Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—Extrav., com. lib. i. tit. 8, cap. 1.*

⁵ *Oportet gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subijci potestati.—Ibid. Ergo si deviat terrena potestas judicabitur a potestate spirituali.—Ibid.*

⁶ *Vir super modum ambiciosus et arrogans.—Binus in Vita Bonif. VIII.*

⁷ *Boniface VIII. was one of the most flagitious of men, as well as the most ambitious of tyrants. His high-sounding language towards Philip of France may no doubt “pass for a rant,” as our author terms it; but, not to speak of the infallibility ascribed to the pope, which must, in the estimation of the Roman church, stamp even their ranting with authority, we cannot impute to a mere transient burst of “passion” the bull which he launched against Philip, in which he excommunicated him by name, absolved his subjects from allegiance, and laid his kingdom under an interdict, offering it at the same time to the Emperor of Austria. That bull was approved by all the cardinals. Boniface was a fair type of the pretensions of the Romish see. He spoke out, in his insolent audacity, what others, with more caution or timidity, concealed. He certainly*

greater than which no papal decree is capable) of being expressly confirmed by one of their general councils; for, "We," says Pope Leo X. in his bull, read and passed in the Lateran council, "do renew and approve that holy constitution, with approbation of the present holy council."¹ Accordingly, Melchior Canus says that "the Lateran council renewed and approved that extravagant" (indeed extravagant!) "constitution;"² and Baronius says of it, that "all assent to it, so that none dissents who does not by discord fall from the church."³

The truth is, Pope Boniface did not invent that proposition, but borrowed it from the school; for Thomas Aquinas, in his work against the Greeks, pretends to show that "it is of necessity to salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff."⁴ The which scholastical aphorism Pope Boniface turned into law, and applied to his purpose of exercising domination over princes, offering, in virtue of it, to deprive King Philip of his kingdom.

The appendix to Mart. Pol.* says of Pope Boniface VIII., "Regem se regum, mundi monarcham, unicum in spiritualibus et temporalibus dominum promulgavit;" that "he openly declared himself to be king of kings, monarch of the world, and sole lord and governor both in spirituals and temporals."

Before him, Pope Innocent IV. (anno 1245) held and exemplified the same notion, declaring the Emperor Frederic II. his vassal, and denouncing, in his general council of Lyons, a sentence of deprivation against him in these terms:—"We having, about the foregoing and many other his wicked miscarriages, had before a careful deliberation with our brethren and the holy council, seeing that we, although unworthy, do hold the place of Jesus Christ on earth, and that it was said unto us in the person of St Peter the apostle, 'Whatever thou shalt bind on earth'—the said prince (who hath rendered himself unworthy of empire and kingdoms, and of all

claimed no more than his predecessor Hildebrand had done two hundred years before.—Ed.

¹ Constitutionem ipsam, sacro præsentî concilio approbante, innovamus et approbamus.—*Concil. Lateran.*, sess. xi. p. 158.

² Quam extravagantem renovavit et approbavit concilium Lateranense sub Leone X.—*Canus*, loc. vi. 4.

³ Hæc Bonifacius, cui assentiuntur omnes, ut nullus discrepet, nisi qui dissidio ab ecclesia excidit.—*Baron.*, anno 1058, § 14.

⁴ Ostenditur etiam quod subesse Romano pontifici sit de necessitate salutis.—*Thom. in Opusc. contra Græcos*.

* The author here refers to Martinus Polonus (so called from his being a Pole by birth), penitentiary to Pope Nicholas III., and a Dominican friar, who flourished in the thirteenth century. He is the author of a "Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors;" which extends from Jesus Christ and from Augustus to Pope John XXI., who died in the year 1277. It is in his Chronicle that we meet with the curious history of Pope Joan, the authenticity of which was acknowledged by popish writers before the days of Luther, though violently denied afterwards.—See *Bayle's Dict.*, art. *Polonus (Martin)*.—Ed.

honour and dignity, and who for his iniquities is cast away by God, that he should not reign or command, being bound by his sins and cast away, and deprived by the Lord of all honour and dignity) do show, denounce, and accordingly by sentence deprive; absolving all who are held bound by oath of allegiance from such oath for ever; by apostolical authority firmly prohibiting that no man henceforth do obey or regard him as emperor or king; and decreeing, that whoever shall hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favour to him as emperor or king, shall immediately lie under the band of excommunication."¹

Before him, Pope Innocent III., that "true wonder of the world, and changer of the age,"² affirmed "the pontifical authority as much to exceed the royal power as the sun does the moon;"³ and applies to the former that of the prophet Jeremiah, "Ecce, constitui te super gentes et regna;"—"See, I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down," &c., Jer. i. 10.

Of this power that pope made experiment by deposing the Emperor Otho IV.; "whom," says Nauclerus, "as rebellious to the apostolical see, he first struck with an anathema; then, him persevering in his obstinacy, in a council of prelates held at Rome, pronounced deposed from empire."⁴

The which authority was avowed by that great council under this pope (the which, according to the men of Trent, represented or constituted the church); wherein it was ordained, that if a "temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, should neglect to purge his territory from heretical filth, he should, by the metropolitan and the other comprovincial bishops, be noosed in the band of excommunication; and that if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the pope, that he might from that time denounce the subjects absolved from their fealty to him, and expose the territory to be seized on by Catholics,"⁵ &c.

Before that, Pope Paschal II. (anno 1099) deprived Henry IV., and excited enemies "to persecute him;" telling them that they could not "offer a more acceptable sacrifice to God than by impugning him who endeavoured to take the kingdom from God's church."⁶

¹ Nos itaque super præmissis, &c.—*P. Innoc. IV. in Conc. Lugd.* Matt. Paris (anno 1258) says, he deemed kings *mancipia papæ*.

² Vere stupor mundi, et immutator seculi.—*Matt. Par.*, anno 1217.

³ Ut quanta est inter solem et lunam tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur.—*P. Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg.*, lib. i. tit. 83, cap. 6.

⁴ Imperatorem—ut rebellem sedi apostolicæ et inobedientem anathemate primum, deinde in pertinacia perseverantem, in concilio præsulum, quod Romæ tum Innocentius celebrabat, ab imperio depositum percussit et pronunciavit.—*Naucl.*, anno 1212.

⁵ Neque enim per Lateranense concilium ecclesia statuit, &c.—*Syn. Trid.*, sess. xiv. cap. 6. Si vero dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus.—*Conc. Later.*, cap. 8, in *Decret. Greg.*, lib. v. tit. 7, cap. 13.

⁶ Nam in hac non tantum parte, sed ubique, cum poteris, Henricum, hæreticorum

Before him, Pope Urban II. (anno 1088) called Turban by some in his age, preached this doctrine, recommended to us in the decrees, that "subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince who opposes God and his saints, or violates their precepts."¹ An instance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the canons of Tours; "which," says he, "if any emperor, king, prince, &c., shall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honour and power."²

But the great apostle, if not author, of this confounding doctrine was Pope Gregory VII.* (a man of a bold spirit and fiery temper, inured even before his entry on that see to bear sway and drive on daring projects, possessed with resolution to use the advantages of his place and time in pushing forward the papal interest to the utmost), who "lifted up his voice like a trumpet," kindling wars and seditions thereby over Christendom. His "Dictates" and practices are well known, being iterated in his own epistles, and in the Roman councils under him, extant;³ yet it may be worth the while to hear him swagger in his own language:—

"For the dignity and defence of God's holy church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, King Henry, son of Henry some time emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy church; and I absolve all Christians subject to the empire from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings: for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity who endeavour-eth to diminish the majesty of the church."⁴

caput, et ejus fautores pro viribus persequaris. Nullum profecto gratius Deo sacrificium, quam si eum impugnes, qui se contra Deum erexit, qui ecclesias regnum auferre conatur.—*P. Pasch. Ep. vii. ad Rob. Fland. Com.*

¹ Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejusque sanctis adversanti, eorumque præcepta, nulla cohibentur auctoritate persolvere.—*Caus. xv. qu. 7, cap. 5.*

² Si quis imperator, rex, princeps—contra hanc constitutionem venire tentaverit—potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, &c.—*P. Urb. II., Ep. xii.*

³ Better known as Pope Hildebrand. He flourished (if such a term can be applied to one who did so much to corrupt the church, and to enslave mankind) in the eleventh century, and died in the year 1085. His "Dictatus Papæ," or Papal Dictates, afterwards mentioned, consisted of twenty-seven propositions, asserting so many privileges and prerogatives of the pope; among which it is declared that "it is lawful for him to depose emperors," "to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance," and that "he is to be judged by no man."—*Ed.*

⁴ Vide ejus dictata apud Bin. post. Ep. lib. ii; Ep. lv.; Ep. iv. 2; viii. 21; et passim. Ep. i. 58, ii. 5, 12, 13, 18, 32; iii. 10; iv. 1, 2, 3, 7, 22.

⁵ Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro dignitate et tutela ecclesie sue sanctæ, Omnipotentis Dei nomine, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Henricum regem, Henrici quondam imperatoris filium, qui audacter nimium et temerarie in ecclesiam tuam manus iniecit, imperatoria administratione regiaque dejicio; et Christianos omnes imperio subjectos juramento illo absolve, quo fidem veris regibus præstare consueverunt: dignum enim

"Go to, therefore, most holy princes of the apostles, and what I said, by interposing your authority, confirm; that all men may now at length understand, if ye can bind and loose in heaven, that ye also can upon earth take away and give empires, kingdoms, and whatsoever mortals can have: for if ye can judge things belonging unto God, what is to be deemed concerning these inferior and profane things? And if it is your part to judge angels, who govern proud princes, what becometh it you to do toward their servants? Let kings now, and all secular princes, learn by this man's example what ye can do in heaven, and in what esteem ye are with God, and let them henceforth fear to slight the commands of holy church: but put forth suddenly this judgment, that all men may understand that not casually, but by your means, this son of iniquity doth fall from his kingdom."¹

So did that pope, not unadvisedly in heat or passion, but out of settled judgment, upon cool deliberation, express himself in his synods at Rome.

This pope is, indeed, by many held the inventer and broacher of this strange doctrine; and even those who about his age opposed it expressed themselves of this mind, calling it "the novel tradition, schism, heresy of Hildebrand."²

"Pope Hildebrand," says the church of Liege, in its answer to the epistle to Pope Paschal, "is author of this new schism, and first raised the priest's lance against the royal diadem; who first girded himself, and by his example other popes, with the sword of war against the emperors."³

"This only novelty," says Sigebert, "not to say heresy, had not yet sprung up in the world, that the priests of him who says to the king, 'Apostate,' and who makes hypocrites to reign for the sins of the people (Job xxxiv. 18-30), should teach the people that they owe no subjection to bad kings, and although they have sworn allegiance to the king, they yet owe him none; and that they who take part against the king may not be said to be perjured; yea, that he who shall obey the king may be held excommunicate; he that shall oppose the king may be absolved from the crime of injustice and perjury."⁴

est, ut is honore careat, qui majestatem ecclesiæ imminuere causatur.—*Plat. in Greg. VII. et tom. vii.; Conc. Rom. iii.; apud Bin., p. 484.*

¹ Agite igitur, apostolorum sanctissimi principes, et quod dixi, &c.—*Plat. in Greg. VII.; Conc. Rom. vii.; apud Bin., tom. vii. p. 491.*

² Quod ex novella traditione Hildebrandus.—*Eccl. Leod. apud Bin., tom. vii. p. 521.*

³ Hildebrandus P. author est hujus novelli schismatis, et primus levavit sacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regni.—*Ibid., p. 522.* Qui primus se, et suo exemplo alios pontifices, contra imp. accinxit gladio belli.—*Ibid., p. 523.*

⁴ Hæc sola novitas, ne dicam hæresis, nondum in mundo emergerat, ut sacerdotes illius qui dicit regi, Apostata, et qui regnare facit hypocritas propter peccata populi, do-

Indeed, certain it is that this man, in most downright strains, held the doctrine, and most smartly applied it to practice; yet he disclaimed the invention or introduction of it, professing that he followed the notions and examples of his predecessors, divers of which he alleges in defence of his proceedings. "We," says he, "holding the statutes of our holy predecessors, do by apostolical authority absolve those from their oath who are obliged by fealty or sacrament to excommunicate persons, and by all means prohibit that they observe fealty to them."¹

And so it is, that (although for many successions before Pope Hildebrand the popes were not in condition or capacity to take so much upon them, there having been a row of persons intruded into that see void of virtue and of small authority, most of them very beasts, who depended upon the favour of princes for their admittance, confirmation, or support in the place, yet) we may find some popes before him, who had a great spice of those imperious conceits, and upon occasion made very bold with princes, assuming power over them, and darting menaces against them; for—

Pope Leo IX. tells us that Constantine M. [Magnus, or the Great] "thought it very unbecoming that they should be subject to an earthly empire whom the Divine Majesty had set over an heavenly;"² and surely he was of his author's mind whom he alleged, although, indeed, this pope may be supposed to speak this and other sayings to that purpose by suggestion of Hildebrand, by whom he was much governed.

Pope Stephanus VI. told the Emperor Basilius, "that he ought to be subject with all veneration to the Roman church."³

Pope John VIII., or IX. (anno 873), pretended obedience due to him from princes; and in default thereof threatened to excommunicate them.⁴

Pope Nicholas I. (anno 858) cast many imperious sayings and threats at king Lotharius; these among others: "We do, therefore, by apostolical authority, under obtestation of the divine judgment,

ceant populum, quod malis regibus nullam debeant subjectionem, et licet ei sacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant; nec perjuri dicantur, qui contra regem senserint; imo, qui regi paruerit pro excommunicato habeatur; qui contra regem fecerit, a noxa injustitiæ et perjurii absolvatur.—*Sigeb. Chron.*, anno 1088.

¹ Nos, sanctorum prædecessorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus, et ne eis fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus.—*Greg. VII. Ep. viii. 21. Cons. xv. qu. 7, cap. 4.*

² Valde indignum fore arbitratus, terreno imperio subdi, quos Divina Majestas præfecit celesti.—*P. Leo. IX., Ep. i. cap. 12.*

³ Plat. in Vita Leon. IX. Quis te seduxit, ut pontificem œcumenicum scommatibus lacesseres, et S. Romanam ecclesiam maledictis incesseres, cui cum omni veneratione subditus esse debes?—*Steph. VI., Ep. i.; Baron.*, anno 885, § 11.

⁴ — cuncti venire per inobedientiam neglexistis.—*Joh. VIII., Ep. 119.* Deinceps excommunicamus omnes, &c.—*Ibid.*

enjoin to thee, that in Triers and Colen [Treves and Cologne] thou shouldst not suffer any bishop to be chosen before a report be made to our apostleship."¹ (Was not this *satis pro imperio*?) And again, "That being compelled thou mayst be able to repent, know that very soon thou shalt be struck with the ecclesiastical sword, so that thou mayst be afraid any more to commit such things in God's holy church."²

And this he suggests for right doctrine, that subjection is not due to bad princes, perverting the apostle's words to that purpose, ["Submit yourselves to the king, as supreme," 1 Pet. i. 13]: "'Be subject to the king, as excelling;' that is," says he, "in virtues, not in vices;"³ whereas the apostle means eminency in power.

Pope Gregory VII. also alleges Pope Zachary, "who," says he, "deposed the king of the Franks, and absolved all the French from the oath of fidelity which they had taken unto him, not so much for his iniquities, as because he was unfit for such a power."⁴

This, indeed, was a notable act of jurisdiction, if Pope Gregory's words may be taken for matter of fact; but divers maintain that Pope Zachary only concurred with the rebellious deponents of King Chilperic in way of advice or approbation, not by authority.

It was pretty briskly said of Pope Adrian I. (anno 772), "We do by general decree constitute, that whatever king, or bishop, or potentate, shall hereafter believe, or permit, that the censure of the Roman pontiffs may be violated in any case, he shall be an execrable anathema, and shall be guilty before God as a betrayer of the catholic faith."⁵

"Constitutions against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome, or against good manners, are of no moment."⁶

Before that, Pope Gregory II. (anno 730), because the eastern emperor crossed the worship of images, withdrew subjection from him, and thrust his authority out of Italy. "He," says Baronius,

¹ Idcirco apostolica autoritate, sub divini judicii obtestatione, injungimus tibi, ut in Trevirensi urbe et in Agrippina Colonia nullum eligi patiaris, antequam relatum super hoc nostro apostolatu fiat.—*Grat. Dist.*, lxiii. cap. 4.

² Ut saltem compulsus respicere valeas, noveris, te citissime mucrone ecclesiastico feriendum; ita ut ulterius talia in S. Dei ecclesia perpetrare formidea.—*P. Nic. I., Ep.* lxiv.

³ Regi quasi præcellenti, virtutibus scilicet, non vitiis, subditi estote.—*P. Nic. I., Epist.* iv., *Append.* p. 626.

⁴ Alius item Rom. pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, regem Francorum, non tam pro suis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo quod tantæ potestati erat inutilis, deposuit—omneque Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis quod illi, &c.—*Decret.* ii., *part. Caus.* xv. q. 6.

⁵ Generali decreto constituimus, ut execrandum anathema sit, et veluti prævaricator catholicæ fidei semper apud Deum reus existat, quicumque regum, seu episcoporum, vel potentum, deinceps Romanorum pontificum censuram in quocunque crediderit, vel permiserit violandam.—*P. Had. I., Capit.* apud *Grat. Caus.* xxv. q. 1, cap. 2.

⁶ Constitutiones contra canones et decreta præsulum Romanorum, vel bonos mores, nullius sunt momenti.—*Distinct.* x. cap. 4.

"effectually caused both the Romans and Italians to recede from obedience to the emperor."¹

This was, in truth, an act of rebellion against the emperor, in pretence of jurisdiction over him; for how otherwise could he justify or colour the fact? "So," as Baronius reflects, "he left to posterity a worthy example" (forsooth!) "that heretical princes should not be suffered to reign in the church of Christ, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in error."²

And no wonder he then was so bold, seeing the pope had obtained so much respect in those parts of the world, that (as he told the Emperor Leo Isaurus) "all the kingdoms of the west held St Peter as an earthly god:"³ of which he might be able to seduce some to uphold him in his rebellious practices.

This is the highest source, as I take it, to which this extravagant doctrine can be driven; for that single passage of Pope Felix III., though much more ancient, will not amount to it:—"It is certain that, in causes relating to God, it is the safest course for you, that, according to his institution, ye endeavour to submit the will of the king to the priests,"⁴ &c.

For while the emperor retained any considerable authority in Italy, the popes were better advised than to vent such notions; and while they themselves retained any measure of pious or prudent modesty, they were not disposed to it. And we may observe divers popes near that time in word and practice thwarting that practice; for instance,—

Pope Gelasius, a vehement stickler for papal authority, says to the Emperor Anastasius, "I, as being a Roman born, love, worship, reverence thee as the Roman prince."⁵ And he says that "the prelates of religion (knowing the empire conferred on him by divine Providence) obeyed his laws."⁶ And elsewhere he discourses, that "Christ had distinguished by their proper acts and dignities the offices of ecclesiastical and civil power,"⁷ that one should

¹ Tum Romanos tum Italos ad ejus obedientia recedere penitus fecit.—*Baron.*, anno 780, § 4.

² Sic dignum posteris reliquit exemplum, ne in ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici principes, si sæpe moniti, in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur.—*Baron.*, *ibid.*

³ "Οι αὖ πάντες βασιλεῖς τῆς δύσεως ὡς θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι.—*Greg. II. Ep. i.*; *Bin.*, tom. v. p. 508.

⁴ Certum est, rebus vestris hoc esse salutare, ut, cum de causis Dei agitur, juxta ipsius constitutionem, regiam voluntatem sacerdotibus Christi studeatis subdere, non præferre, &c.—*P. Félix. III.* (anno 483), *Dist. x. cap. 3.*

⁵ Te, sicut Romanus natus, Romanum principem amo, colo, suspicio.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. viii. (ad Anast. Imp.)*

⁶ — cognoscentes imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis antistites.—*Ibid.*

⁷ Christus, dispensatione magnifica temperans, sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, &c.

not meddle with the other; so disclaiming temporal power due to himself, being content to screw up his spiritual authority.

After him, as is well known, Pope Gregory I. (as became a pious and good man) avowed the emperor for "his lord, by God's gift, superior to all men, to whom he was subject, whom he in duty was bound to obey;"¹ and supposed it a high presumption for any one to "set himself above the honour of the empire,"² by assuming the title of universal bishop.

After him, Pope Agatho (anno 680), in the acts of the sixth general council, calls the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus "his lord;" avows "himself, together with all presidents of the churches, servants to the emperor;"³ says that his see and his synod were subject to him, and owed obedience to him.

Presently after him, Pope Leo II., who confirmed that general synod, calls the emperor "The prototype son of the church;"⁴ and acknowledges the body of the priests to be "servants (meanest servants) of his royal nobleness."⁵

After him, Pope Constantine (anno 709), the immediate predecessor of Pope Gregory II., when the emperor commanded him to come to Constantinople, "the most holy man," says Anastasius in his Life, "obeyed the imperial commands."⁶

Yea, Pope Gregory II. himself, before his defection (when perhaps the circumstances of time did not animate him thereto), in his epistle to Leo Isaurus, acknowledged him, as emperor, to be "the head of Christians,"⁷ and himself consequently subject to him.

This Gregory, therefore, may be reputed the father of that doctrine; which, being fostered by his successors, was by Pope Gregory VII. brought up to its robust pitch and stature.

I know, Pope Gregory VII., to countenance him, alleges Pope Innocent I. excommunicating the Emperor Arcadius for his proceedings against St Chrysostom; and the writers of St Chrysostom's Life, with others of the like age and credit, back him therein:⁸

¹ Ad hoc potestas dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines.

Ego indignus famulus vester —

Ego quidem jussioni subjectus.—*P. Greg. I., Ep. ii. 26.*

² Qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit.—*Ep. iv. 32.*

³ Διεστέσαι καὶ τίνα.—*Act. Syn. vi., p. 53.* 'Ημῶν δούλοι τοῦ βασιλέως, p. 304. 'Ημεῖς τὴν δουλίαν, p. 32. Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πρέσβυτοι οἱ δούλοι τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ἡμῶν ἀρχέτους, p. 94. Δουλικὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς θρόνος, p. 64. "Ενικεν ὁ πακοῦς, ἧς ἐφίλαμεν, p. 33, 34.

⁴ Πρωτότυπον ἐκκλησίας τίκων.—*Act. Syn. vi., p. 303.*

⁵ 'Η βασιλικὴ ἐγγίνια τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ταυτῆς δούλοις συγκατέβηται.—*Ibid, p. 304.*

⁶ Misit imp. ad Constantinum P. sacram, per quam jussit eum ad regiam ascendere urbem; qui sanctiss. vir jussis imperialibus obtemperans.—*Anast. in Vit. P. Const.*

⁷ Ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν.—*P. Greg. II. ad Icon. Ia., Ep. i. p. 502.*

⁸ Greg. VII., Ep. viii. 2. Baron., anno 407, § 23. Georg. Alex. Vit. Chrys., cap. lxviii. Anon. Vit. Chrys., cap. xxxix.

but seeing the historians who lived in St Chrysostom's own time,¹ and who write very carefully about him, do not mention any such thing; seeing that, being the first act in the kind, [it] must have been very notable, and have made a great noise; seeing that story does not suit with the tenor of proceedings reported by those most credible historians in that case; seeing that fact does no wise sort to the condition and way of those times; that report cannot be true, and it must be numbered among the many fabulous narrations devised by some wanton Greeks to set out the life of that excellent personage.

The same pope also alleges St Gregory M[agnus] denouncing excommunication and "deprivation of honour to all kings, bishops, judges," &c., who should violate the privilege granted to the monastery of St Medard.² But this (as are many such privileges) is a rank forgery, unworthily imposed on Pope Gregory (that prudent, meek, and holy man), much to his wrong and disgrace; which I will not be at trouble to confute, having shown St Gregory to have been of another judgment and temper than to behave himself thus towards princes, and seeing that task is abundantly discharged by that very learned man, M. Launoy.³

Indeed (upon this occasion to digress a little farther), it does not seem to have been the opinion of the ancient popes that they might excommunicate their sovereign princes; for if they might, why did they forbear to exercise that power when there was greatest reason and great temptation for it?

Why did not Pope Julius or Pope Liberius excommunicate Constantius, the great favourer of the Arians, against whom Athanasius, St Hilary, and Lucifer Calar. [bishop of Cagliari] so earnestly inveigh, calling him "heretic, antichrist," and what not? How did Julian himself escape the censure of Pope Liberius? Why did not Pope Damasus thunder against Valens, that fierce persecutor of Catholics? Why did not Damasus censure the Empress Justina, the patroness of Arianism? Why did not Pope Siricius censure Theodosius I. for that bloody fact for which St Ambrose denied him the communion? How was it that Pope Leo I. (that stout and high pope) had not the heart to correct Theodosius Junior in this way, who was the supporter of his adversary Dioscorus, and the obstinate protector of the second Ephesine council, which that pope so much detested? Why did not that pope rather compel that emperor to

¹ Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Palladius.

² Siquis autem regum, antistitum, judicum, vel quarumcumque secularium personarum, hujus apostolicæ auctoritatis, et nostræ præceptionis, decreta violaverit . . . cujuscunque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo privetur.—*Greg. M. post Epist.* xxxviii. lib. 2.

³ Ep., pars vii. [John de Launoi, doctor of divinity in the university of Paris.—Ed.]

reason by censures than supplicate him by tears? How did so many popes connive at Theodoric, and other princes professing Arianism at their door? Wherefore did not Pope Simplicius or Pope Felix thus punish the Emperor Zeno, the supplanter of the synod of Chalcedon, for which they had so much zeal? Why did neither Pope Felix, nor Pope Gelasius, nor Pope Symmachus, nor Pope Hormisdas, excommunicate the Emperor Anastasius (yea, did not so much, Pope Gelasius says, as "touch his name"¹) for countenancing the oriental bishops in their schism and refractory noncompliance with the papal authority? Those popes did, indeed, clash with that emperor, but they expressly deny that they condemned him with others whom he favoured. "We," says Pope Symmachus, "did not excommunicate thee, O emperor, but Acacius. If you mingle yourself, you are not excommunicated by us, but by yourself." And, "If the emperor pleases to join himself with those condemned," says Pope Gelasius, "it cannot be imputed to us."²

Wherefore, Baronius does ill [is wrong] in affirming Pope Symmachus to have anathematized Anastasius;³ whereas that pope plainly denied that he had excommunicated him, yea, denied it even in those words which are cited to prove it, being rightly read,⁴ for they are corruptly written in Baronius and Binius; *ego* (which has no sense, or one contradictory to his former assertion) being put for *nego*, which is good sense, and agreeable to what he and the other popes affirm in relation to that matter.

Why do we not read that any pope formally excommunicated (though divers did zealously contradict and oppose) the princes who rejected images?

In fine, a noble bishop, above five hundred years ago, said, "I read and read again the records of the Roman kings and emperors, and I nowhere find that any of them before this was excommunicated or deprived of his kingdom by the Roman pontiff."⁵

Surely, therefore, the ancient popes either knew not their power, or were very negligent of their duty.

¹ Quid sibi vult autem, quod dixerit imperator a nobis se in religione damnatum, cum super hac parte decessor meus non solum minime nomen ejus attigerit?—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. iv.*

² Nos te non excommunicavimus, imperator, sed Acacium. Si te misces, non a nobis, sed a te ipso excommunicatus es.—*P. Symmachus I., Ep. vii.* Si isti placet se miscere damnatis, nobis non potest imputari.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. iv.*

³ Baron., anno 508, § 17.

⁴ Dicis quod, mecum conspirante senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem ego (*nego*), sed rationabiliter factum a decessoribus meis sine dubio subsequor.—*P. Sym., Ep. vii.* "You say that I excommunicated you by the joint consent of the senate. This I deny; but I undoubtedly follow what was, with good reason, done by my predecessors."

⁵ Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quendam eorum ante hunc a Romano pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum.—*Otho Frising. Chron., lib. vi. cap. 35.*

Such have been the doctrine and behaviour of popes in reference to their power.

§ V. This doctrine of the pope's universal power over all persons in all matters may reasonably be supposed the sentiment of all popes continually for a long time, even for more than five hundred years, unto this present day. For,—

1. If this doctrine be false, it implies no slight error, but one of a very high nature and most dangerous consequence, which involves great arrogance and iniquity, which tends to work enormous wrongs and grievous mischiefs; whence, if any pope should conceive it false, he were bound openly to disclaim, to condemn, to refute it, lest the authority of his predecessors and his connivance should induce others into it or settle them in it; as it is (in regard to Pope Honorius) charged upon Pope Leo II., “who did not, as it became the apostolical authority, extinguish the flame of heretical doctrine beginning, but did, by neglecting, cherish it.”¹ In such a case a pope must not be silent; for, “No small danger,” says Pope Gelasius, “lies upon popes in being silent about what agrees to the service of God;”² and, “If,” says Pope Paschal, “a pope by his silence suffer the church to be polluted with the gall of bitterness and root of impiety, he should no wise be excusable before the eternal Judge;”³ and, “Error,” says Pope Felix III., “which is not resisted” (by those in eminent office) “is approved; and truth which is not defended is oppressed;”⁴ and, “He is not free from suspicion of a close society in mischief who ceases to obviate it;”⁵ and, “We,” says Pope Gregory I., “greatly offend if we hold our peace at things that are to be corrected.”⁶ But all popes since the time specified have either openly declared for this doctrine or have been silent, and so have avowed it by tacit consent.

2. Any pope disapproving that tenet were bound to renounce communion with those that hold and profess it, or at least to check and discountenance it. But, on the contrary, they have suffered it to be maintained in their presence and audience, and have hugged that sort of men with especial favour as their most affectionate and sure

¹ — cum Honorio, qui flammam hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovxit.—*P. Leo II., Ep. ii.*

² Non leve discrimen incumbit pontificibus siluisse pro divinitatis cultu quod congruit.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. viii. (ad Anastas. Imp.)*

³ Si vero nostro silentio pateremur ecclesiam felle amaritudinis et impietatis radice pollui, qua ratione possemus apud æternum Judicem excusari?—*P. Paschal. II., Ep. iii. (ad Anselm. Cant.)*

⁴ Error cui non resistitur, approbatur; et veritas quæ minime defensatur, opprimitur.—*P. Felix III., Ep. I. (ad Acacium.)*

⁵ Non caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui evidenter facinori desinit obviare.—*Id. ibid.*

⁶ Si ea quæ nobis corrigenda sunt tacemus, valde delinquimus.—*P. Greg. I., Ep. ii. 37.*

friends. They have suspected, discountenanced, and frowned on those who have shown dislike of it.

Those men, indeed, who vouch this doctrine may reasonably be deemed to do it as accomplices with the popes, on purpose to gratify and curry favour with them, in hopes of obtaining reward and preferment of them for it.¹

3. The chief authors and most zealous abettors of these notions (popes, synods, doctors of the school) have continually passed for most authentic masters of divinity, and have retained greatest authority in the church governed and guided by the pope.

4. The decrees containing them stand in their canon law, and in their collections of synods, without any caution or mark of dislike; which is a sufficient indication of their constant adherence to this doctrine.

5. The common style of the papal edicts or bulls imports their sense; which is imperious in regard to all persons without exception. "Let no man," say they, "presume to infringe this our will and command," &c.

6. Popes of all tempers and qualifications (even those who have passed for the most wise and moderate among them) have been ready to practise according to these principles when occasion invited and circumstances of things permitted, interdicting princes, absolving subjects from their allegiance, raising or encouraging insurrections; as appears by their transactions not long since against our princes and those of France: which shows the very see imbued with these notions.

7. They oblige all bishops most solemnly to avow this doctrine, and to engage themselves to practise according to it: for in the oath prescribed to all bishops they are required to avow that "they will observe the apostolical commands with all their power, and cause them to be observed by others;"² that "they will aid and defend the Roman papacy and the royalties of St Peter against every man;"³ that "they will to their power persecute and impugn heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the pope or his successors,"⁴ without any exception,—which was, I suppose, chiefly meant against their own prince (if occasion should be); together with divers other points, importing their acknowledgment and abetting the pope's universal domination.

These horrible oaths of bishops to the pope seem to have issued

¹ Οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνιδοῦσιν ταῖς πράξεσιν, Rom. i. 82. "They not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them."

² Mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et ab aliis observari faciam.

³ Papatum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem.

⁴ Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo.

from the same shop with the high Hildebrandine Dictates; for the oath in the Decretals is ascribed to Pope Gregory (I suppose Gregory VII.) And in the sixth Roman synod, under Gregory VII., there is an oath of like tenor exacted from the bishop of Aquileia, perhaps occasionally, which, in pursuance of that example, might be extended to all.¹

And that before that time such oaths were not imposed appears from hence, that when Pope Paschal II. required them from some great bishops (the bishop of Palermo and the archbishop of Poland), they wondered and boggled at it, as an uncouth novelty; nor does the pope, in favour of his demand, allege any ancient precedent, but only proposes some odd reasons for it: "You have signified unto me, most dear brother, that the king and his nobles exceedingly wondered that an oath with such a condition should be everywhere offered you by my commissioners, and that you should take that oath, which I had written and they tendered to you."²

§ VI. All Romanists, in consistence with their principles, seem obliged to hold this opinion concerning the pope's universal power: for, seeing many of their standing masters and judges of controversies have so expressly from their chair declared and defined it, all the row for many ages consenting to it and countenancing it, not one of them having signified any dissent or dislike of it; and considering that if in any thing they may require or deserve belief, it is in this point (for in what are they more skilful and credible than about the nature of their own office?—"What," saith Bellarmine wisely, "may they be conceived to know better than the authority of their own see?") seeing it has been approved by their most great and famous councils, which they hold universal, and which their adored synod of Trent alleges for such (the Lateran under Pope Innocent III., that of Lyons under Pope Innocent IV., the other Lateran under Pope Leo X.); seeing it has been current among their divines of greatest vogue and authority, the great masters of their school; seeing, by so large a consent and concurrence during so long a time, it may pretend (much better than divers other points of great importance) to be confirmed by tradition or prescription,—why should it not be admitted for a doctrine of the holy Roman church, "the Mother and Mistress of all churches?" How can they who disavow this notion be true sons of that mother, or faithful scholars of that mistress?—how can they acknowledge any au-

¹ Greg. Decret., lib. ii. tit. 24, cap. 4. Concil. Rom vi., apud Bin., p. 489.

² Decret. Greg., lib. i. tit. 6, cap. 4.

³ Significasti, frater charissime, regem et regni majores admiratione permotos, quod passim tibi apocrisiariis nostris tali conditione oblatum fuerit, si sacramentum, quod a nobis scriptum detulerant, jurares.—*P. Pasch. II., Ep. vi.*

⁴ Ipsis præcipue debet esse nota sue sedis autoritas.—*Beil., iv. 3.*

thority in their church to be infallible, or certain, or obliging to assent?

How can they admit the pope for authentic judge of controversies or master of Christian doctrine, or in any point credible, who has in so great a matter erred so foully, and seduced the Christian world,—whom they desert in a point of so great consideration and influence on practice,—whom they, by virtue of their dissent from him in this opinion, may often be obliged to oppose in his proceedings?

How can they deny that bad doctrines might creep in, and obtain sway in the church, by the interest of the pope and his clients?

How can they charge novelty or heterodoxy on those who refuse some dictates of popes, of papal councils, of scholastic divines, which stand upon no better grounds than those on which this doctrine stands?

Why has no synod, of the many which have been held in all parts of Christendom, clearly disclaimed this opinion; but all have let it slip, or have seemed by silence to approve it?

Yea, how can the concord and unity of that church well consist with a dissent from this doctrine? for,—

No man apprehending it false seems capable with good conscience to hold communion with those who profess it; for, upon supposition of its falsehood, the pope and his chief adherents are the teachers and abettors of the highest violation of divine commands and most enormous sins,—of usurpation, tyranny, imposture, perjury, rebellion, murder, rapine, and all the villanies complicated in the practical influence of this doctrine.

It seems clear as the sun, that if this doctrine be an error, it is one of the most pernicious heresies that ever was vented, involving the highest impiety and producing the greatest mischief; for if he that should teach adultery, incest, simony, theft, murder, or the like crimes, to be lawful, would be a heretic, how much more would he be such that should recommend perjury, rebellion, regicide (things inducing wars, confusions, slaughters, desolations, all sorts of injustice and mischief), as duties!

How, then, can any man safely hold communion with such persons? May we not say, with Pope Symmachus, that “to communicate with such is to consent with them?” with Pope Gelasius, that “it is worse than ignorance of the truth to communicate with the enemies of truth?” and that “he who communicates with such an heresy is worthily judged to be removed from our society?”¹

§ VII. Yet so loose and slippery are the principles of the party

¹ An communicare non est consentire cum talibus?—*P. Sym. I., Ep. vii.* Quasi non sit deterius, et non ignorasse veritatem, et tamen communicasse cum veritatis inimicis.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. i.* Cuicumque hæresi communicans merito judicatur a nostra societate removendus.—*Id. ibid.* Vide *Ep. xiii.*, p. 642.

which is jumbled in adherence to the pope, that divers will not allow us to take this tenet of infinite power to be a doctrine of their church, for divers in that communion do not assent to it.

For there is a sort of heretics (as Bellarmine and Baronius call them) skulking everywhere in the bosom of their church, all about Christendom, and in some places stalking with open face, who restrain "the pope's authority so far as not to allow him any power over sovereign princes in temporal affairs, much less any power of depriving them of their kingdoms and principalities."¹

"They are all branded for heretics who take from the church of Rome and the see of St Peter one of the two swords, and allow only the spiritual." This heresy Baronius hath nominated the "heresy of the politics."²

This heresy a great nation [France], otherwise sticking to the Roman communion, stiffly maintains, not enduring the papal sovereignty over princes in temporals to be preached in it.

There were many persons, yea synods, who opposed Pope Hildebrand in the birth of his doctrine, condemning it for a pernicious novelty, and branding it with the name of heresy; as we before showed.

Since the Hildebrandine age there have been in every nation (yea, in Italy itself) divers historians, divines, and lawyers, who have in elaborate tracts maintained the royal sovereignty against the pontifical.³

This sort of heretics are now so much increased, that the Hildebrandine doctrine is commonly exploded; which, by the way, shows that the Roman party is no less than others subject to change its sentiments, opinions among them gaining and losing vogue according to circumstances of time and contingencies of things.*

¹ *Altera non tam sententia quam hæresis duo docet, primo, pontificem ut pontificem ex jure divino nullam habere temporalem potestatem, nec posse ullo modo imperare principibus secularibus, nedum eos regnis et principatu privare, &c.*—*Bell.*, v. 1.

² *Hæresis errore notantur omnes qui ab ecclesia Rom. cathedra Petri e duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec nisi spirituales concedunt.*—*Baron.*, anno 1053, § 14. *Hæresis politicorum*, *Baron.*, anno 1073, § 18.

³ *Otto Frising.*, *Sigebert.*, *Abbas Ubsp.*, *Occam*, *Marsilius Patav.*, &c.

* The truth of this has been singularly proved in our day. When the foreign Romanists were consulted by their English brethren, before the Emancipation of 1829, on the subject of the temporal power of the pope, the following was the opinion of the universities of the Sorbonne, of Louvain, Douay, Alcalá, and Salamanca:—"That the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, has not nor have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever within the realm of England." Whether so intended or not, this is so expressed as to retain the fundamental principle of the papal supremacy. Hildebrand himself did not pretend to civil authority or jurisdiction. The authority he claimed extended over *all matters* civil and ecclesiastical; but the authority itself he held to be spiritual and ecclesiastical, founded not on civil grounds, but on his being the vicegerent of Him who is "King of kings and Lord of lords." And it is on this ground that our present Ultramontanists, with Cardinal Wiseman at their head, base their arrogant pretensions

§ VIII. Neither are the adherents to the Roman church more agreed concerning the extent of the pope's authority even in spiritual matters.

For although the popes themselves plainly claim an absolute supremacy in them over the church; although the stream of divines who flourish in favour with them runs that way; although, according to their principles (if they had any principles clearly and certainly fixed), that might seem to be the doctrine of their church; yet is there among them a numerous party which does not allow him such a supremacy, putting great restraints to his authority, as we shall presently show. And as the other party charges this with heresy, so this returns back the same imputation on that.

§ IX. That their doctrine is in this matter so various and uncertain is no great wonder, seeing interest is concerned in the question, and principles are defective toward the resolution of it.

1. Contrary interests will not suffer the point to be decided, nor, indeed, to be freely disputed on either hand.

On one hand, the pope will not allow his prerogatives to be discussed, according to that maxim of the great Pope Innocent III.: "When there is a question touching the privileges of the apostolic see, we will not that others judge about them."¹ Whence, as we before touched, the pope peremptorily commanded his legates at Trent in no case to permit any dispute about his authority.

On the other hand, the French will not permit the supremacy of their king in temporals, or the privileges of their church in spirituals, to be contested in their kingdom; nor, we may suppose, would any prince admit a decision prejudicial to his authority and welfare, subjecting and enslaving him to the will of the Roman court; nor, we may hope, would any church patiently comport with the irrecoverable oppression of all its rights and liberties by a peremptory establishment of papal omnipotency.

2. Nor is it easy for their dissensions to be reconciled upon theological grounds and authorities to which they pretend deference; for not only their schools and masters of their doctrine in the case disagree, but their synods notoriously clash.

§ X. Yea, even popes themselves have shifted their pretences, and varied in style according to the different circumstances of time, and their variety of humours, designs, interests.

In time of prosperity and upon advantage, when they might safely do it, any pope almost would talk high and assume much to himself;

to jurisdiction. The former opinion served its purpose in hoodwinking the British public, and opening the gates of the constitution to professed Papists; but now the opposite opinion is in vogue, "according to circumstances of time and contingencies of things." The same universities would probably give a very different verdict now.—Ed.

¹ Cum super privilegiis sedis apostolicæ causa vertatur, nolumus de ipsis per alios judicari.—*Greg. Decr.*, lib. ii. tit. 1, cap. 12.

but when they were low, or stood in fear of powerful contradiction, even the boldest popes would speak submissively or moderately: as, for instance, Pope Leo I., after the second Ephesine synod, when he had to do with Theodosius II., humbly supplicated and whined pitifully, but after the synod of Chalcedon, having got the emperor favourable, and most of the bishops complacent to him, he ranted bravely. And we may observe, that even Pope Gregory VII., who swaggered so boisterously against the Emperor Henry, was yet calm and mild in his contests with our William the Conqueror, who had a spirit good enough for him, and was far out of his reach.

And popes of high spirit and bold face (such as Leo I., Gelasius I., Nic. I., Gregory II., Gregory VII., Innocent III., Boniface VIII., Julius II., Paul IV., Sixtus V., Paulus V., &c.), as they ever aspired to screw papal authority to the highest peg, so would they strain their language in commendation of their see as high as their times would bear. But other popes, of meeker and modester disposition (such as Julius I., Anastasius II., Gregory I., Leo II., Adrian VI., &c.), were content to let things stand as they found them, and to speak in the ordinary style of their times; yet so that few have let their authority to go backward or decline.

We may observe, that the pretences and language of popes have varied according to several periods, usually growing higher as their state grew looser from danger of opposition or control.

In the first times, while the emperors were Pagans, their pretences were suited to their condition, and could not soar high; they were not then so mad as to pretend to any temporal power, and a pittance of spiritual eminency contented them.

When the empire was divided, they could sometimes be more haughty and peremptory, as being in the west, shrouded under the wing of the emperors there (who commonly affected to improve their authority, in competition to that of other bishops), and at distance from the reach of the eastern emperor.¹

The cause of Athanasius having produced the Sardican canons,* concerning the revision of some causes by the popes, by colour of them they hugely enlarged their authority and raised their style, especially in the west, where they had great advantages of augmenting their power.

When the western empire was fallen, their influence upon that part of the empire which came under protection of the eastern emperors rendering them able to do service or disservice to those emperors, they, according to the state of times and the need of them, talked more big or more tamely.

¹ P. Nic. ad Imp. Mich., pp. 511, 513.

* Passed by a council held at Sardica, anno 347.—Ed.

Pope Boniface III. having, by compliance with the usurper Phocas, obtained a declaration from him concerning the headship of the Roman church, made a considerable step forward toward the height of papal greatness.

After that Pope Gregory II. had withdrawn Italy from the oriental empire, and Rome had grown in a manner loose and independent from other secular powers, in the confusions of the west, the pope interposing to arbitrate between princes, trucking and bartering with them, as occasion served, for mutual aid and countenance, grew in power, and answerably advanced his pretences.

The spurious Decretal Epistles of the ancient popes, which asserted to the pope high degrees of authority, being foisted into men's hands, and insensibly creeping into repute, inspired the pope with confidence to invade all the ancient constitutions, privileges, and liberties of churches; and having got such interest everywhere, he might say what he pleased, no clergyman daring to check or cross him. Having drawn to himself the final decision of all causes,—having got a finger in disposal of all preferments,—having, by dispensations, exemptions, and grants of privileges, tied to him so many dependants,—what might not he say or do?

Pope Gregory VII., being a man of untamable spirit, and taking advantage from the distractions and corruptions of his times, ventured to pull a feather with the emperor; and with success having mated him, set up a peremptory claim to sovereignty over all persons in all causes.

In his footsteps his successors have trodden, being ever ready upon occasion to plead such a title, and to practise according to it. No pope would forego any power which had been claimed by his predecessors; and popes would ever be sure to have dancers after their pipe,—numberless abettors of their pretences.

No wonder, then, that persons deferring much regard to the authority of popes, and accommodating their conceits to the dictates of them, or of persons depending on them, should in their opinions vary about the nature and extent of papal authority, it having never been fixed within certain bounds, or having in several ages continued the same thing.

§ XI. Wherefore, intending by God's help to discuss the pretended authority of the pope, and to show that he by no divine institution, and by no immutable right, has any such power as he claims, by reason of this perplexed variety of opinions, I find it difficult to state the question, or to know at what distinct mark I should level my discourse.

§ XII. But seeing his pretence to any authority in temporals, or to the civil sword, is so palpably vain that it will hardly bear a

serious dispute, having nothing but impudence and sophistry to countenance it; seeing so many in the Roman communion reject it, and have substantially confuted it; seeing now most are ashamed of it, and very few, even among those sects which have been its chief patrons, will own it; seeing Bellarmine himself acknowledges it a novelty, devised about five hundred years ago, in St Bernard's time;¹ seeing the popes themselves, whatever they think, dare now scarce speak out, and forbear upon sufficient provocation to practise according to it,—I shall spare the trouble of meddling with it, confining my discourse to the pope's authority in ecclesiastical affairs, the pretence whereto I am persuaded to be no less groundless and no less noxious than the other to Christendom; the which being overthrown, the other, as superstructed on it, must also necessarily fall.

§ XIII. And here the doctrine which I shall contest against is that in which the cordial partisans of that see seem to consent, which is most common and current, most applauded and countenanced, in their theological schools; which the popes themselves have solemnly defined, and declared for standing law or rule of jurisdiction; which their most authentic synods (whereby their religion is declared and distinguished from others) have asserted or supposed; which the tenor of their discipline and practice holds forth; which their clergy, by most solemn professions and engagements, are tied to avow; which all the clients and confidants of Rome zealously stand for, more than for any other point of doctrine; and which no man can disclaim without being deemed an enemy or a prevaricator toward the apostolic see.

§ XIV. Which doctrine is this, That, in the words of the Florentine synod's definition, "the apostolical chair and the Roman high priest holds a primacy over the universal church; and that the Roman high priest is the successor of St Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the true lieutenant of Christ, and the head of the church; and that he is the father and doctor of all Christians; and that unto him, in St Peter, full power is committed to feed, and direct, and govern the catholic church under Christ; according as is contained in the acts of general councils and in the holy canons."²

That, in the words of Pope Leo X., approved by the Lateran synod, "Christ, before his departure from the world, did, in solidity of the rock, institute Peter and his successors to be his lieutenants; to whom it is so necessary to obey, that who does not obey must die the death."³

¹ *Primi qui temporalem potestatem summo pontifici ex Christi institutione tribuunt, videntur esse Hugo de S. Victore, Bernardus, &c.*—*Bell.*, v. 5. "The first that yielded the pope temporal power by Christ's institution seem to be Hugo," &c.

² *"Εστὶ ἰρίζουμι ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἀποστολικῇ καθίδραν,* &c.—*Concil. Flor. defin.*, p. 854.

³ *Christus, migraturus ex mundo ad Patrem, in soliditate petrae, Petrum ejusque*

That to the pope, as sovereign monarch, by divine sanction, of the whole church, appertain royal prerogatives ("Regalia Petri," "The royalties of Peter," they are called in the oath prescribed to bishops), such as these which follow:—

To be superior to the whole church and to its representative, a general synod of bishops; to convocate general synods at his pleasure, all bishops being obliged to attend upon summons from him; to preside in synods, so as to suggest matter, promote, obstruct, overrule the debates in them; to confirm or invalidate their determinations, giving life to them by his assent, or subtracting it by his dissent; to define points of doctrine, or to decide controversies authoritatively, so that none may presume to contest or dissent from his dictates; to enact, establish, abrogate, suspend, dispense with ecclesiastical laws and canons; to relax or evacuate ecclesiastical censures by indulgence, pardon, &c.; to void promises, vows, oaths, obligations to laws, by his dispensation; to be the fountain of all pastoral jurisdiction and dignity; to constitute, confirm, judge, censure, suspend, depose, remove, restore, reconcile bishops; to confer ecclesiastical dignities and benefices by paramount authority, in way of provision, reservation, &c.; to exempt colleges, monasteries, &c., from jurisdiction of their bishops and ordinary superiors; to judge all persons in all spiritual causes, by calling them to his cognizance, or delegating judges for them, with a final and peremptory sentence; to receive appeals from all ecclesiastical judicatories, and to reverse their judgments, if he find cause; to be himself unaccountable for any of his doings, exempt from judgment, and liable to no reproof; to erect, transfer, abolish episcopal sees; to exact oaths of fealty and obedience from the clergy; to found religious orders, or to raise a spiritual militia for propagation and defence of the church; to summon and commissionate soldiers by croisade, &c., to fight against infidels, or persecute infidels.—*Bell.*, iv. 22.

Some of these are expressed, others in general terms couched in those words of Pope Eugenius, telling the Greeks what they must consent unto. "The pope," said he, "will have the prerogatives of his church; and he will have appeals to him; and will feed all the church of Christ, as shepherd of the sheep. Beside these things, that he may have authority and power to convoke general synods, when need shall be; and that all the patriarchs yield to his will."¹

successores vicarios suos instituit, quibus ex libri Regum testimonio ita obedire necesse est, ut qui non obedierit morte moriatur.—*P. Leo X. in Conc. Later.*, sess. xi. p. 151.

¹ Θέλω πάντα τὰ προνόμια τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θίβει ἔχειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἰθύνει καὶ ποιμαίνει πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ποιμὴν τῶν προβάτων πρὸς τοῦτοις, ἵνα ἔχῃ ἰξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν συγκροτῆν σύνοδον οἰκουμένην, ὅτι διέσπει, καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατριάρχας ὑπακούει τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ.—*Conc. Flor.*, p. 846.

That the pope claims, assumes, and exercises a sovereignty over the church, endowed with such prerogatives, is sufficiently visible in experience of fact, is apparent by the authorized dictates in their canon law, and shall be distinctly proved by competent allegations, when we shall examine the branches of this pretended authority.

In the meantime it suffices to observe, that in effect all clergymen avow so much, who, *bona fide* and without prevarication, submit to take the oaths and engagements prescribed to them of course by papal appointment; for this surely, according to the pope's meaning (by which their obligation is to be measured), is designed in the profession ordained by Pope Pius IV., wherein every beneficed clergyman is enjoined to say, "And I do promise and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, the successor of St Peter, and the vicar of Jesus Christ;"¹—which profession was appointed in pursuance of a sanction made by the Trent council, that all such persons "should vow and swear to abide in obedience to the Roman church;"² and consequently, how hard soever its yoke should be, they would not shake it off: which infers most absolute sovereignty of that church, or of the pope who rules the roast in it.

But what that "true obedience" imports, or how far the papal authority in the pope's own sense, and according to the public spirit of that church, stretches, is more explicitly signified in the oath which all bishops at their consecration and all metropolitans at their instalment are required to take; the which, as it is extant in the Roman Pontifical,³ set out by order of Pope Clement VIII., runs in these terms:—

"I, *N*, elect of the church of *N*, from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St Peter the apostle, and to the holy Roman church, and to our lord, the lord *N*, Pope *N*, and to his successors, canonically coming in. I will neither advise, *consent*, nor do any thing that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands any wise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy and the royalties of St Peter, saving my order against all men. The legate of the apostolic see, going and coming, I will honourably treat, and help in his necessities. The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman church, of our lord the pope, and his foresaid successors, I will en-

¹ Romanoque pontifici, B. Petri successor, ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro.—*Bull. Pii IV., super forma juram.*

² Provisi de beneficiis—in Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientia se permanens spondeant ac jurent.—*Conc. Trid., sess. xxiv. cap. 12.*

³ Pontif. Rom. Antwerp., anno 1626, pp. 59, 86.

deavour to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty in which shall be plotted against our said lord, and the said Roman church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power. And if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can will signify it to our said lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said lord or his foresaid successors, I will to my power persecute and oppose. I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the apostles every three years, and give an account to our lord and his foresaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things any wise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonce; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in default of one of the clergy [of the diocese], by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs, to be transmitted by the foresaid messenger to the cardinal proponent of the holy Roman church in the congregation of the sacred council. The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor any wise alienate, no, not even with the consent of the chapter of my church, without consulting the Roman pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and these holy gospels of God.”¹

¹ Ego N, electus ecclesie N, ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro apostolo, sancteque Romanæ ecclesie, et domino nostro, domino N, pape N, suisque successoribus canonice intransitibus. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione, aut in eos manus quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæsito colore. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, aut nuncios suos, seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo meo ordine contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesie domini nostri papæ et succes-

Such is the oath prescribed to bishops; the which is worth the most serious attention of all men who would understand how miserably slavish the condition of the clergy is in that church, and how inconsistent their obligation to the pope is with their duty to their prince.

And in perusing it we may note that the clauses in a different character* are in the more ancient oath, extant in the Gregorian Decretals;¹ by which it appears how the pope more and more enlarges his power, and straitens the bands of subjection to him. And it is very remarkable that the new oath has changed these words, "*Regulas sanctorum patrum*" into "*Regalia Sancti Petri*;" i. e., "The rules of the holy fathers" into "The royalties of St Peter."

§ XV. I know there are within the Roman communion great store of divines who contract the papal sovereignty within a much narrower compass, refusing to him many of those prerogatives, yea, scarce allowing to him any of them.

There are those who affirm the pope, in doctrine and discipline, subject to the church, or to a general synod representing it; which opinion thwarts a proposition in Bellarmine's opinion "even almost an article of faith." But to be even with him, they hold his proposition to be quite heretical. "The pope is simply and absolutely above the universal church;—this proposition is almost an article of faith,"²

sorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam, aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur. Et sit alia a quibuscunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse, et quanto citius potero significabo eidem domino nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinationes, seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, et mandata apostolica, totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina singulis triennis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo, et domino nostro ac successoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo pastoralis officio, ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri et populi disciplinam, animarum denique quæ meæ fidei traditæ sunt, salutem quovis modo pertinentibus, et vicissim mandata apostolica humiliter recipiam et quam diligentissime exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero, præfata omnia adimplebo per certum nuncium ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei capituli, aut alium in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias personatum habentem; aut, his mihi deficientibus, per diocesanum sacerdotem; et clero deficiente omnino per aliquem alium presbyterum secularem vel regularem spectatæ probitatis et religionis de supradictis omnibus plene instructum. De hujusmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes ad sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalem proponentem in congregatione sacri concilii per supradictum nuncium transmittendas. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo neque impignorabo, nec de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Et si ad aliquam alienationem devenero, penas in quadam super hoc edita constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere volo. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.

* That is, the clauses in Roman letters are those in the more ancient oath; those in Italics have been all added by subsequent popes.—Ed.

¹ Greg. Dec., lib. ii. tit. 24, cap. 4.

² Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam;—hæc propositio est fere de fide.—*Bell. de Conc.*, ii. 17.

says Bellarmine. The Cardinal of Lorraine, on the contrary, "But I," says he, "cannot deny but that I am a Frenchman, and bred up in the church of Paris, which teaches that the Roman pontiff is subject to a council, and they who teach the contrary are there branded as heretics."¹

There are those who affirm the pope, if he undertake points of faith without assistance of a general synod, may teach heresy, (which opinion, as Bellarmine thought, doth "closely border on heresy,"²) and those who conceive that popes may be, and have been, heretics; whence Christians sometimes are not obliged to admit their doctrine or observe their pleasure.

There are those who maintain the pope, no less than other bishops, subject to the canons, or bound to observe the constitutions of the church; that he may not infringe them, or overrule against them, or dispense with them; and that to him attempting to do so obedience is not due.

There are those who maintain that the pope cannot subvert or violate the rights and liberties of particular churches, settled in them agreeably to the ancient canons of the church universal.

There are those who assert to general councils a power of reforming the church, without or against the pope's consent.

There are those who, as Bellarmine tells us, allow the pope to be no more in the ecclesiastical republic than as the Duke of Venice in his senate, or as the general of an order in his congregation; and that he therefore has but a very limited and subordinate power.³

There are, consequently, those who conceive the pope notoriously erring, or misdeceiving himself, to the prejudice of the Christian state, may be called to an account, may be judged, may be corrected, may be discarded by a general synod.

Such notions have manifestly prevailed in a good part of the Roman communion, and are maintained by most divines in the French church; and they may be supposed everywhere common where there is any liberty of judgment, or where the inquisition does not reign.

There have been seasons wherein they have so prevailed as to have been defined for catholic truths in great synods, and by them to have been applied to practice. For,—

In the first great synod of Pisa it was declared that councils may "reform the church sufficiently, both in head and members;"⁴ and

¹ Ego vero negare non possum quin Gallus sim, et Parisiensis ecclesiæ alumnus, in qua Rom. pontificem subesse concilio tenetur, et qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur. — *Card. Loth.*, apud *Laun.*, *Ep.* i. 1.

² Quæ sententia videtur omnino erronea et hæresi proxima. — *Bell.*, iv. 2.

³ *Bell. de Conc.*, ii. 14.

⁴ Anno 1409; *Conc. Pis.*, sess. xvi., xvii.

accordingly that synod assumed to judge two popes (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) contending for the papacy (whereof one was the true pope), and, deposing them both, substituted Alexander V., "who for one year," as Antoninus reports, "according to the common opinion, held the seat of Peter."¹

The synod of Constance declared, "Primo declarat quod ipsa synodus," &c., sess. 45;—"That the synod lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, making a general council representing the catholic church militant, has immediately power from Christ, to which every one, of whatever state or dignity he be, although it be papal, is bound to obey in those things which belong to faith, and the extirpation of (the said) schism, and the general reformation of the church of God, in head and members."

The which doctrine they notably put in practice, exercising jurisdiction over popes, and for errors, misdemeanours, or contumacies, discarding three (of whom it is hard if one were not true pope), and choosing another, who afterward passed for a right pope, and himself confirmed the acts of that council. So that this semi-heresy has at least the authority of one pope to countenance it. "Our most holy lord the pope said, in answer thereunto, that he would maintain and inviolably observe all and every of those things that were conciliarly determined, concluded, and decreed by the present council in matters of faith."²

The synod of Basil declared the same point, that "councils are superior to popes," to be "a truth of catholic faith, which whoever stiffly opposes is to be accounted a heretic."³ "Nor," say they, "did any skilful man ever doubt the pope to be subject to the judgment of general synods in things concerning faith."⁴ "In virtue of which doctrine, and by its irresistible authority,"⁵ the synod did sentence and reject Pope Eugenius as criminal, heretical, and contumacious.

These synods, although reprobated by popes in counter-synods,⁶ are yet by many Roman Catholic divines retained in great veneration, and their doctrine is so current in the famous Sorbonne, that (if we may believe the great cardinal of Lorraine) the contrary is there reputed "heretical."⁷

¹ Qui anno uno sedem Petri tenuit, secundum communem opinionem.—*Anton. de Conc. Pis.*, cap. v. § 3.

² Sanctiss. dominus noster papa dixit, respondendo ad prædicta, quod omnia et singula determinata, conclusa et decreta in materiis fidei per præsens concilium conciliariter tenere, et inviolabiliter observare volebat.—*Conc. Const.*, sess. xlv. p. 1119.

³ Veritas de potestate concilii supra papam est veritas fidei catholice cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus.—*Conc. Bas.*, sess. xxxiii. p. 95.

⁴ Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit, summum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio earundem generalium synodorum esse subjectum.—*Conc. Bas.*, sess. xlv. p. 117.

⁵ Vigore cujus, ac ineffabili et inexpugnabili autoritate, &c.—*Sess. xxxviii.* p. 101.

⁶ (Concil. Later. &c.)

⁷ Ego vero negare non possum, &c.

§ XVI. Yet notwithstanding these oppositions, the former opinion, averring the pope's absolute sovereignty, seems to be the genuine doctrine of the Roman church, if it has any.

For those divines, by the pope and his intimate confidants, are looked upon as a mongrel brood or mutinous faction, which he by politic connivance does only "tolerate," because he is not well able to correct or suppress them.¹ He is afraid to be violent in reclaiming them to his sense, lest he spend his artillery in vain, and lose all his power and interest with them.

Nor, indeed, do those men seem to adhere to the Roman party out of entire judgment or cordial affection, but in compliance with their princes, or upon account of their interest, or at best with regard to peace and quiet. They cannot conveniently break with the pope, because his interest is twisted with their own, so as not easily to be disentangled.

For how can they heartily stick to the pope, whenas their opinion plainly implies him to be an usurper and a tyrant, claiming to himself and exercising authority over the church which does not rightfully belong to him;—to be a rebel and traitor against the church, invading and possessing the sovereignty due to it; for such, questionless, the Duke of Venice would be should he challenge and assume to himself such a power over his commonwealth as the pope has over Christendom;—to be an impostor and seducer, pretending to infallible conduct, which he has not?

How can they honestly condemn those who, upon such grounds, shake off such yokes, refusing to comply with the pope till he correct his errors, till he desist from those usurpations and impostures, till he restore to the church its rights and liberties?

How are the doctrines of those men consistent or congruous to their practice? for they call the pope monarch of the church, and universal pastor of Christians by God's appointment, indefectibly; yet will they not admit all his laws, and reject doctrines which he teaches, particularly those which most nearly touch him,—concerning his own office and authority. They profess themselves his loyal subjects, yet pretend liberties which they will maintain against him. They hold that all are bound to entertain communion with him, yet confess that he may be heretical, and seduce into error. They give him the name and shadow of a supremacy, but so that they can void the substance and reality thereof.²

In fine, where should we seek for the doctrine of the Roman church

¹ Nam adhuc videmus ab ecclesia tolerari, qui eam sententiam sequuntur, &c.—*Bell.* iv. 2.

² Manifestum autem schismatis argumentum est, cum quis se communioni subtrahit apostolicæ sedis.—*Balus. not. ad Agobard.*, p. 112. "It is a manifest argument of schism when any man withdraws himself from communion with the apostolic see."

but at Rome, or from Rome itself, where these doctrines are heterodoxies?

§ XVII. We shall not, therefore, have a distinct regard to the opinion of these semi-Romanists, nor consider them otherwise than to confirm that part of truth which they hold, and to confute that part of error which they embrace, allowing, at least in word and semblance, more power to the pope than we can admit as due to him. Our discourse shall be levelled at him as such as he pretends himself to be, or as assuming to himself the fore-mentioned powers and prerogatives.

§ XVIII. Of such vast pretences we have reason to require sufficient grounds. He that demands assent to such important assertions ought to produce clear proofs of them. He that claims so mighty power should be able to make out a good title to it; for "No man may take this" (more than pontifical) "honour to himself, but he that is called by God, as was Aaron," Heb. v. 4. "They are worthily to be blamed who tumultuously and disorderly fall upon curbing or restraining those who by no law are subject to them."¹

We cannot well be justified from a stupid easiness in admitting such a lieutenancy to our Lord, if we do not see exhibited to us manifest and certain patents assuring its commission to us. We should love the church better than to yield up its liberty to the will of a pretender, upon slight or no ground. Their boldly claiming such a power, their having some time usurped such a power, will not excuse them or us.² Nor will precarious assumptions, or subtile distinctions, or blind traditions, or loose conjectures, serve for probations in such a case.

§ XIX. Such demands they cannot wholly baulk; wherefore, for satisfaction to them, not finding any better plea, they hook in St Peter, affirming that on him by our Lord there was instated a primacy over his brethren, all the apostles and the disciples of our Lord, importing all the authority which they claim, and that from him this primacy was devolved by succession to the bishops of Rome, by right indefectible for all future ages.

Which plea of theirs involves these main suppositions:—

- I. *That St Peter had a primacy over the apostles.*
- II. *That St Peter's primacy, with its rights and prerogatives, was not personal, but derivable to his successors.*
- III. *That St Peter was bishop of Rome.*

¹ Jure culpandi sunt, qui turbide atque inordinate in eos coercendos insiliunt, qui nulla sibi lege subjecti sunt.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.*, cap. xvii.

² Nemo sibi et professor et testis est.—*Tertul.* v. 1, *adv. Marc.* "None can be both a claimer and a witness for himself."

IV. *That St Peter continued bishop of Rome after his translation, and was so at his decease.*

V. *That the bishops of Rome, according to God's institution, and by original right derived thence, should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction over the Christian church.*

VI. *That in fact the Roman bishops, continually from St Peter's time, have enjoyed and exercised this sovereign power.*

VII. *That this power is indefectible and unalterable.*

The truth and certainty of these propositions we shall in order discuss; so that it may competently appear whether those who disclaim these pretences are (as they are charged) guilty of heresy and schism, or they rather are liable to the imputations of arrogancy and impiety who obtrude and urge them.

A TREATISE
OF
THE POPE'S SUPREMACY.

“Now the names of the twelve apostles were these; The first, Simon (Πῶρος, Σίμων), who is called Peter.”—MATT. x. 2.

AMONG the modern controversies, there is scarce any of greater consequence than that about universal supremacy, which the bishop of Rome claims over the Christian church; the assertion whereof on his side depends upon divers suppositions, namely these:—

I. *That St Peter, by our Lord's appointment, had a primacy, implying a sovereignty of authority and jurisdiction over the apostles.*

II. *That the rights and prerogatives of this sovereignty were not personal, but derivable and transmitted to successors.*

III. *That St Peter was bishop of Rome.*

IV. *That St Peter continued bishop of Rome after his translation, and was so at his decease.*

V. *That hence of right to the bishops of Rome, as St Peter's successors, an universal jurisdiction over the whole church of Christ appertains.*

VI. *That in fact the said bishops continually from St Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this power.*

VII. *That this power is indefectible, such as by no means can be forfeited or fail.*

In order to the discussion and resolution of the first point, I shall treat upon the primacy of St Peter, endeavouring to show what primacy he was capable of or might enjoy, what he could not pretend to nor did possess.

SUPPOSITION I.

THE first supposition of those who claim universal jurisdiction to the pope over the church is, *That St Peter had a primacy over the apostles.*

In order to the resolution of this point, we may consider that there are several kinds of primacy, which may belong to a person in respect of others; for there are,—

- I. *A primacy of worth, or personal excellency.*
- II. *A primacy of reputation and esteem.*
- III. *A primacy of order, or bare dignity and precedence.*
- IV. *A primacy of power or jurisdiction.*

To each of these what title St Peter might have let us in order examine:—

I. As for the first of these (*a primacy of worth, or merit*, as some of the ancients call it), we may well grant it to St Peter, admitting that probably he exceeded the rest of his brethren in personal endowments and capacities, both natural and moral, qualifying him for the discharge of the apostolical office in an eminent manner; particularly that in quickness of apprehension, in boldness of spirit, in readiness of speech, in charity to our Lord and zeal for his service, in resolution, activity, and industry, he was transcendent, may seem to appear by the tenor of the evangelical and apostolical histories: in the which we may observe him upon all occasions ready to speak first, and to make himself “the mouth,” as the fathers speak, of the apostles,—in all deliberations nimble at propounding his advice, in all undertakings forward to make the onset; being πανταχοῦ θερμὸς, “always hot” and eager, always “prompt” and vigorous, as St Chrysostom often affirms concerning him. These things are apparent in his demeanour, and it may not be amiss to set down some instances.¹

When our Lord, observing the different apprehensions men had concerning him, asked the apostles, “But whom say ye that I am?” up starts he, προπηδᾷ καὶ προλαμβάνεται, “he skippeth forth, and preventeth the rest,” crying, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,” Matt. xvi. 15, 16. The other apostles were not ignorant of the point, for they at their conversion did take Jesus for the Messiah, which, even according to the common notion of the Jews, implied his being the Son of God;²—Nathanael (that is, St Bartholomew, as is supposed) had in terms confessed it;—the whole company upon seeing our Lord walk on the sea had avowed it, John i. 41, 45; Matt. xxvi. 63; John i. 49; Matt. xiv. 33;—St Peter before that, in the name of them all, had said, Ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν, καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν—“We have believed, and have known, that thou art the Christ, the

¹ Ἐνταῖσι τὸς γὰρ αἰεὶ πᾶς ὃν ἄνθρωπος, κικιντραμένους οὐ μετρίως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶσαι καὶ εἰσὶν προθυμίαν.—Cyrill. in Joh. xxi. 15. “He was a very active and stirring man, exceedingly spurred on with much promptness and alacrity in doing and speaking.” Πανταχοῦ εὐρίσκεται ἀπὸ πύθου ἱμῶν.—Chrys. in Joh., Or. 12, 13, 24. Διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τὴν αὐτὴν ἰμφάνει θερμότητα.—Chrys., tom. v. Or. 59.

² Licet cæteri apostoli sciant, Petrus tamen respondet pro cæteris.—Ambr. in Luc., lib. vi. cap. 9.

Son of the living God," John vi. 69. They, therefore, had the same faith, but he, from a special alacrity of spirit and expedition in utterance, was more forward to declare it. "He was more hot," says St Gregory Nazianzen, "than the rest at acknowledging Christ."¹

When our Saviour walked on the sea, who but he had the faith and the courage to venture on the waters towards him? Matt xiv. 28.

When our Lord was apprehended by the soldiers, presently up was his spirit, and out went his sword in defence of him, John xviii. 10.

When our Lord predicted that upon his coming into trouble all the disciples would be offended and desert him, he was ready to say, "Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended," and, "Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee," Matt. xxvi. 33, 35, John xiii. 37; such was his natural courage and confidence.

When our Lord was discoursing about his passion, he suddenly must be advising in the case, and urging him "to spare himself," Matt. xvi. 22; upon which St Chrysostom bids us to "consider, not that his answer was unadvised, but that it came from a genuine and fervent affection."²

And at the transfiguration, he fell to proposing about making an abode there, "not knowing what he said," *μη ειδως δ λεγει* so brisk was he in imagination and speech, Mark ix. 6; Luke ix. 33.

Upon the good women's report that our Lord was risen from the dead, he first ran to the sepulchre, Luke xxiv. 12, 34, John xx. 3; and so, as St Paul implies, obtained the first sight of our Lord after the resurrection;³ such was his zeal and activity upon all occasions.

At the consultation about supplying the place of Judas, he "rose up," proposed and pressed the matter, Acts i. 15.

At the convention of the apostles and elders about resolving the debate concerning observance of Mosaical institutions, he first "rose up" and declared his sense, Acts xv. 7.

In the promulgation of the gospel, and defence thereof before the Jewish rulers, he assumed the conduct, and constantly took upon him to be the speaker, the rest standing by him implying assent, and ready to avow his word: "Peter," says St Luke, "standing with the rest, lifted up his voice and said unto them." So "did they utter a common voice," says St Chrysostom, "and he was the mouth of all;"—*Κοινὴν προσβάλλοντο φωνήν, καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ἦν τὸ στόμα.*

That in affection to our Lord and zeal for his service, St Peter

¹ Θιμρότερος τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν Χριστοῦ.—*Greg. Naz., Or. 34.*

² Μὴ τοῦτο ἐξετάσσωμεν, ὅτι ἀπειρίστως ἢ ἀπόκρισις· ἀλλ' ὅτι γνησίῳ πόθῳ ἦν καὶ ζήοντες.—*Tom. v. Or. 59.*

³ Καὶ ὅτι ὠφείη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα.—1 Cor. xv. 5. "And that he appeared to Cephas, after that to the twelve."

had some advantage over the rest, that question, "Simon Peter, dost thou love me more than these?" may seem to imply; although the words *πλὴν τούτων* may bear other interpretations, whereby the seeming invidiousness of the question, according to that sense, will be removed.¹ However, that he had a singular zeal for promoting our Lord's service and propagation of the gospel, therein outshining the rest, seems manifest in the history, and may be inferred from the peculiar regard our Lord apparently showed to him.

Upon these premises we may well admit that St Peter had a primacy of worth, or that in personal accomplishments he was most eminent among the twelve apostles;—although afterward there sprang up one who hardly in any of these respects would yield to him, who could confidently say "that he did not come behind the very chief apostles," 1 Cor. xv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 5, 23, xii. 11; and of whom St Ambrose says, "Neither was Paul inferior to Peter, . . . being well to be compared even to the first, and second to none;"² and St Chrysostom, "For what was greater than Peter, and what equal to Paul?"³ This is the primacy which Eusebius attributes to him when he calls him "The excellent and great apostle, who for his virtue was the prolocutor of all the rest."⁴

II. As to a *primacy of repute* (which St Paul means when he speaks of the *οἱ δοκῦντες*, those which had a special "reputation;" of those "who seemed to be pillars," Gal. ii. 2, 6, 9; of the *ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀπίστολοι*, the *supereminent apostles*, 2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11), this advantage cannot be refused him, being a necessary consequent of those eminent qualities resplendent in him, and of the illustrious performances achieved by him beyond the rest.

This may be inferred from that advantageous renown which he has had propagated from the beginning to all posterity.

This at least those eulogies of the fathers, styling him the chief, prince, head of the apostles, signify: 'Ο ἐπιφανίστατος τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρος, Ath. Disp. cont. Arium, p. 122.

This also may be collected from his being so constantly ranked in the first place, before the rest of his brethren.

¹ Aug. in Joh. Tract. 128. 'Ο μανιὰς ἱραστής τοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Chrys., tom. v. Or. 24. "An extreme lover of Christ." Sæpe diximus nimii ardoris, amorisque quam maximi fuisse Petrum in Dominum.—Hier. in Matt. xvi. 22. "We have often said that Peter was transported with too much heat, and extraordinary great love of our Lord." Ipse enim Petrus in apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus.—Aug., Sermon. xiii. de Verb. Dom. in Matt. i. "For Peter himself being first in the order of the apostles, and most prompt and forward in the love of Christ, answered oftentimes alone for all the rest."

² Nec Paulus inferior Petro . . . cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli secundus.—Ambros. de Sp. S. ii. 12.

³ Τί γὰρ Πέτρον μίζον; τί δὲ Παύλου ἴσον;—Chrys., tom. v. Or. 167.

⁴ Τὸν κατὰ τὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀριστὸς ἵστα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων ἀνάγορον.—Euseb. Hist., ii. 14.

III. *As to a primacy of order, or bare dignity*, importing that commonly, in all meetings and proceedings, the other apostles yielded him the precedence, the *προηγούμενα*, or privilege of speaking first, whether in propounding matters for debate, or in delivering his advice in the conduct and moderation of affairs. That this was stated [settled] on him may be questioned; for that this were a kind of womanish privilege, and that it does not seem to befit the gravity of such persons, or their condition and circumstances, to stand upon ceremonies of respect; for that also our Lord's rules seem to exclude all semblance of ambition, all kinds of inequality and distance between his apostles; for that this practice seems not constantly and thoroughly to agree to his being endowed with this advantage, especially seeing all that practice which favours it may fairly be assigned to other causes; for that also the fathers' authority (if that be objected as a main argument of such a primacy) in points of this nature, not bordering on essentials of faith, is of no great strength, they in such cases speaking out of their own ingeny [ingenuity] and conjecture, and commonly indulging their imaginations no less freely than other men.

But yet this primacy may be granted as probable upon divers accounts of use and convenience; it might be useful to preserve order and to promote expedition, or to prevent confusion, distraction, and dilatory obstruction in the management of things; yea, to maintain concord, and to exclude that ambition or affectation to be foremost which is natural to men.

For seeing all could not go, speak, or act first, all could not guide affairs, it was expedient that one should be ready to undertake it, knowing his cue. "See," says St Chrysostom, noting on Acts ii. 14, where St Peter speaks for the rest, "the concord of the apostles; they yield unto him the speech, for they could not all speak;"¹ and, "One," says St Jerome, "is chosen among the twelve, that, a head being appointed, an occasion of schism might be removed."²

St Cyprian (Cyp., Ep. lxxiii., de Unit. Eccl., &c.) has a reason for it somewhat more subtle and mystical, supposing our Lord conferred on him a preference of this kind to his brethren, who otherwise in power and authority were equal to him, that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other African doctors, Optatus and St Austin ("In typo unitatis," &c., Aug. de Bapt., iii. 17), commonly harp on the same notion. I can discern little solidity in this conceit, and as little harm.

¹ Στάσαι τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἰστέον, αὐτοὶ παραχωροῦσι αὐτῷ τῆς δημοκρατίας, οὐ γὰρ ἴδιαι πάντας φηγγίται.—Chrys. in Act. ii. 14.

² Inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tolleretur occasio.—Hier. in Jovin. i. cap. 14.

However, supposing this primacy, at least in respect to the fathers, who generally seem to countenance it, divers probable reasons may be assigned why it should especially be conferred on St Peter.¹

1. It is probable that St Peter wast first in standing among the apostles. I mean not that he was the first disciple, or first converted to faith in Christ, but first called to the apostolical office, or first nominated by our Lord, when out of all his disciples "he chose twelve, and called them apostles; Simon, whom he called Peter, and Andrew his brother,"² Luke vi. 14; Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16; Luke v. 3. He was one of the first believers at large; he was perhaps the first that distinctly believed our Lord's divinity; he was probably the very first apostle, as the fittest person in our Lord's eye for that employment.³ "He," says St Hilary, "did first believe, and is the prince" (or first man) "of the apostleship."⁴ "He," says St Cyprian, "was the first whom the Lord chose."⁵ "He," says St Basil, "was by judgment preferred before all the disciples."⁶ He by other ancients is called "The first-fruits of the apostles." And according to this sense St Jerome (Hier. in Jovin. i.), I suppose, calls him and his brother Andrew *Principes apostolorum*; that is, according to frequent usage of the word *princeps* in Latin, "The first of the apostles."

So that as in divers churches (perhaps when time was, in all), anciently, priority in ordination grounded a right to precedence, as it is in ours, with some exceptions; so might St Peter, upon this account of being first ordained apostle, obtain such a primacy.

2. St Peter also might be the first in age (which among persons otherwise equal is a fair ground of preference), for he was a married man, and that before he was called, as is intimated in St Luke (Luke iv. 38); and may be inferred from hence, that he would not have married after that he "had left all," and devoted himself to follow our Lord, Luke v. 11, Matt. xix. 27. Upon which account of age, St Jerome supposed that he was preferred before the beloved disciple. "Why," says he, "was not St John elected, being a bachelor? It was

¹ Petrus—natura unus homo erat, gratia unus Christianus, abundantiore gratia unus idemque primus apostolus.—*Aug. in Joh. Tract.* 123. "Peter was by nature one man, by grace one Christian, by a more abundant grace one and the same prime apostle." Ipse enim Petrus in apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, esse unus respondet pro omnibus.—*Aug. de Verbis Dom. sup. Matt. i. Serm.* 13. "For Peter himself being the first in the order of the apostles, the most forward in the love of Christ, he alone oftentimes answers for all the rest."

² [Προτίθει δὲ Πίτρου καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, διότι καὶ πρωτόκλητοι.—*Theoph. in Matt. x.*]

³ Γινώσκων εἰς τὸν πρῶτον ἕξος τάσσισθαι, ἐξιλιζατο τὸν Πίτρου ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι, &c.—*Epiph. Hær.*, li. 17, p. 440.

⁴ Primus credidit, et apostolatus est princeps.—*Hil. in Matt. Can.* 7.

⁵ Quem primum Dominus elegit.—*Cypr., Ep.* lxxi., p. 127.

⁶ Ὁ πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν ἀρεμώτης.—*Bas. de Judicio Dei*, tom. ii. p. 268.

⁷ Ἀπαρχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων.—*Modest., apud Phot. Cod.* 275, *Clem. ad Jac.*

deferred to age, because Peter was elder; that a youth, and one almost a boy, might not be preferred before men of good age."¹

I know that Epiphanius² affirms St Andrew to have been the elder brother; but it does not appear whether he says it from conjecture or upon any other ground. And his authority, although we should suppose it bottomed on tradition, is not great, tradition itself in such matters being very slippery, and often one tradition crossing another.

3. The most eminent qualifications of St Peter, such as we before described, might procure to him this advantage.

They might breed in him an honest confidence, pushing him forward on all occasions to assume the former [first] place, and thence by custom to possess it; for "qui sibi fidit, dux regit examen," (Hor., Ep. i. 19), it being in all action as in walking, where he that naturally is most vigorous and active goes before the rest.

They might induce others to a voluntary concession thereof;³ for to those who indisputably excel in good qualities or abilities, honest and meek persons easily will yield precedence, especially on occasions of public concernment, wherein it is expedient that the best qualified persons should be first seen.

They probably might also move our Lord himself to settle, or at least to insinuate, this order, assigning the first place to him whom he knew most willing to serve him, and most able to lead on the rest in his service.

It is, indeed, observable that upon all occasions our Lord signified a particular respect to him, before the rest of his colleagues; for to him, more frequently than to any of them, he directed his discourse; unto him, by a kind of anticipation, he granted or promised those gifts and privileges which he meant to confer on them all, Matt. xvi. 19; him he assumed as spectator and witness of his glorious transfiguration, Matt. xvii. 1; him he picked out as companion and attendant on him in his grievous agony, chap. xxvi. 37; his feet he first washed, John xiii. 6; to him he first discovered himself after his resurrection, as St Paul implies, 1 Cor. xv. 5; and with him then he entertained most discourse, in especial manner recommending to him the pastoral care of his church, John xxi.;—by which manner of proceeding our Lord may seem to have constituted St Peter the first in order among the apostles, or sufficiently to have hinted his mind for their direction, admonishing them by his example to render unto him a special deference.

¹ Sed cur non Joannes electus est virgo? ætati delatum est, quia Petrus senior erat; ne adhuc adolescens et pene puer progressæ ætatis hominibus præferretur.—*Hier. in Joân.*, i. 14.

² Μικροτέρου ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου τῇ χρόνῳ τοῦ ἀλκινοῦς.—*Επίφ. Hær.*, li. 17, p. 440. "Peter being the younger in age."

³ Ἄνθρωποι παραχωροῦσιν αὐτῷ, &c.—*Chrys. in Act.* ii. 14. "They yield unto him," &c.

4. The fathers commonly attribute his priority to the merit of his faith and confession, wherein he outstripped his brethren. "He obtained supereminent glory by the confession of his blessed faith,"¹ says St Hilary.—Hil. in Matt., Can. xiv. p. 566. "Because he alone of all the rest professes his love (John xxi.), therefore he is preferred above all,"² says St Ambrose.

5. Constantly, in all the catalogues of the apostles, St Peter's name is set in the front; and when actions are reported in which he was concerned jointly with others, he is usually mentioned first; which seems not done without careful design or special reason, Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 16; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13; John xxi. 2.

Upon such grounds, it may be reasonable to allow St Peter a primacy of order, such a one as the ringleader has in a dance, as the primipilar centurion had in the legion, or the prince of the senate had there, in the Roman state; at least, as among earls, baronets, &c., and others co-ordinate in degree, yet one has a precedence of the rest.

IV. As to a primacy importing superiority in power, command, or jurisdiction, this by the Roman party is asserted to St Peter; but we have great reason to deny it, upon the following considerations:—

1. For such a power, being of so great importance, it was needful that a commission from God, its founder, should be granted in down-right and perspicuous terms, that no man concerned in duty grounded thereon might have any doubt of it, or excuse for boggling at it. It was necessary not only for the apostles, to bind and warrant their obedience, but also for us; because it is made the sole foundation of a like duty incumbent on us, which we cannot heartily discharge without being assured of our obligation thereto by clear revelation or promulgation of God's will in the holy Scripture;³ for it was of old a current, and ever will be a true rule, which St Austin in one case thus expresses, "I do believe that also on this side there would be most clear authority of the divine oracles, if a man could not be ignorant of it without damage of his salvation;"⁴ and Lactan-

¹ Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione gloriam promeruit.—*Hil. de Trin.*, lib. vi. p. 121.

² Ideo quia solus profitetur amorem suum (John xxi.) ex omnibus, omnibus antefertur.—*Ambr. in Luc.*, cap. ult.

³ It was a reasonable demand which was made to our Saviour, "Tell us by what authority thou doest these things, or who is he that gave thee this authority?" Luke xx. 2; and the reasonableness of it our Lord did often avow, declaring that if by his doctrine and works he had not vouched the divinity of his authority, it had been no sin to disbelieve or reject him, John v. 31, 36, x. 25, 37, xv. 22, 24.

⁴ Credo etiam hinc divinatorum eloquiorum clarissima autoritas esset, si homo sine dispendio promissæ salutis ignorare non posset.—*Aug. de Pec. Mer. et Rem.* ii. 36.

tius thus, "Those things can have no foundation or firmness which are not sustained by any oracle of God's word."¹

But apparently no such commission is extant in Scripture, the allegations for it being, as we shall hereafter show, no wise clear, nor probably expressive of any such authority granted by God; but, on the contrary, divers clearer testimonies are producible derogating from it.

2. If so illustrious an office was instituted by our Saviour, it is strange that nowhere in the evangelical or apostolical history, wherein divers acts and passages of smaller moment are recorded, there should be any express mention of that institution, there being not only much reason for such a report, but many pat occasions for it. The time when St Peter was vested with that authority, the manner and circumstances of his instalment therein, the nature, rules, and limits of such an office, had surely well deserved to have been noted, among other occurrences relating to our faith and discipline, by the holy evangelists. No one of them, in all probability, could have forborne punctually to relate a matter of so great consequence as the settlement of a monarch in God's church, and a sovereign of the apostolical college, from whom so eminent authority was to be derived to all posterity, for compliance wherewith the whole church for ever must be accountable; particularly, it is not credible that St Luke should quite slip over so notable a passage, who "had," as he tells us, chap. i. 1, "attained a perfect understanding of all things, and had undertaken to write in order the things that were surely believed among Christians" in his time; of which things this, if any, was one of the most considerable.

3. The time of his receiving institution to such authority can hardly be assigned; for was it when he was constituted by our Lord an apostle? Matt. x. 1, 2. Then, indeed, probably he began to obtain all the primacy and pre-eminence he ever had;—but no such power appears then conferred on him, or at any time in our Saviour's life; at least, if it was, it was so covertly and indiscernibly, that both he himself and all the apostles must be ignorant thereof, who a little before our Lord's passion more than once earnestly contested about superiority. And it is observable, that whereas our Lord, before his passion, carefully taught and pressed on the apostles the chief duties which they were to observe in their behaviour toward each other,—the maintenance of peace, of charity, of unity, of humility toward one another,—yet of paying due respect and obedience to this superior he said nothing to them, Mark ix. 50; John xiii. 34, xv. 12, xvii. 21, xiii. 14.

¹ Nullum fundamentum aut firmitatem possunt habere, quæ nullis divinarum vocum fulciuntur oraculis.—*Lact.*, vii. 2.

The collation of that power could not well be at any time before the celebration of our Lord's supper, because before that time St Peter was scarce an ecclesiastical person, at least he was no priest, as the convention of Trent under a curse requires us to believe;¹ for it were strange that an unconsecrated person, or one who was not so much as a priest, should be endowed with so much spiritual power.

After his resurrection, our Lord gave divers common instructions, orders, and commissions to his apostles (*Ἐντελλάμειναι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, &c., Acts i. 2; John xx. 21; Matt. xxviii. 19; Luke xxiv. 49; Mark xvi. 15), but it does not appear that he made any peculiar grant to St Peter; for as to the pretence of such an one drawn out of the appendix to St John's Gospel, or grounded on the words *Pasce oves*, we shall afterward declare that to be invalid.

4. If St Peter had been instituted sovereign of the apostolical senate, his office and state had been in nature and kind very distinct from the common office of the other apostles; as the office of a king from the office of any subject; as an ordinary, standing, perpetual, successive office, from one that is only extraordinary, transitory, temporary, personal, and incommunicable (to speak according to distinctions now in use, and applied to this case);—whence, probably, as it was expedient to be, it would have been signified by some distinct name or title characterizing it, and distinguishing it from others, as that of arch-apostle, arch-pastor, high priest, sovereign pontiff, pope, his holiness, the vicar of Christ, or the like; whereby it might have appeared that there was such an officer, what the nature of his office was, what specialty of respect and obedience was due to him. But no such name or title, upon any occasion, was assumed by him, or was by the rest attributed to him, or in history is recorded concerning him, the name of an apostle being all that he took on him, or by others was given to him.

5. There was, indeed, no office above that of an apostle known to the apostles or to the primitive church. This, says St Chrysostom, was "the greatest authority," and "the top of authorities." There was, says he, "none before an apostle, none superior, none equal to him;"² this he asserts of all the apostles, this he particularly applies to St Paul, this he demonstrates from St Paul himself, who,

¹ Si quis dixerit, illis verbis, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, Christum non instituisse apostolos sacerdotes—*anathema sit*.—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. xxii. can. 2. "If any one shall say that in those words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, Christ did not ordain his apostles priests—let him be accursed."

² Ἀρχὴ μίγιστη κορυφὴ τῶν ἀρχῶν.—*Chrys.*, tom. viii. p. 114. Εἶδες ὑψηλὸν καθήμενον τὸν ἀποστόλον, καὶ οὐδὲνα ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἴσον, οὐτὶ ἀνώτερον.—*Ibid.* Τῶν δὲ ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδὲς γίνεται.—*Ibid.*, tom. v., Or. 33. Αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου ἀκούσαμεν ἀριθμοῦντος τὰς ἀρχάς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑψηλοτέρῃ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καθίζοντες.—*Ibid.*, tom. viii., ubi supra. "We have heard Paul himself reckoning up powers or authorities, and placing the apostolical in the highest place."

purposely enumerating the chief officers instituted by God in his church, places apostles in the highest rank. "Our Lord," says St Paul, "gave some, apostles; some, prophets; some, evangelists; some, pastors and teachers," Eph. iv. 11. "And God hath set some in his church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers," 1 Cor. xii. 28. *Πρῶτοι ἀποστόλους*,—why not first a pope, an universal pastor, an œcumenical judge, a vicar of Christ, a head of the catholic church? Could St Paul be so ignorant, could he be so negligent or so envious, as to pass by without any distinction the supreme officer, if such a one then had been? As put case, [suppose] that one should undertake to recite the officers in any state or republic, would he not do strangely if he should pretermitt the king, the duke, the consul, the major thereof? Would not any one confiding in the skill, diligence, and integrity of such a relater, be induced from such an omission to believe there was no such officer there? St Chrysostom, therefore, hence very rationally inferred, that the apostolical office was the supreme in the Christian state, having no other superior to it.

St Peter, therefore, was no more than an apostle; and as such he could have no command over those who were in the same highest rank, co-ordinate to him, and who as apostles could not be subject to any.

6. Our Lord himself, at several times, declared against this kind of primacy, instituting equality among his apostles, prohibiting them to affect, to seek, to assume, or admit a superiority of power one above another.

There was, says St Luke (chap. xxii. 14, 24) of "the twelve," at the participation of the holy supper, "a strife among them who of them should be accounted the greatest," *τις αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων*, or who had the best pretence to superiority. This strife our Lord presently checked and quashed; but how? Not by telling them that he already had decided the case in appointing them a superior, but rather by assuring them that he intended none such to be, that he would have no monarchy, no exercise of any dominion or authority by one among them over the rest; but that, notwithstanding any advantages one might have before the other, as greater in gifts, or as preceding in any respect¹ (so does St Clemens interpret *μείζων*, alluding to this place), they should be one as another, all humbly condescending to one another, each being ready to yield help and service to one another. "The kings of the Gentiles," said he, Luke

¹ *ἦτω τις πιστός, ἦτω δυνατός γνώσειν ἱστορίαν, ἦτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἦτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσον δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι· καὶ ζητεῖν τὸ παυροφιλὲς πᾶσι, μὴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.*—*Clem. ad Corinth.*, i. 48, apud *Clem. Alex., Strom.* vi. p. 647. "Let a man be faithful, let him be powerful in declaring knowledge, let him be wise in discovering reasons, let him be strenuous in works; by so much the more ought he to be humble-minded, by how much the more he seems to be greater than others; and to seek the common benefit of all, and not of himself."

xxii. 25, 26, "exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority over them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greater (ὁ μείζων) among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is leader (ὁ ἡγούμενος) as he that doth minister." That is, "Whatever privilege any of you obtains, let it not be employed in way of command, but rather of compliance and subservency, as occasion shall require; let him not pretend to be a superior, but rather behave himself as an inferior." Thus our Lord smothered the debate, by removing from among them whatever greatness any of them affected or pretended to, forbidding that any of them should κυριεύειν, or ἐξουσιάζειν,—exercise any dominion or authority over the rest, as worldly princes did over their subjects.

Again, upon another occasion (as the circumstances of the place imply, Mark x. 37; Matt. xx. 21), when two of the apostles, of special worth and consideration with our Lord, St James and St John, the sons of Zebedee, affected a pre-eminence over the rest, requesting of our Lord, "Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory" (or "in thy kingdom," as St Matthew has it,—that is, in that new state which they conceived our Lord was ready to introduce), which request does not seem to import any great matter of authority, nor probably did they desire so much as our adversaries give to St Peter; yet our Lord not only rejects their suit, but generally declares that none of them were capable of such a preferment in his kingdom, which therein differed from worldly dominion, because in it there was no room for such an ambition, especially in that state of things wherein the apostles were to be placed, which was a state of undergoing persecutions, not of enjoying dignity or exercising command, all the preferment which they reasonably could aspire to being to be dispensed in the future state (whereof they were not aware), according to God's preparation, in correspondence to the patience and industry any of them should exert in God's service; upon which account St Chrysostom says, "It was a clear case that St Paul should obtain the preference."¹

It was indeed, as our Lord intimates, incongruous for those who had forsaken all things for Christ, who had embraced a condition of disgrace, who were designed, by self-denial, humility, neglect of temporal grandeur, wealth, and honour, by undergoing persecution, and undertaking conformity to our Lord ("being baptized with the baptism with which he was baptized"), to propagate the faith of a crucified Master, to seek or take on them authoritative dignity; for among them there could not well be any need of commanding or being commanded: it was more fit that all of them should conspire to help and serve one another, in promoting the common design and

¹ Εὐδαλεῖν ἐν τῇ δυνάτει ἀπολαύειναι τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας.—Chrys., tom. v. Or. 88.

service of their Lord, with mutual condescension and compliance; which was the best way of recommending themselves to his acceptance, and obtaining from him answerable reward.¹ Such was the drift of our Lord's discourse; whereunto, as in the other case, he annexed the prohibition of exercising dominion. "Ye know," says he, *Matt. xx. 25-27*, "that the princes of nations exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be first among you, let him be your servant." *Ὁς ἰάν Σίλη*.—"Whoever among you has a mind to special grandeur and pre-eminence, let him understand that there is no other to be attained beside that which results from the humble performance of charitable offices to his brethren; the which whoever shall best discharge, he alone will become greatest and highest in the eye of God."

Again, at another time (*Matt. xviii. 1*; *Mark ix. 34*; *Luke ix. 46*), the apostles, dreaming of a secular kingdom to be erected by our Lord, "disputed among themselves who should be the greatest," and for satisfaction presumed to inquire of our Lord about it; when, as they surely were very ignorant of St Peter's being their head, so there was a fair occasion as could be of our Lord's instructing them in that point, and enjoining their duty towards him;—but he did not so, but rather taught him, together with the rest, not to pretend to any such thing as preferment above the rest: "He sitting down, called the twelve, and said unto them, If any one desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all," *Mark ix. 35*. How could he, considering the occasion and circumstances of that speech, in plainer terms establish equality, or discountenance any claim to superiority among them? Had St Peter then advanced such a plea as they now affirm of right belonged to him, would he not thereby have depressed and debased himself to the lowest degree?

To impress this rule, our Lord then "calling a little child, set him in the midst of them," telling them that "except they were converted" (from such ambitious pretences), "and became like little children" (wholly void of such conceits), "they could not enter into the kingdom of heaven,"²—that is, could not in effect be so much as ordinary good Christians; adjoining, that "whosoever should humble himself as did that little child" (not affecting or assuming more than such an innocent did), "should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven,"

¹ *Τίτι ἡ βασιτεία ἦν οὐ τιμή· ἀλλὰ πρόνοια τῶν ἀρχομένων, &c.*—*Chrys. in Act. i. 6*. "Then the government was not an honour, but a provident care of the governed," &c.

² *Καὶ τοῖς περὶ πρωτοῦ φιλονεικοῦσι γινώσκουσιν μετὰ ἀπλότητος τὴν ἰσότητα παρεγγυᾶ, λέγοντες ὡς τὰ παῖδια αὐτοὺς γινώσκει δέον.*—*Clem. Alex., Strom. v. p. 660 [663.]* "And to those familiar friends striving for the pre-eminence, he commends equality together with simplicity, saying that they ought to become as little children."

in real worth, and in the favour of God, transcending the rest. So that St Peter, claiming superiority to himself, would have forfeited any title to eminency among Christians.

Again; as to the power which is now ascribed to St Peter by the party of his pretended successors, we may argue from another place, where our Saviour prohibiting his disciples to resemble the Jewish scribes and Pharisees in their ambitious desires and practices, their affectations of pre-eminence, their assuming places and titles importing difference of rank and authority, he says, Matt. xxiii. 8, "But be ye not called Rabbi: for there is one Master" (εἰς καθηγητής, one guide, or governor) "of you, even Christ; but ye are brethren." How more pregnantly could he have declared the nature of his constitution, and the relation of Christians one to another established therein, to exclude such differences of power, whereby one, in way of domination, imposes his opinion or his will on others?

"Ye are all fellow-scholars, fellow-servants, and fellow-children of God; it therefore does not become you to be any wise imperious over one another, but all of you humbly and lovingly to conspire in learning and observing the precepts of your common Lord;" the doing which is backed with a promise and a threat suitable to the purpose: "He that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that will abase himself shall be exalted:" the which sentences are to be interpreted according to the intent of the rules foregoing.

If it be said that such discourse impugns all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, I answer, that indeed thereby is removed all such haughty and harsh rule which some have exercised over Christians; that αὐθιγρία (*arbitrary power*), that ἐξουσία ἀνέκδοτος (*absolute, uncontrollable authority*), that τυραννικὴ προνομία (*tyrannical prerogative*), of which the fathers complain; that κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων (*domineering over their charges*), which St Peter forbids.¹ "We," says St Chrysostom, "were designed to teach the word, not to exercise empire or absolute sovereignty; we bear the rank of advisers, exhorting to duty."²

A bishop, says St Jerome, differs from a king, in that "a bishop presides over those that are willing, the king against their will;"³—that is, the bishop's governance should be so gentle and easy that men hardly can be unwilling to comply with it, but should obey, as St Peter exhorts, 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, Οὐκ ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλ' ἐκουσίως,—“Not

¹ Chrys. in 1 Tim. iii. 1, in Eph. Or. 11; Isid. Pel., Ep. iv. 219, ii. 125; Greg. Naz., Or. 28, 1 Pet. v. 8.

² Εἰς διδασκαλίαν λόγου προεχρισμένοι, οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲ εἰς αὐθιγρίαν συμβούλων τῶν ἐκείνων παρακινούντων.—Chrys. in Eph. Or. 11.

³ Ille enim nolentibus præest, hic volentibus.—Hier., Ep. iii. ad Nepot. Ὁ μὲντοι ἐκόντων ἐφείλων ἄρχειν, &c.—Chrys. in Tit. i. 7. "He ought to rule them so as they may be willing to be ruled," &c.

by constraint, but of their own accord;" and, "Let," says he, "the bishops be content with their honour; let them know themselves to be fathers, not lords; they should be loved, not feared."¹ And, "Thou," says St Bernard to Pope Eugenius, "dost superintend, the name of *bishop* signifying to thee not dominion but duty."²

At least [at all events] those precepts of our Lord exclude that power which is ascribed to St Peter over the apostles themselves: which, indeed, is greater than in likelihood any Pharisee ever affected, yea in many respects exceeds any domination which has been claimed or usurped by the most absolute monarch upon earth; for the power of St Peter, in their opinion, was the same which now the Roman bishop challenges to himself over the pastors and people of God's church, by virtue of succession to him (St Peter's power being the base of the papal, and therefore not narrower than its superstructure); but what domination comparable to that has ever been used in the world?

What emperor ever pretended to a rule so wide in extent, in regard either to persons or matters, or so absolute in effect?

Who, beside "His Holiness," ever usurped a command, not only over the external actions, but the most inward cogitations of all mankind, subjecting the very minds and consciences of men to his dictates, his laws, his censures?

Who ever thundered curses and damnations on all those who should presume to dissent from his opinion or to contest his pleasure?

Who ever claimed more absolute power, in making, abolishing, suspending laws, or imposing upon men what he pleased, under obligation of conscience, and upon extremest penalties?

What prince ever used a style more imperious than is that which is usual in the papal bulls: "Let it be lawful for no man whatever to infringe this expression of our will and command, or to go against it with bold rashness."³

What Domitian more commonly admitted the appellation of "lord" than does the pope? "OUR MOST HOLY LORD"⁴ is the ordinary style attributed to him by the fathers of Trent, as if they were his slaves, and intended to enslave all Christendom to him.

Who ever exempted his clients and dependants in all nations from subjection to civil laws, from undergoing common burdens and

¹ Sed contenti sint honore suo; patres se sciunt esse non dominos, &c.—*Hier., Ep. lxiii. ad Theoph.*, cap. 8. Amari parens, et episcopus debet, non timeri.—*Ibid.*, cap. i.

² Inde denique superintendis, sonante tibi episcopi nomine non dominium, sed officium.—*Bern. de Consid.*, ii. 6.

³ Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre voluntatis et mandati infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire.

⁴ Sanctissimus dominus noster.—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. xxii. cap. 11, &c.

taxes, from being judged or punished for their misdemeanours and crimes?

Who ever claimed a power to dispose of all things one way or other, either directly or indirectly—to dispose even of kingdoms, to judge sovereign princes, and to condemn them, to depose them from their authority, absolving their subjects from all allegiance to them, and exposing their kingdom to rapine?

To whom but a pope were ever ascribed prerogatives like those of judging all men, and himself being liable to no judgment, no account, no reproof or blame? so that, as a papal canon assures us, “*Si papa suæ*,” &c. (Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 6),—“Let a pope be so bad as, by his negligence and maladministration, to carry with him innumerable people to hell, yet no mortal man whatever must presume here to reprove his faults; because he being to judge all men is himself to be judged of no man, except he be caught swerving from the faith;” which is a case they will hardly suffer a man to suppose possible.

To whom but to a pope was such power attributed by his followers, and admitted by himself, that he could hear those words applied to him, “All power is given to thee in heaven and in earth?” Concil. Lat. sub Leone X. sess. xi. p. 133 (in Or. Archiep. Patrac.)

Such power the popes are wont to challenge, and when occasion serves do not fail to execute, as successors of St Peter;¹ to whom therefore, consequently, they ascribe it, and sometimes in express terms, as in that brave apostrophe of Pope Gregory VII. (the spirit of which pope has possessed his successors generally), “Go to, therefore,” said he, directing his speech to St Peter and St Paul, “most holy princes of the apostles, and what I have said confirm by your authority, that now at length all men may understand whether ye can bind and loose; that also ye can take away and give on earth empires, kingdoms, and whatever mortal men can have!”²

Now, if the assuming and exercising such powers be not that *κατα-
κρύβειν* and *καταξοφισαίνειν*, that exalting one’s self, that being called rabbi, father, master, which our Lord prohibits, what is so? what, then, can those words signify? what could our Lord mean?

The authority, therefore, which they assign to St Peter, and assume to themselves from him, is voided by those declarations and precepts of our Lord; the which it can hardly be well conceived that our Lord would have proposed if he had designed to constitute St Peter in such a supremacy over his disciples and church.

7. Surveying particulars, we shall not find any peculiar administra-

¹ Hæc itaque fiducia fretus, &c.—*Excommuni. Henrici R.*, in *Conc. Rom.* iii. sub Greg. VII., apud *Bin.*, tom. vii. p. 484.

² Agite apostolorum sanctissimi principes, &c.—*Plat. in Greg. VII.*, in *Conc. Rom.* vi., apud *Bin.*, p. 491.

tion committed to St Peter, nor any privilege conferred on him which was not also granted to the other apostles.

Was St Peter an ambassador, a steward, a minister, a vicar, if you please, or surrogate of Christ? So were they by no less immediate and express warrant than he; for, "As the Father sent me, so also I send you," said our Lord presently before his departure; by those words, as St Cyprian remarks, "granting an equal power to all the apostles:"¹ and, "We," says St Paul, 2 Cor. v. 20, "are ambassadors for Christ; we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God," and, "So let a man esteem us, as the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God," 1 Cor. iv. 1; 2 Cor. vi. 4.

Was St Peter a rock, on which the church was to be founded? Matt. xvi. 18. Be it so; but no less were they all: for the wall of Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 10, 14), which "came down from heaven," had "twelve foundations, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb;" and, "We," says St Paul, Eph. ii. 20, "are all built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ himself being the chief corner-stone;" whence "equally," says St Jerome, "the strength of the church is settled upon them."²

Was St Peter an architect of the "spiritual house," as himself calls the church, 1 Pet. ii. 5? So were also they; for, "I," says St Paul, "as a wise master-builder, have laid the foundation," 1 Cor. iii. 10.

Were *the keys* of the church (or *of the kingdom of heaven*) committed to him? Matt. xvi. 19. So also were they unto them; they had a power to open and shut it by effectual instruction and persuasion, by dispensation of the sacraments, by exercise of discipline, by exclusion of scandalous and heretical persons. Whatever faculty the keys imported, the apostles used it in the foundation, guidance, and government of the church; and, as the fathers teach, imparted it to those whom they in their stead constituted to feed and govern the church.

Had St Peter a power given him of binding and loosing effectually? So had they immediately granted by our Saviour, in as full manner, and couched in the same terms. "If thou shalt bind on earth, it shall be bound in heaven," said our Lord to him; and, "Whatsoever things ye shall bind on earth they shall be bound in heaven," said the same divine mouth to them,³ Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18.

Had he a privilege to remit and retain sins? It was, then, by virtue

¹ Et quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat, Sicut, &c.—*Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*, p. 195.

² Ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur.—*Hier. in Jorin.*, i. 14.

³ "Ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκείνοις τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιεβλημένοις ἄξιωμα, τὴν αὐτὴν προνομίαν τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν ἔχουσιν πιστεύομεν.—*I'hol. Cod.* 280, p. 1600. "Those who, by succession from them (viz. the apostles), were endowed with episcopal authority, we believe to have the same power of binding and loosing."

of that common grant or promise, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained," John xx. 23.

Had he power and obligation to feed the sheep of Christ, all or some? So had they indefinitely and immediately; so had others by authority derived from them, who were nominated *pastors*, Eph. iv. 11, who had this charge laid on them, "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood," Acts xx. 28; whom he doth himself exhort: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof," 1 Pet. v. 2. Let feeding signify what it can, instruction, or guidance, or governance, or all of them together (*regio more impera*, if you please, as Bellarmine will have it), it appertained to their charge; to teach was a common duty, to lead and to rule were common functions. St Peter could not nor would not appropriate it to himself; it is his own exhortation when he takes most upon him, "Be mindful of the commandment," or *precept*, "of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour," 2 Pet. iii. 2.

Was his commission universal or unlimited? So was theirs by the same immediate authority; for, "All power," said he to them when he gave his last charge, "is given to me in heaven and in earth. Go, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you," Matt. xxviii. 18, 19; and, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," Mark xvi. 15; Luke xxiv. 47.

They, as St Chrysostom speaks, "were all in common intrusted with the whole world, and had the care of all nations."¹

Was he furnished with extraordinary gifts, with special graces, with continual directions and assistances for the discharge of the apostolical office? So were they; for the "promise" was common of sending the Holy Spirit "to lead them into all truth," and "clothing them with the power from on high," and of endowing them with power to perform all sorts of miraculous works. Our Lord, before his departure, "breathed into them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." "All of them," says St Luke, "were filled with the Holy Ghost;" all of them with confidence and truth could say, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us;" all of them abundantly partook of that character which St Paul respected when he said, "The signs of an apostle were wrought among you, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds."—Luke xxiv. 49; John xiv. 26, xvi. 13, 14, xx. 22; Acts ii. 4, xv. 28; 2 Cor. xii. 12.

¹ Πάντες καὶ ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ ἐπισκευασμένοι.—Chrys., tom. viii. p. 115, tom. v. Or. 47, i. 2 Cor. xi. 28.

Did St Peter represent the church, as receiving privileges in its behalf, as the fathers affirm?¹ So did they, according to the same fathers. "If, therefore," says St Austin, citing the famous place, *Sicut me misit Pater*, "they did bear the person of the church, and this was said to them as if it were said to the church itself, then the peace of the church remits sins," &c.²

What singular prerogative, then, can be imagined appertaining to St Peter? what substantial advantage could he pretend to beyond the other apostles? Nothing surely appears. Whatever the patrons of his supremacy claim for him is precariously assumed, without any fair colour of proof; he for it is beholden not to any testimony of holy Scripture, but to the invention of Roman fancy. We may well infer with Cardinal Cusanus, "We know that Peter did not receive more power from Christ than the other apostles, for nothing was said to Peter which was not also said to the others. Therefore," adds he, "we rightly say that all the apostles were equal to Peter in power."³

8. Whereas St Peter himself wrote two catholic epistles, there does not in them appear any intimation, any air or savour of pretence to this arch-apostolical power. It is natural for persons endowed with unquestionable authority, howsoever otherwise prudent and modest, to discover a spice thereof in the matter or in the style of their writing; their mind, conscious of such advantage, will suggest an authoritative way of expression, especially when they earnestly exhort or seriously reprove: in which cases their very authority is a considerable motive to assent or compliance, and strongly impresses any other arguments; but no critic perusing those epistles would smell a pope in them. The speech of St Peter, although pressing his doctrine with considerations of this nature, has no tang of such authority.

"The elders," says he, "which are among you I exhort, who also am an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed," 1 Pet. v. 1. By such excellent but common advantages of his person and office, he presses on the clergy his advices.

Had he been what they make him, he might have said, "I, the peculiar vicar of Christ, and sovereign of the apostles, not only exhort but require this of you." This language had been very proper, and no less forcible; but nothing like this, nothing of the spirit and

¹ Cui totius ecclesiæ figuram gerenti, &c.—*Aug., Ep. clxv.*

² Ergo si personam gerobant ecclesiæ, et sic eis hoc dictum est, tanquam ipsi ecclesiæ diceretur, pax ecclesiæ dimittit peccata, &c.—*Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don., iii. 23.*

³ Scimus quod Petrus nihil plus potestatis a Christo recepit aliis apostolis; nihil enim dictum est ad Petrum, quod aliis etiam dictum non est. Ideo recte dicimus omnes apostolos esse æquales cum Petro in potestate.—*Card. Cus. de Conc. Cath., ii. 13.*

majesty of a pope, is seen in his discourse; there is no *pagina nostræ voluntatis et mandati*, which now is the papal style. When he speaks highest, it is in the common name of the apostles: "Be mindful," says he, "of the command," *τῆς ἐντολῆς*, (that is, of the doctrine and precepts) "of us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour," 2 Pet. iii. 2.

9. In the apostolical history, the proper place of exercising this power, ("wherein," as St Chrysostom says, "we may see the predictions of Christ, which he uttered in the gospels, reduced to act, and the truth of them shining in the things themselves,"¹) no foot-step thereof appears.

We cannot there discern that St Peter assumed any extraordinary authority, or that any deference by his brethren was rendered to him, as to their governor or judge. No instance there occurs of his laying commands on any one apostle, or exercising any act of jurisdiction upon any one; but rather, to the contrary, divers passages are observable which argue that he pretended to no such thing, and that others did not understand any such thing belonging to him.

His temper, indeed, and zeal commonly prompted him to be most forward in speaking and acting upon any emergency for the propagation or maintenance of the gospel; and the memory of the particular charge which our Lord departing had lately put on him strongly might instigate him thereto;² regard to his special gifts and sufficiency inclined the rest willingly to yield that advantage to him, and perhaps because, upon the considerations before touched, they allowed some preference in order to him;—but in other respects, as to the main administration of things, he "is but one among the rest,"³ not taking upon him in his speech or behaviour beyond others. All things are transacted by common agreement, and in the name of all concurring; no appeal in cases of difference is made singly to him; no peremptory decision or decree is made by him; no orders are issued out by him alone, or in a special way; in ecclesiastical assemblies he acts but as one member; in deliberations he only propounds his opinion, and passes a single vote; his judgment and practice are sometimes questioned, and he is put to render an account of them; he does not stand upon his authority, but assigns reasons to persuade his opinion and justify his actions; yea, sometimes he is moved by

¹ Καὶ γὰρ τὰς προφητείας αἱ ἐν ταῖς εὐαγγελίαις ὁ Χριστὸς προαναφώνη, ταύτας εἰς ἔργον ἐκταυθὲν ἵσταν ἰδίῳ, καὶ ἐκ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διαλάμψουσιν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.—*Chrys. in Act. i.*

² Ὡς ἱερεὺς, καὶ ὡς ἡμετιστευθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ποιμνίῳ, καὶ ὡς τοῦ χοροῦ πρῶτος αὐ πρῶτος ἐρχεται τοῦ λόγου.—*Chrys. in Act. i. 15.* "As being a man hot and earnest, and as intrusted with the flock by Christ, and as the foreman of the company, he ever begins to speak." Εἰκότως ταῦτα ἔγινον διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, &c.—*In Act. i. 16.* "Probably so it fell out by reason of the signal virtue of the man."

³ Ἐπειρὲς τις τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χοροῦ.—*Chrys. de Sacerd. Or. iv.*

the rest, receiving orders and employment from them.¹ These things we may discern by considering the instances which follow:—

In the designation of a new apostle, to supply the place of Judas, he indeed suggested the matter, and laid the case before them, Acts i. 15–26; he first declared his sense;—but the whole company chose two, verse 23 (*καὶ ἔστησαν δύο*), and referred the determination of one to lot, or to God's arbitration.

At the institution of deacons, Acts vi. 2, "The twelve called the multitude of disciples," and directed them "to elect" the persons; and the proposal being "acceptable" to them, it was done accordingly: "They chose Stephen," &c., whom "they set before the apostles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them."²

In that important transaction about the observance of Mosaical institutions,³ "a great stir and debate being started," which St Paul and St Barnabas by disputation could not appease, what course was then taken? Did they appeal to St Peter, as to the supreme dictator and judge of controversies? Not so; but "they sent to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, to inquire about the question," Acts xv. 2. When those great messengers were arrived there, "they were received by the church, and the apostles and elders," verse 4; and having made their report, "the apostles and elders assembled to consider about that matter," verse 6. In this assembly, "after much debate" passed, and that many had freely uttered their sense, St Peter "rose up," verse 7, with apostolical gravity, declaring what his reason and experience suggested conducing to a resolution of the point; whereto his words might indeed be much available, grounded not only upon common reason, but upon special revelation concerning the case: whereupon St James, alleging that revelation, and backing it with reason drawn from Scripture, with much authority pronounces his judgment. "Therefore," says he, "I judge," (that is, says St Chrysostom, "I authoritatively say,") "that we trouble not them who from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them," &c.⁴ And the result was, that, according to the proposal of St James, it was by general consent determined to send a decretal letter unto the Gentile Christians, containing a canon, or advice directive of their practice in the case. "It then seemed good to" (or was decreed by) "the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send." And the letter ran thus, "The apostles, and elders, and brethren, to

¹ Ὅρα δὲ αὐτὸν μισθὸν κοινῆς πάντων ποιούντα γνώμης· οὐδὲν αὐθιγενικῶς, οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς.—*Chrysa.* in *Act.* i. 16. "Behold him doing all things by common consent; nothing authoritatively nor imperiously."

² Acts vi. 2, Καὶ ἤρσαν ἑλίγους ἰσώπων πάντας τοῦ πλῆθους· καὶ ἐξελίξαντο Στέφανον, &c.

³ Acts xv. 2, Γενεμίνης στάσεως, καὶ συζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης.

⁴ Διὶ ἰσὺν κρίναι.—*Acts* xv. 19. Τί ἴσται κρίναι ἡμεῖς; ἀπὸ τοῦ μισθὸν ἐκουσίας λέγων τοῦτο ἵσταται.—*Chrysa.*

the brethren of the Gentiles,"¹ Acts xv. 13–29. Now, in all this action, in this leading precedent for the management of things in ecclesiastical synods and consistories, where can the sharpest sight descry any mark of distinction or pre-eminence which St Peter had in respect to the other apostles? Did St Peter there any wise behave himself like his pretended successors upon such occasions? What authority did he claim or use before that assembly, or in it, or after it? Did he summon or convocate it? No; they met upon common agreement. Did he preside there? No; but rather St James, "to whom," says St Chrysostom, "as bishop of Jerusalem, the government was committed."² Did he offer to curb or check any man, or to restrain him from his liberty of discourse there? No; "there was much disputation," every man frankly speaking his sense. Did he more than use his freedom of speech becoming an apostle, in arguing the case and passing his vote? No; for in so exact a relation nothing more appears. Did he form the definitions, or pronounce the decree resulting? No; St James rather did that; for, as an ancient author says, "Peter made an oration, but St James enacted the law."³ Was, beside his suffrage in the debate, any singular approbation required from him, or did he by any bull confirm the decree? No such matter; these were devices of ambition, creeping on and growing up to the pitch where they now are. In short, does any thing correspondent to papal pretences appear assumed by St Peter, or deferred to him? If St Peter was such a man as they make him, how wanting then was he to himself! how did he neglect the right and dignity of his office, in not taking more upon him upon so illustrious an occasion,—the greatest he ever met with! How defective, also, were the apostolical college, and the whole church of Jerusalem, in point of duty and decency, yielding no more deference to their sovereign, the vicar of their Lord! Whatever account may be framed of these defailances [deficiencies], the truth is, that St Peter then knew his own place and duty better than men know them now; and the rest as well understood how it became them to demean themselves. St Chrysostom's reflections on those passages are very good:—that, indeed, then "there was no fastuousness [haughtiness] in the church," and "the souls of those primitive Christians were clear of vanity;"⁴ the which dispositions did afterward spring up and grow

¹ Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς, &c.—Acts xv. 22. Τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκρυμμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.—*Ibid*, xvi. 4. Κρίναντες ἡμῖς πιστεύειν.—*Ibid*, xxi. 25.

² Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τότε πιστεύουσιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προιστάμενος πάντων.—*Chrys.*, tom. v. *Or.* 59. Ἐκείνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρισμένος . . . ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἦν.—*Chrys.* in loc. "For he had the government committed to him, . . . he was empowered."

³ Πίστεως δημογραφίᾳ, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβος νομοθετοῦ.—*Hesych.*, apud *Phot.* Cod. 275.

⁴ Οὕτως οὐδὲς τύφος ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οὕτως καθαρὰ διέξεν ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχὴ.—*Chrys.*, *ibid*.

rankly, to the great prejudice of religion, begetting those exorbitant pretences which we now disprove.

Again; when St Peter, being warned from heaven thereto, Acts x. 28, *Καὶ ἔμει δὲ Θιδὸς ἰδοὺξίς*, received Cornelius, a Gentile soldier, unto communion, divers good Christians, Acts xi. 2, who were ignorant of the warrantableness of that proceeding (as others commonly were, and St Peter himself was, before he was informed by that special revelation), did not fear *διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν*, "to contest with him" about it, not having any notion, as it seems, of his supreme unaccountable authority, not to say of that infallibility with which the canonists and Jesuits have invested him (Bell. de Pont. Rom., iv. 3, 4); unto whom St Peter renders a fair account, and makes a satisfactory apology for his proceedings,¹ verses 4–18, not brow-beating those audacious contenders with his authority, but gently satisfying them with reason. But if he had known his power to be such as now they pretend it to be, he should have done well to have asserted it, even out of good-will and charity to those good brethren, correcting their error and checking their misdemeanour, showing them what an enormous presumption it was so to contend with their sovereign pastor and judge.²

Farther; so far was St Peter from assuming command over his brethren, that he was upon occasion ready to obey their orders, as we may see by that passage, Acts viii. 14, where, upon the conversion of divers persons in Samaria, it is said that "the apostles hearing it, sent to them Peter and John, who going down, prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost." The apostles sent him: that, had he been their sovereign, would have been somewhat unseemly and presumptuous, for subjects are not wont to send their prince or soldiers their captain, to be sent being a mark of inferiority, as our Lord himself taught: "A servant," said he, "is not greater than his lord; nor he that is sent greater than he that sent him," John xiii. 16. St Luke, therefore, should at least have so expressed this passage, that the apostles might have seemed to keep their distance and observe good manners. If he had said, "They besought him to go," that had sounded well; but "They sent him" is harsh, if he were *dominus noster papa*, as the modern apostles of Rome style their Peter. The truth is, then, among Christians, there was little standing upon punctilios; private considerations and pretences to power then took small place; each one was ready to comply

¹ "Ὅρα τὸ ἄνθυπον καὶ ἀκινεδοῦλον, — ὅρα πῶς ἀπολογίζεται, καὶ οὐκ αἰσῶν τῷ τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀξιόματι κειχρῆσθαι. — *Chrys.* "See how free he is from pride and vain-glory; see how he excuses himself, and thinks himself not worthy to have the honour of a master."

² Ita ut Petrus quoque timens ne culparetur ab ipsis. — *Iren.*, iii. 12, 16, p. 200. *N.B.* In the matter at Antioch, St Peter complied with St James and the Judaizers; which did not besem such authority.

with that which the most approved; the community took upon it to prescribe unto the greatest persons, as we see again in another instance, where the brethren at Antioch "appointed Paul and Barnabas" (the most considerable persons among them) "to go up unto Jerusalem."¹ They were then "so generous, so merciful, so full of charity, as, rather than to cause or foment any disturbance, to recede, or go whither the multitude pleased, and do what was commanded by it."²

10. In all relations which occur in Scripture about controversies incident of [pertaining to] doctrine or practice, there is no appeal made to St Peter's judgment, or allegation of it as decisive; no argument is built on his authority; dissent from his opinion, or disconformity to his practice, or disobedience to his orders, is not mentioned as ground of reproof, as aggravation of any error, any misdemeanour, any disorder: which were very strange if then he was admitted or known to be the universal prince and pastor of Christians, or the supreme judge and arbitrator of controversies among them; for then surely the most clear, compendious, and effectual way to confute any error or check any disorder had been to allege the authority of St Peter against it. Who, then, could have withstood so mighty a prejudice against his cause? If now a question arises about any point of doctrine, instantly the parties (at least some one of them, which hopes to find most favour) have recourse to the pope to define it; and his judgment, with those who admit his pretences, proves sufficiently decisive, or at least greatly sways in prejudice to the opposite party. If any heresy, or any opinion disagreeing from the current sentiments, is broached, the pope presently roars, that his voice is heard through Christendom, and thunders it down; if any schism or disorder springs up, you may be sure that Rome will instantly meddle to quash it, or to settle matters as best stands with its principles and interests: such influence has the shadow of St Peter's authority now. But no such regard was then had to poor Pope Peter himself; he was not so busy and stirring in such cases. The apostles did not send heretics to be knocked down by his sentence, nor schismatics to be scourged by his censure, but were fain to use the long way of disputation, striving to convince them by testimonies of Scripture and rational discourse. If they used "authority," it was their own, which they "challenge as given

¹ Ἐταξαν ἀποσταλείν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν.—Acts xv. 2, xiii. 2.

² Τίς ὅν ἐν ὑμῖν γενναῖος; τίς ἐνσταλαγχνος; τίς ἀπολαροφωρμένος ἀγάπης; εἰπάτω, εἰ δὲ ἡμὶ ἐνθάς, καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ σχίσματα, ἰσχυρῶς, ἀπιμι ἐφ' ἡμῶν βούλησθι, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλείους.—Clem. ad Cor., 64. "Who among you is noble and generous? who has bowels of compassion? who is full of charity? Let him say, If for my sake there be sedition, and strife, and divisions, I will depart, and go whither you would have me, and do what shall be enjoined me by the multitude."

to them by Christ for edification," or upon account of the more than ordinary gifts and graces of the divine Spirit, conferred on them by God, 2 Cor. xiii. 10, x. 8, xii. 20; 1 Cor. iv. 1; 2 Thess. iii. 14; 1 Cor. vii. 25, 40; 1 Thess. iv. 8.

11. St Peter nowhere appears intermeddling as a judge or governor paramount in such cases; yea, where he does himself deal with heretics and disorderly persons, confuting and reproving them (as he deals with divers notoriously such), he proceeds not as a pope decreeing, but as an apostle warning, arguing, and persuading against them.

It is particularly remarkable how St Paul, reproving the factions which were among Christians at Corinth, represents the several parties saying, "I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, I am of Christ," 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 21. Now, supposing the case then had been clear and certain (and if it were not so then, how can it be so now?) that St Peter was sovereign of the apostles, is it not wonderful that any Christian should prefer any apostle or any preacher before him? As, if it were now clear and generally acknowledged that the pope is truly what he pretends to be, would any body stand in competition with him? would any glory in a relation to any other minister before him?

It is observable how St Clemens reflects on this contention: "Ye were," says he, "less culpable for that partiality; for ye then inclined to renowned apostles, and to a man approved by them; but now," &c.¹

If it be replied, that Christ himself did come into the comparison, I answer, that probably no man was so vain as to compare him with the rest, nor indeed could any there pretend to have been baptized by him, which was the ground of the emulation in respect of the others; but those who said they were "of Christ" were the wise and peaceable sort, who, by saying so, declined and disavowed faction: whose behaviour St Paul himself in his discourse commends and confirms, showing that all indeed were "of Christ," 1 Cor. iii. 5, the apostles being only his "ministers" to work faith and virtue in them. "None," says St Austin, "of those contentious persons were good, except those who said, But I am of Christ."²

We may also here observe, that St Paul, in reflecting upon these contentions, had a fair occasion of intimating somewhat concerning St Peter's supremacy, and aggravating their blamable fondness who compared others with him.

¹ 'Αλλ' ἡ πρόσκλησις ἐκείνη ἵστανε ἀμαρτίαν ὑμῶν προσήλθον· προσελθόντες γὰρ ἀποστόλους μιμαρτυρομένους, καὶ ἀνδρὶ διδοιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς· νυνὶ δὲ, &c.—*Clem. ad Corinth.*, 47.

² Falsum est quod illi boni erant, exceptis eis qui dicebant, Ego autem Christi.—*Aug. cont. Crescon.*, i. 27.

12. The consideration of the apostles' proceedings in the conversion of people, in the foundation of churches, and in administration of their spiritual affairs, will exclude any probability of St Peter's jurisdiction over them.

They went about their business, not by order or licence from St Peter, but according to special instinct and direction of God's Spirit, "being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, going by revelation," or according to their ordinary prudence and the habitual "wisdom given unto them," *Ἐκπιμφομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου*, Acts xiii. 4, xvi. 6, 9, Gal. ii. 2, *κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν*. By those aids, without troubling St Peter or themselves more, they founded societies, they ordained pastors, they framed rules and orders requisite for the edification and good government of churches, reserving to themselves a kind of paramount inspection and jurisdiction over them; which in effect was only *πατρικὴ ἐπιμέλεια*, "a paternal care" over them, which they particularly claimed to themselves upon account of spiritual parentage, for they had begotten them to Christ, 2 Pet. iii. 2; 1 Cor. vii. 17, xi. 34, xvi. 1; Tit. i. 5; 1 Thess. ii. 7, 11; Isid. Pel. "If," says St Paul to the Corinthians, "I am not an apostle to others, I am, however, so to you," 1 Cor. ix. 2. Why so? Because he had converted them, and could say, "As my beloved sons I warn you. For though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet ye have not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel," 1 Cor. vi. 14, 15; Gal. iv. 19. This paternal charge they exercised without any dependence or regard to St Peter, none such appearing, it not being mentioned that they ever consulted his pleasure, or rendered him an account of their proceedings; but it rather being implied, in the reports of their actions, that they proceeded absolutely, by virtue of their universal office and commission of our Lord.

If it be alleged that St Paul went to Jerusalem to St Peter, Gal. i. 18, I answer that it was "to visit him," *ἰστορήσαι*, out of respect and love, or to confer with him for mutual edification and comfort, or at most to obtain approbation from him and the other apostles, which might satisfy some doubters, but not to receive his commands or authoritative instructions from him, it being, as we shall afterwards see, the design of St Paul's discourse to disavow any such dependence on any man whatever. So St Chrysostom notes: "What," says he, "can be more humble than this soul? After so many and so great exploits, having no need at all of Peter, or of his discourse, but being in dignity equal to him (for I will now say no more), he yet goes up to him, as to one greater and ancients; and a sight alone of Peter is the cause of his journey thither." And, "He went," says he again, "not to learn any thing of him, nor to

receive any correction from him, but for this only, that he might see him, and honour him with his presence.”¹

And, indeed, that there was no such deference of the apostles to St Peter we may hence reasonably presume, because it would then have been not only impertinent and needless, but inconvenient and troublesome; for,—

13. If we consider the nature of the apostolical office, the state of things at that time, and the manner of St Peter’s life, in correspondence to those things, he will appear incapable or unfit to manage such a jurisdiction over the apostles as they assign him.

The nature of the apostolical ministry was such that the apostles were not fixed in one place of residence, but were continually moving about the world, or *in procinctu*, ready in their gear to move whither divine suggestions called them or fair occasion invited them, for the propagation or furtherance of the gospel, 2 Cor. xi. 25, [28.]²

The state of things was not favourable to the apostles, who were discountenanced and disgraced, persecuted and driven from one place to another, as our Lord foretold of them. Christians lay scattered about at distant places, so that opportunities of despatch for conveyance of instructions from him or of accounts to him were not easily found.—1 Cor. iv. 9; 2 Cor. iv. 8, vi. 4, xi. 25; Matt. xxiv. 9; Luke xxi. 12.

St Thomas preaching in Parthia, St Andrew in Scythia, St John in Asia, Simon Zelotes in Britain,³ St Paul in many places,⁴ other apostles and apostolical men in Arabia, in Ethiopia, in India, in Spain, in Gaul, in Germany,—“in the whole world, and in all the creation under heaven,” as St Paul speaks, Col. i. 6, 23, Rom. x. 18,—could not well maintain correspondence with St Peter, especially considering the manner of his life, which was not settled in any one known place, but movable and uncertain; for he continually roved over the wide world, preaching the gospel, converting, confirming, and comforting Christian people, as occasion starting up induced. How, then,

¹ Τί ταύτης ταπεινοφρονίστατον γίνουτ' ἐν τῆς ψυχῆς; μετὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τοιαῦτα κατωρ-
θώματα μηδὲν Πέτρου διέμνει, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότητος ὡς αὐτῷ (πλίον γὰρ
οὐδὲν ἰρῶ τίας) ἡμῶς ἀνίρχεται ὡς πρὸς μίζιστα, καὶ πρὸς οὐσίαν· καὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας αὐτοῦ
τῆς ἐκεῖ γίνεσθαι αἰτίας ἡ ἱστορία Πέτρου μόνη Οὐχ ὡς μαθησάμενός τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ
ὡς διόρθωσιν τινα διδάμενος, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτο μόνον, ὅστε ἰδίῳ αὐτὸν καὶ τιμῆσαι τῇ παρουσίᾳ.
—Chrys. in Gal. i. 18.

² Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἡμεῖλλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἀναδίστασθαι, οὐκ ἴδις συμπεισλίχθαι
λαοὺς ἀλλήλοις· ἡ γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῃ ταῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γίγνηται ζημία.—Chrys. in Joh. xxi. 23.
“For seeing they were to take upon them the inspection and superintendency of all the
world, it behoves them not any longer to be mixed or conjoined together; for this had
been a great loss and hinderance to the world.”

³ Euseb., iii. 1; Niceph., ii. 38–40; Tertul. ad Jud., cap. vii.

⁴ Ὁ τὴν οἰκουμένην σταδίουσας, καὶ τῷ περὶ πίστιν δρόμῳ τὸν κόσμον μικρὸν ἀποφθinas.—
Bas. Seleuc., Or. ii. “He that ran his race through the whole universe, and, by his so
eager running for the faith, made the world, as it were, too narrow for him.”

could he conveniently dispense all about his ruling and judging influence? how in cases incident could direction be fetched from him or reference be made to him by those subordinate governors, who could not easily know where to come at him, or whence to hear from him in any competent time? To send to him had been to shoot at rovers: * affairs, therefore, which should depend on his resolution and orders must have had great stops; he could but very lamely have executed such an office; so that his jurisdiction must have been rather an extreme inconvenience and encumbrance than any wise beneficial or useful to the church.

"Gold and silver he had none," or a very small purse, to maintain dependants and officers to help him (nuncios, legates *a latere*, secretaries, auditors, &c.); infinity of affairs would have oppressed a poor helpless man; and to bear such a burden as they lay on him, no one could be sufficient.

14. It was indeed most requisite that every apostle should have a complete, absolute, independent authority in managing the concerns and duties of his office, that he might not any wise be obstructed in the discharge of them, not clogged with a need to consult others, not hampered with orders from those who were at distance and could not well descry what was fit in every place to be done.

The direction of Him who had promised to be "perpetually present with them," and by his Holy Spirit to guide, to instruct, to admonish them upon all occasions, was abundantly sufficient, Matt. xxviii. 20, John xiv. 26, xvi. 13: they did not want any other conduct or aid beside that special light and powerful influence of grace which they received from him; the which *ἐκάνωσεν αὐτοὺς*, as St Paul speaks, "rendered them sufficient ministers of the new testament," 2 Cor. iii. 6; Rom. xv. 15.

Accordingly, their discourse and practice thoroughly savour of such an independence; nor in them is there any appearance of that being true which Bellarmine dictates, that "the apostles depended on St Peter, as on their head and commander."¹

15. Particularly, the discourse and behaviour of St Paul towards St Peter evidences that he did not acknowledge any dependence on him, any subjection to him.

St Paul often purposely asserts to himself an independent and absolute power, inferior or subordinate to none other, insisting thereon for the enforcement or necessary defence of his doctrine and practice ("I am become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me," says he, 2 Cor. xii. 11, Rom. xi. 13); alleging divers pregnant arguments

* *At rovers*,—i.e., at random, without any particular aim.—Ed.

¹ — a quo illi tanquam a capite et imperatore suo pendeant. — *Bellarmin. de Pont.*, i. 16.

to prove and confirm it, drawn from the manner of his call, the characters and warrants of his office, the tenor of his proceedings in the discharge of it, the success of his endeavours, the approbation and demeanour toward him of other apostles.

As for his call and commission to the apostolical office, he maintains, as if he meant designedly to exclude those pretences that other apostles were only called "in partem solitudinis" with St Peter (Bell, i. 9, 14, 16), that he was "an apostle, not from men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father,"—*Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου*, Gal. i. 1;—that is, that he derived not his office immediately or mediately from men, or by the ministry of any man, but immediately had received the grant and charge thereof from our Lord; as indeed the history plainly shows, in which our Lord tells him that he "constituted him an officer, and a chosen instrument to him, to bear his name to the Gentiles."¹

Hence he so often is careful and cautious to express himself an apostle "by the will" and special "grace" (or favour), and appointment and command of God; and particularly tells the Romans that "by Christ he had received grace and apostleship."²

For the warrant of his office, he does not allege the allowance of St Peter or any other, but those special gifts and graces which were conspicuous in him, and exerted in miraculous performance. "Truly," says he, "the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds;" and, "I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God," 2 Cor. xii. 12; Rom. xv. 18, 19; 1 Cor. ii. 4.

To the same purpose he alleges his successful industry in converting men to the gospel. "Am I not an apostle?" says he, "are ye not my work in the Lord? If I am not an apostle to others, I am surely one to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord." And, "By the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was on me became not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all," 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2, xv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 23.

In the discharge of his office, he immediately, after that he had received his call and charge from our Saviour, without consulting or taking licence from any man, vigorously applied himself to the work. "Immediately," says he, "I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that before me were

¹ Προχειρίσασθαι σε ὑπαρέστην, &c.—Acts ix. 15, xxii. 21, xxvi. 16.

² Διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ.—1 Cor. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 1; Eph. i. 1; Col. i. 1; 2 Tim. i. 1. χάριτι.—Rom. i. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 10; Eph. iii. 7; 1 Tim. i. 12. Κατ' ἰσχυράν.—1 Tim. i. 1.

apostles," Gal. i. 16, 17: so little did he take himself to be accountable to any man.

In settling order and correcting irregularities in the church, he professed to act merely by his own authority, conferred on him by our Lord. "Therefore," says he, "being absent, I write these things, that being present I may not use severity, according to the authority which the Lord hath given me for edification, not for destruction," 2 Cor. xiii. 10, x. 8.

Such being the privileges which he asserted to himself with all confidence, he did not receive for it any check from other apostles; but the chief of them, "knowing the grace that was given unto him, gave unto him the right hand of fellowship," in token of their acknowledgment and allowance of his proceedings, Gal. ii. 9.

Upon these considerations, plainly signifying his absolute independence in the reception and execution of his office, he more than once affirms (and in a manner "boasts") himself "to be inferior in nothing to the very chief apostles," 2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11. *In nothing*,—that is, in nothing pertinent to the authority or substantial dignity of his place: for as to his personal merit, he professes himself "much less than the least of the apostles," 1 Cor. xv. 9, Eph. iii. 8; but as to the authenticness and authority of his office, he deemed himself equal to the greatest, "being by the grace of God what he was, a minister of the gospel, according to the gift of the grace of God, which was given him according to the effectual working of his power," 1 Cor. xv. 10; Eph. iii. 7.

When he said he was "behind none," 2 Cor. xi. 5, he could not forget St Peter; when he said, "none of the chief," he could not but especially mean him (he did indeed, as St Chrysostom says, intend "to compare himself with St Peter");¹ when he said, "in nothing," he could not but design that which was most considerable, the authority of his place, which in the context he expressly mentioned. For when he objected to himself the semblance of fondness or arrogance in speaking after that manner, *κατὰ προδιόρθωσιν*, [by way of correcting himself], 2 Cor. xii. 11, i. 16, 17, he declared that he did not speak rashly or vainly, but upon serious consideration, and with full assurance, finding it very needful or useful to maintain his authority, or to "magnify his office," as he elsewhere speaks, Rom. xi. 13.

If things had been as now we are taught from the Roman school, it is strange that St Paul should compare himself so generally, not excepting St Peter; that he should not express, nor by the least touch intimate, any special consideration for his (as they tell us) "ordinary pastor" (Bell. de Pont., i. 11); that he should not consider

¹ Πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ποιούμενος τὴν σύγκρισιν.

how liable such words were to be interpreted in derogation to St Peter's due prerogatives.

But it is no wonder that St Paul, in St Peter's absence, should thus stand on his own legs, not seeming to mind him, whenas, in immediate transactions with him, he demeaned himself as his fellow, yielding to him no respect or deference, as to his superior; for,—

When St Paul went to Jerusalem, to have conference with St Peter and other apostles, who were chief in repute, he professes that "they did not confer [impart] any thing to him," Gal. ii. 6, so as to change his opinion, or divert him from his ordinary course of practice, which was different from theirs. This was, it seems, hardly proper or seemly for him to say if St Peter had been his sovereign; but he seems to say it on very purpose, to exclude any prejudice that might arise to his doctrine from their authority or repute,—their authority being none over him, their repute being impertinent to the case: for "whatsoever," adds he, Gal. ii. 6, "they were, it maketh no matter to me; God respecteth no man's person;" the which might well be said of persons greater in common esteem, but not so well of one who was his superior in office, to whose opinion and conduct, as of his judge and pastor by God's appointment, he owed a special regard.

Again: St Paul at Antioch, observing St Peter, out of fear and policy, to act otherwise than became the simplicity and sincerity of Christians, to the prejudice of "evangelical truth," charity, and liberty, against his own judgment and former practice, drawing others by his pattern into the same unwarrantable course of behaviour, did "withstand him to the face;" did "openly reprove him before all, because he was blamable," Gal. ii. 11, 14; did, as Pope Gelasius I. affirms¹ (to excuse another pope misbehaving himself), "worthily confute him;" did, as St Augustine often affirms and urges, in proof that the greatest persons may sometimes err and fail, "correct him, rebuke him, chide him."²

Which behaviour of St Paul does not well consist with the "sup-

¹ Vide P. Pelag. II., apud. Bin., tom. iv. p. 308, in Epist. ad Eliam. Nunquid ideo aut illa ejus sequenda sunt, quæ merito ejus co-apostolus ejus facta redarguit.—*Gelas. I. de Anath.*, apud Bin., tom. iii. p. 645.

² Apostolo Paulo monstrante et corrigente.—*Aug. cont. Crescon.*, i. 32, ii. 32, *Ep. 19, de Bapt. cont. Don.*, ii. 1, 2. Corruptus, *cont. Don.*, ii. 1; objurgavit, *Ep. 8.* — quide minore causa conversationis ambigua Petro ipsi non pepercit.—*Tert.*, v. 3, *contra Marc.* — "who for a smaller matter of doubtful conversation spared not Peter himself." Cum laudetur etiam Pauli minimi apostolorum sana ratio atque libertas, quod Petrum apostolorum primum adductum in hypocrisin, et non recta via incidentem ad veritatem evangelii fidenter improbens, in faciem illi restitit, eumque coram omnibus coram objurgavit.—*Fac. Her.*, viii. 6. "Whereas the sound reason and freedom even of Paul, the least of the apostles, is commended, in that when Peter, the chief of the apostles, was carried away with dissimulation, and walked not in a right way, according to the truth of the gospel, he boldly disapproved, withstood him to the face, and reprovèd him openly before all."

position that St Peter was his superior in office."¹ If that had been, Porphyry with good colour of reason might have objected procacity [petulance] to St Paul, in taxing his betters; for he then, indeed, had showed us no commendable pattern of demeanour towards our governors, in so boldly opposing St Peter, in so openly censuring him, in so smartly confuting him.

More unseemly, also, it had been to report the business as he does in writing to the Galatians: for to divulge the miscarriages of superiors, to revive the memory of them, to register them, and transmit them down to all posterity, to set forth our clashing and contests with them, is hardly allowable; if it may consist with justice and honesty, it does yet little savour of gravity and modesty. It would have been more seemly for St Paul to have privately and humbly remonstrated to St Peter, than openly and downrightly to have reprehended him; at least, it would have become him in cold blood to have represented his carriage more respectfully, consulting the honour of the universal pastor, whose reputation was like to suffer by such a representation of his proceedings. Pope Pelagius II. would have taught St Paul better manners, who says that. "they are not to be approved, but reprobated, who reprove or accuse their prelates."² And Pope Gregory would have taught him another lesson,—namely, that "though the evils of their superiors may displease good subjects, yet they take care to conceal them from others;"³ and, "Subjects are to be admonished that they do not rashly judge the life of their superiors, should they happen to see them act blamably," &c.⁴

It is plain that St Paul was more bold with St Peter than any man now must be with the pope; for let the pope commit never so great crimes, yet should "no mortal," says the canon law, "presume to reprove his faults."—*Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 6.*

But if St Peter were not in office superior to St Paul, but his colleague and equal in authority, although preceding him in standing, repute, and other advantages, then St Paul's free proceeding toward him was not only warrantable but wholesome, and deserving, for edification, to be recited and recorded, as implying an example how colleagues upon occasion should with freedom and sincerity admonish their brethren of their errors and faults; St Peter's carriage, in patiently bearing that correction [reproof] also affording another good pattern of equanimity in such cases. To which purpose St Cyprian,

¹ Hier. ad Aug., Ep. xi., in Prol. ad Gal.

² Non sunt consentiendi, sed reprobandi, qui praelatos suos reprehendunt vel accusant.—*Pelag. II., Ep. ii.*

³ Bonis subditis sic praepositorum suorum mala displicent, ut tamen hæc ab aliis occultent.—*Greg. M. Moral. xxv. 15.*

⁴ Admonendi sunt subditi, ne praepositorum suorum vitam temere judicent, siquid eos fortasse agere reprehensibiliter vident, &c.—*Greg. Past., part iii. cap. 1, Admon. 5.*

alleged and approved by St Augustine, applies this passage: "For," says he, "neither Peter, whom the Lord first chose, and upon whom he built his church, when Paul afterward contested with him about circumcision, did insolently challenge or arrogantly assume any thing to himself, so as to say that he held the primacy, and that those who were newer and later apostles ought to obey him; neither despised he St Paul because he was before a persecutor of the church;—but he admitted the counsel of truth, and easily consented to the lawful course which St Paul maintained, yielding, indeed, to us an example both of concord and patience, that we should not pertinaciously love our own things, but should rather take those things for ours which sometimes are profitably and wholesomely suggested by our brethren and colleagues, if they are true and lawful."¹ This St Cyprian speaks upon supposition that St Peter and St Paul were equals, or, as he calls them, "brethren and colleagues," in rank co-ordinate; otherwise St Cyprian would not have approved the action, for he often severely inveighs against inferiors taking upon them to censure their superiors. "What swelling of pride," says he, "what arrogance of mind, what inflation of heart is it, to call our superiors and bishops to our cognizance!"² St Cyprian, therefore, could not conceive St Peter to be St Paul's governor or superior in power; he, indeed, plainly enough, in the fore-cited words, signifies that in his judgment St Peter had done "insolently and arrogantly" if he had assumed any "obedience" from St Paul. St Augustine, also, in several places of his writings, makes the like application of this passage.³

The ancient writer contemporary to St Ambrose, and passing under his name, argues in this manner: "Who dared resist Peter the first apostle, to whom the Lord did give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but another such a one, who, in assurance of his election, knowing himself to be not unequal to him, might constantly disprove what he had unadvisedly done?"⁴

It is, indeed, well known that Origen, and after him St Chrysostom and St Jerome, and divers of the ancients beside, conceived that St Paul did not seriously oppose or tax St Peter, but did only do it seemingly, upon confederacy with him, for promoting a good design.⁵

¹ Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, &c.—*Cypr. Ep. lxxi., ad Quint.*

² Quis enim hic est superbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, quæ mentis inflatio ad cognitionem suam præpositos et sacerdotes vocare!—*Cypr. Ep. lxxix.*

³ Aug. cont. Don. de Bapt., ii. 1, 2; Ep. 19.

⁴ Nam quis eorum auderet Petro primo apostolo, cui claves regni cælorum Dominus dedit, resistere, nisi alius talis, qui fiducia electionis suæ, sciens se non imparem, constanter improbaret quod ille sine consilio fecerat?—*Ambr. in Gal. ii. 9.* Paulus Petrum reprehendit; quod non auderet, nisi se non imparem sciret.—*Hieron. vel alius quæ ad Gal. citatus a Grat. Caus. ii. qu. 7, cap. 33.* "Paul reprehended Peter; which he would not have dared to do, had he not known himself to be equal to him."

⁵ S. Cyril. cont. Jul., lib. ix. p. 325; Chrysa., tom. v. Or. 59; Οὐκ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς, Aug., Ep. xi., &c.

This interpretation, however strained and earnestly impugned by St Austin, I will not discuss, but only shall observe, that it being admitted does rather strengthen than weaken our discourse; for if St Peter were St Paul's governor, it makes St Peter to have consented to an act in all appearance indecent, irregular, and scandalous. And how can we imagine that St Peter would have conspired to the impairing his own just authority in the eye of a great church? Does not such a condescension imply in him a disavowing of superiority over St Paul, or a conspiracy with him to overthrow good order?

To which purpose we may observe that St Chrysostom, in a large and very elaborate discourse, wherein he professes to endeavour "an aggravation" of the irregularity of St Paul's demeanour, if it were serious,¹ does not lay the stress of that aggravation upon St Paul's opposing his lawful governor, but his only so treating a *co-apostle* of such eminency;—neither, when to that end he designs to reckon all the advantages of St Peter beyond St Paul, or any other apostle, does he mention this, which was chiefly material to his purpose, that he was St Paul's governor: which observations if we carefully weigh, we can hardly imagine that St Chrysostom had any notion of St Peter's supremacy in relation to the apostles.²

In fine, the drift of St Paul, in reporting those passages concerning himself, was not to disparage the other apostles, nor merely to commend himself, but to fence the truth of his doctrine, and maintain the liberty of his disciples against any prejudice that might arise from any authority that might be pretended in any considerable respects superior to his, and alleged against them; to which purpose he declares, by arguments and matters of fact, that his authority was perfectly apostolical, and equal to the greatest;—even to that of St Peter, the prime apostle; of St John, the beloved disciple; of St James, the bishop of Jerusalem; the judgment or practice of whom was no law to him, nor should be to them, farther than it consisted with that doctrine which he, by an independent authority, and by special "revelation from Christ," preached unto them, Gal. i. 12. He might, as St Chrysostom notes, have pretended "to some advantage over them," in regard that he "had laboured more abundantly than they all;" but he forbears to do so, "being contented to obtain equal advantages."³

Well, therefore, considering the disadvantage which this passage

¹ Chrys., tom. v. Or. 59, Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὴν κατηγορίαν καὶ μᾶλλον ποιῶ, &c.

² 'Ὅς οὐδὲν μοι ὄφελος ἐν Πέτρῳ τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀποσκευασαμένου, ὁ Παῦλος φαίνεται θάρραλως καὶ ἀπειρηκίᾳ τοῦ συναποστόλου κατηγορῶν, &c. "So that is no advantage to me, if, when Peter has confuted the charge, Paul appear to accuse *his fellow-apostle* boldly and inconsiderately."

³ Καὶ ταύτη μάλιστα τῶν ἀποστόλων πλιονεκτίας, περισσώτερον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἰσχύισα, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τίως οὐ κατασκευάζει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾷ τὰ ἴσα φίλων.—Chrys. in Gal. i. 1.

brings to the Roman pretence, might this history be called by Baronius "a history hard to be understood, a stone of offence, a rock of scandal, a rugged place, which St Augustine himself, under favour, could not pass over without stumbling."—Baron., An. li. § 32–35, &c.

It may also be considered that St Paul particularly asserts to himself an independent authority over the Gentiles, co-ordinate to that which St Peter had over the Jews, Rom. xi. 13;¹ the which might engage him so earnestly to contest with St Peter, as by his practice seducing those who belonged to his charge; the which, also, probably moved him thus to assert his authority to the Galatians, as being Gentiles under his care, and thence obliged especially to regard his authority. "They," says St Paul, "knowing that I was intrusted with the gospel of uncircumcision, as Peter was intrusted with that of circumcision, gave unto me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship," Gal. ii. 7, 9: the which words clearly enough signify that he took himself, and that the other apostles took him, to have, under Christ, an absolute charge, subordinate to no man, over the Gentiles; whence he claims to himself, as his burden, "the care of all the churches," 2 Cor. xi. 28. He, therefore, might well contest for their liberty; he might well insist upon his authority among them.

Thus did St Chrysostom understand the case; for "Christ," says he, "committed the Jews to Peter, but set Paul over the Gentiles;"² and, "He," says that great father, "farther shows himself to be equal to them in dignity, and compares himself not only to the others, but even to the ringleader, showing that each enjoys equal dignity."³

It may also, by any prudent considerer, easily be discerned, that if St Peter had really been, as they assert him, so in authority superior to the other apostles, it is hardly possible that St Paul should upon these occasions express nothing of it.

16. If St Peter had been appointed sovereign of the church, it seems that it should have been requisite that he should have out-lived all the apostles; for then [otherwise] either the church must have wanted a head, or there must have been an inextricable controversy about who that head was. St Peter died long before St John, as all agree, and perhaps before divers others of the apostles. Now, after his departure, did the church want a head? Then it might before and after have none, and our adversaries lose the main ground of their

¹ Plena autoritas Petro in Judaismi prædicatione data dignoscitur, et Pauli perfecta autoritas in prædicatione Gentium invenitur.—*Amb.* "There is recognised a full authority given to Peter of preaching to the Jews, and in Paul there is found a perfect power and authority of preaching to the Gentiles."

² Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαίους ἰστίριψι τῇ Πίτρω, τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τὸν Παῦλον ἰσίστηεν ὁ Χριστός.—*Chrys.*, tom. v. Or. 59.

³ Διόκουσιν αὐτοῖς ἰσότημον ὄντα λοιπὸν, καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ τῇ κορυφαίᾳ συγκρίνει, διωνὺς ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἰσαστος ἀπίλαυσιν ἀξίας.—*Chrys.* in Gal. ii. 8.

pretence. Did one of the apostles become head? which of them was it? upon what ground did he assume the headship, or who conferred it on him? who ever acknowledged any such thing, or where is there any report about it? Was any other person made head? (suppose the bishop of Rome, who only pretends thereto); then did St John and other apostles become subject to one in degree inferior to them? Then what becomes of St Paul's "first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers?" 1 Cor. xii. 28. What do all the apostolical privileges come to, when St John must be at the command of Linus, and Cletus, and Clement, and of I know not who beside? Was it not a great absurdity for the apostles to truckle under the "pastors and teachers" of Rome? Eph. iv. 11.

The like may be said for St James, if he (as the Roman church does in its Liturgics suppose) were an apostle who in many respects might claim the pre-eminence; who, therefore, in the Apostolical Constitutions, is preferred before Clement, bishop of Rome.

17. Upon the same grounds on which a supremacy of power is claimed to St Peter, other apostles might also challenge a superiority therein over their brethren; but to suppose such a difference of power among the rest is absonous [absurd]; and therefore the grounds are not valid upon which St Peter's supremacy is built.

I instance in St James and St John, who upon the same probabilities had, after St Peter, a preference to the other apostles: for to them our Saviour declared a special regard; to them the apostles afterwards may seem to have yielded a particular deference; they, in merit and performances, seem to have surpassed; they, after St Peter and his brother, were first called to the apostolical office; they, as St Peter, were by our Lord new christened, as it were, and nominated "Boanerges," by a name signifying the efficacy of their endeavours in their Master's service; they, together with St Peter, were assumed to behold the transfiguration; they were culled out to wait on our Lord in his agony; they also, with St Peter (others being excluded), were taken to attest our Lord's performance of that great miracle of restoring the ruler's daughter to life; they, presuming on their special favour with our Lord, pretended to the chief places in his kingdom.—Matt. iv. 21; Luke v. 10; Mark iii. 17; Matt. xvii. 1, 2; 2 Pet. i. 16; Matt. xxvi. 37; Mark xiv. 33, v. 37; Matt. xx. 20, 21; Mark x. 35, 37.

To one of them it is expressed that our Saviour bore a peculiar affection, he being "the disciple whom Jesus loved," and "who leaned on his bosom." To the other he particularly discovered himself after his resurrection, and first honoured him with the crown of martyrdom, John xiii. 23, xxi. 7, 20; 1 Cor. xv. 7.

They in blood and cognation did nearest touch our Lord, being his

cousins-german; which was esteemed by the ancients a ground of preferment, as Hegeippus reports.¹

Their industry and activity in propagation of the gospel was most eminently conspicuous.

To them it was peculiar, that St James first suffered for it (Acts xii. 2), and St John longest persisted in the faithful confession of it; whose writings, in several kinds, remain as the richest magazines of Christian doctrine, furnishing us with the fullest testimonies concerning the divinity of our Lord, with special histories of his life, and with his divinest discourses, with most lively incitements to piety and charity, with prophetic revelations concerning the state of the church. He, therefore, was one of the *στυλοὶ*, chief pillars and props of the Christian profession; one of *ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀπόστολοι*, "the superlative apostles," Gal. ii. 9; 2 Cor. xi. 5, xii. 11.

Accordingly, in the rolls of the apostles, and in reports concerning them, their names usually are placed after St Peter, Mark iii. 16, 17; Acts i. 13.

Hence, also, some of the fathers do take them, as St Peter was, to have been preferred by our Lord. "Peter," says St Gregory Nazianzen, "and James, and John, who both were indeed, and were reckoned, before the others; so, indeed, did Christ himself prefer them." And, "Peter, James, and John," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "did not, as being preferred by the Lord himself, contest for honour, but chose James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem," (or, as Rufinus reads, [renders it,] "bishop of the apostles."²)

Hence, if by designation of Christ, by the concession of the apostolical college, by the prefulgency of his excellent worth and merit, or upon any other ground, St Peter had the *πρωτεία*, or first place, the *δουρεψία*, or next place in the same kind, by like means, upon the same grounds, seems to have belonged unto them; and if their advantage implied difference, not in power but in order only, not authoritative superiority, but honorary precedence, then can no more be allowed or concluded due to him.

18. The fathers, both in express terms and implicitly or by consequence, assert the apostles to have been equal or co-ordinate in power and authority.

What can be more express than that of St Cyprian: "The other

¹ Τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας ἀγγέλλειν τοῖς ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς αὐτὸν δὴ μάρτυρας ἑμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ Κυρίου.—*Hegeipp.*, apud *Euseb.*, iii. 20. "They being dismissed, and sent away to govern the churches, as being both witnesses and also kinsmen of our Lord."

² Δαδὼν ταῖναι τοὺς κορυφαίους.—*Chrys. in Matt.* xvii. 1. "Taking, therefore, the chief and principal." Διὰ τὸ τοῦτους παραλαμβάνει μόνους; ὅτι οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἦσαν ὑπερέχοντες.—*Chrys., ibid.* "Wherefore taketh he these only with him? Because these were the chief and principal above the others." Πίτρος, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀρμεζόμενοι . . . αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ Χριστοῦ προτίμησις.—*Greg. Naz., Or.* xxvi. Πίτρος φησι καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης ὡς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτιμημένους μὴ ἐπιδιμάττειν δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἱλιόσθαι. (*Rufinus reddit, apostolorum episcopum.*)—*Clem. Alex.*, apud *Euseb.*, ii. 1.

apostles were indeed that which Peter was, endowed with equal consortship of honour and power;"¹ and again, "Although our Lord gives to all the apostles after his resurrection an equal power, and says, 'As the Father sent me, so I send you?'"²

What can be more plain than that of St Chrysostom: "St Paul shows that each apostle enjoyed equal dignity?"³

How, again, could St Chrysostom more clearly signify his opinion than when, comparing St Paul to St Peter, he calls St Paul *ισότιμον αὐτῷ*, "equal in honour to him;" adding, *πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τίως*, "for I will not as yet say any thing more:" as if he thought St Paul indeed the more honourable?—Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8. Vide Tert. de Præscr. cap. xx.

How, also, could St Cyril more plainly declare his sense to be the same, than when he called St Peter and St John *ισοτίμους ἀλλήλοις*, "equal to one another in honour?"⁴

Did not St Jerome also sufficiently declare his mind in the case when he says of the apostles, that "the strength of the church is equally settled upon them?"⁵

Does not Dionysius (the supposed Areopagite) call "the decade of the apostles co-ordinate with their foreman," St Peter?⁶ in conformity, I suppose, to the current judgment of his age.

What can be more full than that of Isidore, whose words show how long this sense continued in the church: "The other apostles received an equal share of honour and power, who also, being dispersed in the whole world, preached the gospel; and to whom, on their departure, the bishops succeeded, who are constituted through the whole world in the sees of the apostles?"⁷

By consequence, the fathers do assert this equality when they affirm, as we before showed, the apostolical office to be absolutely supreme; when also they affirm, as afterwards we shall show, all the apostles'

¹ Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis.

² — quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, ac dicat, &c.—*Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

³ Διευκρίνεις, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἰσότητος ἀπέλαυσεν ἁξίας.—*Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8.*

⁴ Πίστερι καὶ ἰσότητι ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις, καθὼς καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ μαθηταί.—*Act. Con. Eph.*, part i. p. 209. "Peter and John were equal in honour one to another, as were also the apostles and holy disciples." Did Tertullian think St Paul inferior to St Peter when he said, "It is well that Peter is even in martyrdom equalled to Paul?" Bene quod Petrus Paulo et in martyrio adæquatur.—*Tert. de Præscr. xxiv.*

⁵ At dicis super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur.—*Hieron. in Jovin.*, i. 14. "But you will say the church is founded upon Peter, though the same thing in another place is affirmed of all the apostles, and that," &c.

⁶ Ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν κορυφαῖος, μετὰ τῆς ὁμοταγείας αὐτῶ καὶ ἱεραρχικῆς διακρίσεως.—*Dionys. de Eccl. Hier.*, cap. v.

⁷ Cæteri apostoli cum Petro par consortium honoris et potestatis acceperunt, qui etiam in toto orbe dispersi evangelium prædicaverunt, quibusque decedentibus successerunt episcopi, qui sunt constituti per totum mundum in sedibus apostolorum.—*Isid. Hisp. de Off.*, ii. 5.

successors to be equal as such; and particularly, that the Roman bishop, upon account of his succeeding St Peter, has no pre-eminence above his brethren; for, "Wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thania, he is of the same worth and of the same priesthood. The power of wealth or the lowness of poverty does not render a bishop more high or more low; for all of them are successors of the apostles."¹

19. Neither is it, to prudential esteem, a despicable consideration that the most ancient of the fathers, having occasion sometimes largely to discourse of St Peter, do not mention any such prerogatives belonging to him.

20. The last argument which I shall use against this primacy shall be the insufficiency of those arguments and testimonies which they allege to warrant and prove it.

If this point be of so great consequence as they make it; if, as they would persuade us, the substance, order, unity, and peace of the church, together with the salvation of Christians, depend on it;² if, as they suppose, many great points of truth hang on this pin; if it be, as they declare, a main article of faith, and "not only a simple error, but a pernicious heresy, to deny this primacy;"³—then it is requisite that a clear revelation from God should be producible in favour of it, for upon that ground only such points can firmly stand; then it is most probable that God, to prevent controversies, occasions of doubt, and excuses for error about so grand a matter, would not have failed to have declared it so plainly as might serve to satisfy any reasonable man, and to convince any froward gainsayer. But no such revelation appears; for the places of Scripture which they allege do not plainly express it nor pregnantly imply it, nor can it by fair consequence be inferred from them. No man unprepossessed with affection to their side would descry it in them; without thwarting St Peter's order, and "wresting the Scriptures," 2 Pet. iii. 16, they cannot deduce it from them. This by examining their allegations will appear.

I. They allege those words of our Saviour, uttered by him upon occasion of St Peter's confessing him to be the Son of God, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church," Matt. xvi. 18. Here, say they, St Peter is declared the foundation; that is, the sole supreme governor of the church.⁴

¹ Ubicumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c.—*Illec. ad Evagr., Ep. lxxxv.*; *Clem. ad Corinth. Iren.*, iii. 12, iii. 1, 3. [Eugubium, or Gubio (a small town in the Roman States), Rhegium and Thania (Tunis?) are here contrasted with the large cities of Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria, to show that all bishops or pastors are alike successors of the apostles.—Ed.]

² Agitur de summa rei Christianæ, &c.—*Bell. Præf. ad Lib. de Pontif. R.*

³ Est enim revera non simplex error, sed pernicioſa hæresis, negare B. Petri primum a Christo institutum.—*Bell. de Pont. R.*, i. 10.

⁴ S. Romana ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutis cæteris ecclesiis prælata est, and

To this I answer,—

1. Those words do not clearly signify any thing to their purpose; for they are metaphorical, and thence ambiguous, or capable of divers interpretations; whence they cannot suffice to ground so main a point of doctrine, or to warrant so huge a pretence. These ought to stand upon downright, evident, and indubitable testimony.

It is pretty [curious] to observe how Bellarmine proposes this testimony. "Of which words," says he, "the sense is plain and obvious, that it be understood that under two metaphors the principate of the whole church was promised;" as if that sense could be so plain and obvious which is couched under two metaphors, and those not very pat or clear in application to their sense.

2. This is manifestly confirmed from [considering] that the fathers and divines, both ancient and modern, have much differed in exposition of these words.^a

For some interpret "This rock" to be Christ himself; of whom St Paul says, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. iii. 11.

St Austin tells us in his *Retractations*, that he often had expounded the words to this purpose; although he did not absolutely reject that interpretation which made St Peter the rock, leaving it to the reader's choice which is the more probable.^b

Others, and those most eminent fathers, take the rock to be St Peter's faith or profession. "Upon the rock," says the prince of interpreters [Chrysostom], "that is, upon the faith of his profession;"^c and again, "Christ said that he would build his church on Peter's confession;"^d and again (he, or another ancient writer under his name), "'Upon this rock,' he said; not upon Peter, for he did not build his church upon the man, but upon his faith."^e

evangelica voce Domini et Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit; *Tu es Petrus* (inquiens), &c.—*P. Gelas. I., Dist. xxi. cap. 8.* "The holy church of Rome is not preferred before other churches by any synodical decrees, but has obtained the primacy by the voice of our Lord and Saviour in the gospel saying, 'Thou art Peter,' &c.

^a Quorum verborum planus et obviuſ sensus est, ut intelligatur sub duabus metaphoris promissum Petro totius ecclesie principatum.—*Bell. de Pont., i. 10.*

^b "Some," says Abulensis, "say that this rock is Peter; . . . others say, and better, that it is Christ; . . . others say, and yet better, that it is the confession which Peter makes."—*Tostat. in Matt. xvi. qu. 67.*

^c Scio me postea sæpiſſime exposuisse, ut super hanc petram intelligeretur quem confessus est Petrus; harum autem duarum sententiarum quæ sit probabilior eligat lector.—*Aug. Retr., i. 21. Vide Aug. in Joh. tr. 124, de Verb. Dom. in Matt. Serm. 18. Super hanc, inquit, petram quam confessus es, ædificabo ecclesiam meam.—Aug. in Joh. tr. 124, et de Verb. Dom. in Matt. Serm. 18, tom. x. Super hanc petram, id est, super me ædificabo ecclesiam meam.—Ans. in Matt. xvi. 18.*

^d Τῇ πίστει . . . οὐσίῳ τῇ πίστει τῆς ἰσχυρίας.—*Chrys. in Matt. xvi. 18.*

^e — ἐν ἰσχυρίᾳ ἰστέον ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσχυρίᾳ εὐδομήσου ἐν ἰστέον.—*Chrys. in Joh. i. 50.*

^f 'Επὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πίστει, οὐκ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῇ Πίστει οὐκ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει ἐν ἡμεῶν ἰσχυρίᾳ εὐδομήσει.—*Chrys., tom. v. Or. 163. Super hanc igitur confessionis petram ecclesie ædificatio est.—Hil. de Trin., vi.*

"Our Lord," said Theodoret, "permitted the first of the apostles, whose confession he fixed as a prop or foundation of the church, to be shaken."¹

This sense even popes have embraced.²

Others say, that as St Peter did not speak for himself, but in the name of all the apostles, and of all faithful people, representing the pastors and people of the church, so correspondently our Lord declared that he would build his church upon such faithful pastors and confessors.³

Others, indeed, by the rock understood St Peter's person; but do not thereby expound to be meant his being supreme governor of the apostles, or of the whole church.⁴

The divines, schoolmen, and canonists of the Roman communion also do not agree in exposition of the words; and divers of the most learned among them approve the interpretation of St Chrysostom.*

Now, then, how can so great a point of doctrine be firmly grounded on a place of so doubtful interpretation? How can any one be obliged to understand the words according to the interpretation which persons of so good sense and so great authority understand otherwise? With what modesty can they pretend that meaning to be clear which so perspicacious eyes could not discern therein? Why may not I excusably agree with St Chrysostom or St Austin in understanding the place? May I not reasonably oppose their judgment to the opinion of any modern doctors, deeming Bellarmine as fallible in his conceptions as one of them? Why, consequently, may I not without blame refuse their doctrine, as built upon this place, or disavow the goodness of this proof?

3. It is very evident that the apostles themselves did not understand those words of our Lord to signify any grant or promise to St

¹ — ἀποστόλων τὸν πρῶτον, οὗ τὴν ἰσχυρίαν δὲν εἶναι κρηπίδα, καὶ θεμέλιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατιστῆναι, ἐντυχόμενοι ἐκλιθεῖναι.—*Theod., Ep. lxxvii.* [Whence Origen says, that "every disciple of Christ is the rock," in virtue of his agreement with Peter in that holy confession. Πᾶσι γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, &c.—*Orig. in Matt. xvi. p. 276.*]

² In vera fide persistite, et vitam vestram in petra ecclesie, hoc est in confessione B. Petri apostolorum principis solidate.—*Greg. M., Ep. iii. 88.* "Persist in the true faith, and establish and fix your life upon the rock of the church; that is, upon the confession of blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles." Super ista confessione edificabo ecclesiam meam.—*Felix III., Ep. v.* Vide *Nic. I., Ep. ii. 6.*; *Joh. VIII., Ep. lxxvi.*

³ Unus pro omnibus loquens, et ecclesie voce respondens.—*Cypr., Ep. lv.* "One speaking for all, and answering in the name of the church." Cui ecclesie figuram gerenti Dominus ait, *Super hanc*, &c.—*Aug., Ep. clxv.* "To whom, representing the whole church, our Lord says, *Upon this rock*," &c. Petrus ex persona omnium apostolorum profitetur.—*Hier. in loc.* "Peter professes in the person of all the apostles."

⁴ Vide *Rigalt. in Cypr., Ep. 27, 40, 70, 71, 73, 69.*

* Erasmus adopts the same view of the words in his Exposition, citing Augustine and Hilary, and inserting in the margin, *Ecclesia non est fundata super Petrum.* "The church is not founded upon Peter." The Spanish Inquisition ordered this marginal note to be expunged from Erasmus' Exposition. *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum, &c. Mad. 1667.—Ed.*

Peter of supremacy over them; for would they have "contended" for the chief place if they had understood whose it of right was by our Lord's own positive determination? Luke xxii. 24; would they have "disputed" about a question which to their knowledge, by their Master, was already stated? Mark ix. 33; would they have troubled our Lord to inquire of him who should be the greatest in his kingdom, when they knew that our Lord had declared his will to make St Peter viceroy? Matt. xviii. 1; would the sons of Zebedee have been so foolish and presumptuous as to beg the place which they knew, by our Lord's word and promise, fixed on St Peter? would St Peter, among the rest, have fretted at that idle overture, whenas he knew the place, by our Lord's immutable purpose and infallible declaration, assured to him?¹ And if none of the apostles did understand the words to imply this Roman sense, who can be obliged so to understand them? yea, who can wisely, who can safely so understand them? for surely they had common sense, as well as any man living now; they had as much advantage as we can have to know our Lord's meaning. Their ignorance, therefore, of this sense being so apparent, is not only a just excuse for not admitting this interpretation, but a strong bar against it.

4. This interpretation, also, does not well consist with our Lord's answers to the contests, inquiries, and petitions of his disciples, concerning the point of superiority; for does he not (if the Roman expositions be good) seem upon those occasions not only to dissemble his own word and promise, but to disavow them or thwart them? Can we conceive that he would, in such a case of doubt, forbear to resolve them, clearly to instruct them, and admonish them of their duty?

5. Taking the "rock," as they would have it, to be the person of St Peter, and that on him the church should be built, yet does not the word "rock" probably denote government; for what resemblance is there between being a rock and a governor? at least what assurance can there be that this metaphor precisely imports that sense, seeing in other respects, upon as fair similitudes, he might be called so?

St Austin says, "The apostles were foundations, because their authority supports our weakness."²

St Jerome says, that they "were foundations, because the faith of the church was first laid in them."³

¹ Matt. xx. 24, *Ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἠγανάκουν*. "And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation."

² Quare sunt fundamenta apostoli et prophetae, quia eorum auctoritas portat infirmitatem nostram.—*Aug. in Ps. lxxxvi.*

³ In illis erant fundamenta, ibi primum posita est fides ecclesiae.—*Hier. in Ps. lxxxvi.*

St Basil says that "St Peter's soul was called the rock, because it was firmly rooted in the faith, and held firm, without giving way against the attacks of temptation."¹

Chrysologus says that "Peter had his name from a rock, because he first merited to found the church by firmness of faith."²

These are fair explications of the metaphor, without any reference to St Peter's government.

But, however, also admitting this, that being such a rock does imply government and pastoral charge, yet do they, notwithstanding these grants and suppositions, effect nothing; for they cannot prove the words spoken exclusively in regard to other apostles, or to import any thing singular to him above or beside them. He might be a governing rock; so might others be;—the church might be built on him; so it might be on other apostles;—he might be designed a governor, a great governor, a principal governor; so might they also be. This might be without any violence done to those words.

And this indeed was [the fact]; for all the other apostles in holy Scripture are called foundations, and the church is said to be built on them.

"If," says Origen, the father of interpreters, "you think the whole church to be built on Peter alone, what will you say of John, the son of thunder, and of each of the apostles?"³ and so on, largely to this purpose.

"Christ," as St Jerome says, "was the Rock, and he granted to the apostles that they should be called rocks,"⁴ Eph. ii. 20. And, "You say," says he again, "that the church is founded on Peter; but the same, in another place, is asserted of all the apostles."⁵

"The twelve apostles," says another ancient author, "were the immutable pillars of orthodoxy, the rock of the church."

"The church," says St Basil, "is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles; Peter also was one of the mountains; upon which rock the Lord promised to build his church."⁶

St Cyprian, in his disputes with Pope Stephen (Cypr. Ep. 71, 73),

¹ Πέτρα δὲ ὑψηλὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου ἀνέμασται, διὰ τὸ παγίως ἐνῆρξασθαι τῇ πίστει, καὶ στερεῶς καὶ ἐνεδότως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ἐν πειρασμῶν ἐναγομένας πλυγὰς.—*Bas. in Isa. ii. p. 869.*

² Petrus a petra nomen adeptus est, quia primus meruit ecclesiam fidei firmitate fundare.—*Chrysost., Serm. liii.*

³ Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑνα ἐκείνων Πέτρον ἐκτίθεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τί ἂν φέροις περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοῦ, ἢ ἐκείνου τῶν ἀποστόλων, &c.—*Orig. in Matt. xvi. p. 275.*

⁴ Petra Christus est, qui donavit apostolis, ut ipse quoque petra vocentur.—*Hier. in Amos ix. 12.*

⁵ Dicis super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat.—*Hier. in Jovin., i. 14.*

⁶ Ἐκκλησία—οἰκοδομεῖται ἐπὶ τῇ θιμελίᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἡ καὶ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πέτρας ἐσηγορεύετο ὁ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσει αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—*Basil. in Isa. ii. p. 869.*

more than once alleged this place : yet could he not take them in their sense to signify exclusively ; for he did not acknowledge any imparity of power among the apostles or their successors. He, indeed, plainly took these words to respect all the apostles and their successors ; our Lord taking occasion to promise that to one which he intended to impart to all, for themselves and their successors. "Our Lord," says he, "ordering the honour of a bishop, and the order of his church, says to Peter, 'I say to thee,' &c. Hence, through the changes of times and successions, the ordination of bishops and the order of the church runs on, so that the church should be settled upon the bishops, and every act of the church should be governed by the same prelates."¹ As, therefore, he conceived the church to be built, not on the pope singularly, but on all the bishops ; so he thought our Lord intended to build his church, not upon St Peter only, but on all his apostles.

6. It is not said that the apostles, or the apostolical office, should be built on him ; for that could not be, seeing the apostles were constituted, and the apostolical office was founded, before that promise. The words only, therefore, can import, that, according to some meaning, he was a rock, upon which the church, afterward to be collected, should be built ; he was "a rock of the church to be built,"² as Tertullian speaks. The words, therefore, cannot signify any thing available to their purpose in relation to the apostles.

7. If we take St Peter himself for the rock, then, as I take it, the best meaning of the words imports that our Lord designed St Peter for a prime instrument,³ the first mover, the most diligent and active at the beginning, the most constant, stiff, and firm, in the support of his truth and propagation of his doctrine, or conversion of men to the belief of the gospel ; the which is called building of the church, according to that of St Ambrose, or some ancient homilist under his name, "He is called a rock, because he first laid in the nations the foundations of faith :"⁴ in which regard, as the other apostles are called foundations of the church (the church being founded on their labours), so might St Peter signally be so called, who, as St Basil says, allusively interpreting our Saviour's words, "for the excellency of his faith took on him the edifying of the church."⁵

¹ Dominus noster episcopi honorem, et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens, dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico, &c. Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio, et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constitutur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur.—*Cypr. Ep. xxvii., et de Unit. Eccl.*

² Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ ecclesiæ Petrum dictum.—*Tertull. de Præscr., cap. xxii.*

³ Πίτρος ἐν ἀποστόλοις πρῶτος ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ.—*Chrys.* "Peter first of all the apostles preached Christ."

⁴ Petra dicitur eo quod primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta posuerit.—*Ambr. de Sanctis., Serm. ii.*

⁵ Ὁ διὰ πίστεως ὑπερῶν ἰσὺ ἰαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διέξιμνος.—*Bas. contra Eunom., lib. ii.* Petra ædificandæ ecclesiæ.—*Tertull. de Præscr., cap. xxii.*

Both he and they also might be so termed, for upon their testimonies concerning the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, the faith of Christians was grounded; as also, it stands upon their convincing discourses, their holy practice, their miraculous performances: in all which St Peter was most eminent, and in the beginning of Christianity displayed them to the edification of the church.

This interpretation plainly agrees with matter of fact and history, which are the best interpreters of right or privilege in such cases; for we may reasonably understand our Saviour to have promised that which in effect we see performed: so "the event shows the church was built on him, that is, by him,"¹ says Tertullian.

But this sense does not imply any superiority of power or dignity granted to St Peter above his brethren, however it may signify an advantage belonging to him, and deserving especial respect; as St Chrysostom notably sets out in these words: "Although John, although James, although Paul, although any other whoever, may appear performing great matters, he yet surpasses them all who preceded them in liberty of speech, opened the entrance, and allowed them, like a river running with a full stream, to enter with great ease."² Doing this, as, I say, it might signify his being a rock of the church, so it denotes an excellency of merit, but not a superiority in power.

8. It may also be observed that St Peter, before the speaking of those words by our Lord, may seem to have had a primacy; intimated by the evangelists when they report his call to the apostolical office, Matt. x. 2; and by his behaviour when, in this confession, and before in the like, John vi. 68, 69, he undertook to be their mouth and spokesman: when, "not being unmindful of his place," says St Ambrose, "he acted a primacy,—a primacy," adds that father, "of confession, not of honour; of faith, not of order."³ His primacy, therefore (such as he had), cannot well be founded on this place, he being afore possessed of it, and, as St Ambrose conceived, exercising it at that time.

II. They allege the next words of our Lord, spoken in sequel upon the same occasion, "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;"—that is, say they, "the supreme power over all the church;"⁴ for, say they, he that has the keys is master of the house.

¹ Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso ecclesia extracta est, id est per ipsum, &c.—*Tert. de Pudic.*, cap. xxi.

² Κάν Ἰωάννης, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ ἄλλοι ὁσίωνται μιστὰ ταῦτα μέγα τι ποῦν φαίνεται, ἀπέναντον οὗτος πλεονεκτηῖ, ὁ προδοσιήσας αὐτὸν τῇ παῖρησίῃ, καὶ διανοίῃς τὸν ἰσθμὸν, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς καθάπερ ποταμῷ πολλῇ φερόμινῃ ῥύματι μιστὰ πολλῆς ἀδίας ἰαυο-αλλῶν, &c.—*Chrys.*, tom. v. *Or.* 69.

³ Loci non immemor sui primatum egit; . . . primatum confessionis, non honoris; fidei, non ordinis.—*Ambr. de Incarn.*, cap. iv.

⁴ Per claves datas Petro intelligimus summam potestatem in omnem ecclesiam.—*Bell. de Pont.*, i. 8.

To this testimony we may apply divers of the same answers which were given to the former; for,—

1. These words are figurate [figurative], and therefore not clear enough to prove their assertion.

2. They admit, and have received, various interpretations.

3. It is evident that the apostles themselves did not understand these words as importing a supremacy over them; that St Peter himself did not apprehend this sense; that our Lord, upon occasions inviting to it, did not take notice of his promise according thereto.

4. The words, "I will give thee," cannot any wise be assured to have been exclusive of others, or appropriated to him. "He said to Peter," as a very learned man of the Roman communion notes, "'I will give thee the keys;' but he said not, 'I will give them to thee alone.'"¹ Nothing, therefore, can be concluded from them to their purpose.

5. The fathers affirm that all the apostles received the same keys.

"Are the keys of the kingdom of heaven," says Origen, "given by the Lord to Peter alone, and shall none other of the blessed ones receive them? But if this, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' be common, how, also, are not all the things common which were spoken before, or are added as spoken to Peter?"²

St Jerome says, in express words, that "all the apostles received the keys of the kingdom of heaven."³

"He," says Optatus, "alone received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which were to be communicated to the rest;" that is, as Rigaltius well expounds those words, "which Christ himself would also communicate to the rest."⁴

Theophylact says, "Although it be spoken to Peter alone, 'I will give thee,' yet it is given to all the apostles."⁵

It is part of St John's character in St Chrysostom: "He that has the keys of the heavens."⁶

¹ Dixit Petro, Dabo tibi claves; at non dixit, Dabo tibi soli.—*Rigalt. in Ep. Firmil.*

² "Αρα δι τῆ Πίτρου μόνῃ δίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κληῖδες τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ ἄλλοις ἱερεῖς τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψονται; εἰ δὲ κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ἱερεῖς, τὸ δῶσα σοι τὰς κληῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα τὰτα προειρημένα καὶ τὰ ἐπιφαιρόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πίτρον λειγυμένα;—*Orig. in Matt. xvi. p. 276.*

³ Quod Petro dicitur, apostolis dicitur.—*Ambr. in Ps. xxxviii.* "What is said to Peter is said to the apostles." Licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni celorum accipiant.—*Hier. in Jov., i. 14.* "Though the same thing in another place is done to all the apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

⁴ Claves regni celorum communicandas cæteris solus accepit.—*Opt., lib. vii.* Communicandas cæteris dixit, quas ipse Christus communicaturus erat et cæteris.—*Rigalt. in. Cypr., de Un. Eccl.*

⁵ Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Πίτρον μόνον εἶρηται τὸ δῶσα σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις δίδονται.—*Theoph. in. loc.*

⁶ Ὁ τὰς κληῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν.—*Chrys. in Praef. Evang. Joh.*

6. Indeed, whatever, according to any tolerable exposition, or according to the current expositions of the fathers, those keys of the kingdom of heaven import¹ (whether it be a faculty of opening it by doctrine, of admitting into it by dispensation of baptism and absolution, of excluding from it by ecclesiastical censure, or any such faculty, signified by that metaphorical expression), it plainly belonged to all the apostles, and was effectually conferred on them; yea, after them, upon all the pastors of the church in their several precincts and degrees, who, in all ages, have claimed to themselves the power of the keys, to be (as the council of Compeigne calls all bishops) “clavigeri,”—the “key-bearers of the kingdom of heaven.”²

So that in these words nothing singular was promised or granted to St Peter; although it well may be deemed a singular mark of favour that what our Lord did intend to bestow on all pastors, *that* he did anticipately promise to him; or, as the fathers say, to the church and its pastors in him. In which respect we may admit those words of Pope Leo I.: “The efficacy of this power passed, indeed, unto all the apostles; yet was it not in vain that what was intimated to all was commended to one. It is committed singly to Peter, because Peter’s pattern is propounded to all the governors of the church.”³

7. Indeed, divers of the fathers conceive the words spoken to St Peter not as a single person, but as a representative of the church, or as standing in the room of each pastor therein, unto whom our Lord designed to impart the power of the keys.

“All we bishops,” says St Ambrose, “have in St Peter received the keys of the kingdom of heaven.”⁴

8. These answers are confirmed by the words immediately adjoined, equivalent to these, and interpretative of them: “And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,” Aug. supr.

¹ Claves intelligit verbum Dei, evangelium Christi.—*Rigalt. in Cyp., Ep. lxxiii.*

² Episcopi . . . quas constat esse vicarios Christi, et clavigeros regni cœlorum.—*Conc. Comp., apud Bin., tom. vi. p. 361.*

³ Transivit quidem in apostolos alios vis istius potestatis, sed non frustra uni commendatur quod omnibus intimetur. Petro ergo singulariter hoc creditur, quia cunctis ecclesiæ rectoribus Petri forma proponitur.—*Leo I. in Nat. Petri et Pauli, Serm. ii.*

⁴ In B. Petro claves regni cœlorum cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes.—*Ambr. de Dign. Sac., i.* Ecclesia quæ fundatur in Christo, claves ab eo regni cœlorum accepit; id est, potestatem ligandi solvendique peccata.—*Aug., tract. cxxiv. in Joh.* Vide tract. l. “The church, which is founded upon Christ, received from him the keys of the kingdom of heaven; i.e., the power of binding and loosing sins.” In typo unitatis Petro Dominus dedit potestatem, &c.—*Aug. de Bap., iii. 17.* “Our Lord gave the power to Peter as a type of unity.” *Ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ κορυφαίου καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἐξουσία δίδεται.*—*Phot. Cod., 280.* “Such authority was given to the rest of the apostles in the person of him who was the chief.” Non sine causa inter omnes apostolos ecclesiæ catholicæ personas sustinet Petrus; huic enim ecclesiæ claves regni cœlorum datæ sunt, cum Petro datæ sunt, &c.—*Aug. de Ag. Chr., cap. xxx., in l’s. cviii.* “Not without cause does Peter, among the rest of the apostles, sustain the person of the catholic church; for to this church are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given, when they are given unto Peter.”

Matt. xviii. 18; the which import a power or privilege, soon after expressly, and in the very same words, promised or granted to all the apostles; as also the same power in other words was by our Lord conferred on them all after the resurrection, John xx. 23.

If, therefore, the keys of the kingdom of heaven import supreme power, then each apostle had supreme power.

9. If we should grant (which no wise can be proved) that something peculiarly belonging to St Peter is implied in those words, it can only be this, that he should be a prime man in the work of preaching and propagating the gospel, and conveying the heavenly benefits of it to believers; which is an opening of the kingdom of heaven, according to what Tertullian excellently says of him: "So," says he, "the event teaches; the church was built in him,—that is, by him; he initiated the key. See how: 'Ye men of Israel, hear these words, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, &c. He, in fine, in Christian baptism, unlocked the entrance to the kingdom of heaven,'" &c.

10. It seems absurd that St Peter should exercise the power of the keys in respect to the apostles; for did he open the kingdom of heaven to them who were by our Lord long before admitted into it?

11. In fine, our Lord, as St Luke relates it, said to St Peter, and probably to him first, "Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men," Luke v. 10, Matt. iv. 19; might it hence be inferred that St Peter had a peculiar or sole faculty of catching men? Why might it not, by as good a consequence as this whereby they would appropriate to him this opening faculty? Many such instances might, in like manner, be used.

III. They produce these words of our Saviour to St Peter, "Feed my sheep;" that is, in the Roman interpretation, "Be thou universal governor of my church."

To this allegation I answer,—

1. From words which truly and properly might have been said to any other apostle, yea, to any Christian pastor whatever, nothing can be concluded to their purpose, importing a peculiar duty or singular privilege of St Peter.

2. From indefinite words a definite conclusion, especially in matters of this kind, may not be inferred. It is said, "Do thou feed my sheep;" it is not said, "Do thou *alone* feed *all* my sheep." This is their arbitrary gloss, or presumptuous improvement of the text; without succour whereof the words signify nothing to their purpose, so far are they from sufficiently assuring so vast a pretence. For in-

¹ Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso ecclesia extracta est, id est, per ipsum; ipse clavem imbuat; vide quam, Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico, Jesum Nazarenum virum a Deo vobis destinatum, &c. Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo reservavit aditum coelestis regni, &c.—*Tert. de Pud.*, xxi.

stance, when St Paul exhorts the bishops at Ephesus "to feed the church of God," may it thence be collected that each of them was an universal governor of the whole church, "which Christ hath purchased with his own blood?" Acts xx. 28.

3. By these words no new power is (assuredly at least) granted or instituted by our Lord:¹ for the apostles before this had their warrant and authority consigned to them, when our Lord inspired them, and solemnly commissioned them, saying, "As the Father hath sent me, so I send you," John xx. 21; to which commission, these words (spoken occasionally, before a few of the disciples) did not add or derogate. At most, the words do only, as St Cyril says, "renew the former grant of apostleship," after his great offence of denying our Lord.²

4. These words do not seem institutive or collative of power, but rather only admonitive or exhortative to duty, implying no more but the pressing a common duty before incumbent on St Peter, upon a special occasion, in an advantageous season, that he should effectually discharge the office which our Lord had committed to him.

Our Lord, I say, presently before his departure, when his words were like to have a strong impression on St Peter, earnestly directs and warns him to express that special ardency of affection which he observed in him, in an answerable care to perform his duty of feeding (that is, of instructing, guiding, edifying, in faith and obedience) those sheep of his (that is, those believers who should be converted to embrace his religion), as he should find opportunity.³

5. The same office certainly belonged to all the apostles, who, as St Jerome speaks, "were the princes of our discipline, and chieftains of the Christian doctrine;"⁴ they at their first vocation had a commission and command to "go unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel, that were scattered abroad like sheep not having a shepherd," Matt. x. 6, ix. 36; they before our Lord's ascension were enjoined to "teach all nations" the doctrines and precepts of Christ, chap. xxviii. 19, 20; to receive them into the fold, to feed them with good instruction, to guide and govern their converts with good discipline: hence "all of them," as St Cyprian says, "were shepherds, but the flock appeared one, which was fed by the apostles with unanimous agreement."⁵

¹ Καταστάσιντο μὲν ἡδη πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἀποστολὴν ἡμῶν τοῖς ἱερείοις μαθηταῖς Πέτρος.—Cyril. in loc. "Peter was ordained to the holy apostleship together with the rest of the disciples."

² Διὰ δὲ τοῦ θῶνα τοῦ Κυρίου, βίβηκε τὰ ἄρτια μου, ἀναίματος ὁσπερ τις τοῦ ἡν δοκίμου ἀποστολῆς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι νοήσαι.—Cyril., *ibid.*

³ Paulus apostolus boni pastoris implebat officium, quando Christum prædicabat.—Aug. in Joh., tr. xlvii. "Paul fulfilled the office of a good pastor, when he preached Christ."

⁴ Principes disciplinæ nostræ, et Christiani dogmatis duces.—Hier. in Jovin., i. 14.

⁵ Pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur.—Cyprian. de Un. Eccl.

6. Neither could St Peter's charge be more extensive than was that of the other apostles, for they had a general and unlimited care of the whole church,—that is, according to their capacity and opportunity,—none being exempted from it who needed or came into the way of their discharging pastoral offices for them.

"They were œcumenical rulers," as St Chrysostom says, "appointed by God; who did not receive several nations or cities, but all of them in common were intrusted with the world."¹

Hence particularly St Chrysostom calls St John "a pillar of the churches over the world;" and St Paul "an apostle of the world," who "had the care, not of one house, but of cities and nations, and of the whole earth;" who "undertook the world, and governed the churches;" to whom "the whole world did look," and "on whose soul the care of all the churches everywhere did hang; into whose hands were delivered the earth, and the sea, the inhabited and uninhabited parts of the world."²

And could St Peter have a larger flock committed to him? Could this charge, "Feed my sheep," more agree to him than to those who no less than he were obliged to feed all Christian people everywhere?

7. The words, indeed, are applicable to all Christian bishops and governors of the church, according to that of St Cyprian to Pope Stephen himself, "We being many shepherds do feed one flock, and all the sheep of Christ:"³ for they are styled pastors; they, in terms as indefinite as those in this text, are exhorted "to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood," Acts xx. 28; to them, as the Fathers commonly suppose, this injunction reaches, our Lord, when he spake thus to St Peter, intending to lay a charge on them all to express their love and piety toward him in this way, by feeding his sheep and people.⁴

"Which sheep," says St Ambrose, "and which flock, not only

¹ "Ἀρχοντες εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἴθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἡμισταυθίνοντες.—*Chrys.*, tom. viii. p. 115.

² "Ὁ στέλες τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν.—*Chrys. Pref., Comment. ad Joh.* Καὶ γὰρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπόστολος ἦν.—*Chrys. in 1 Cor.* ix. 2. Οὗτος ὁ οὐκ οἰκίας μίᾳς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεων, καὶ δήμων, καὶ ἰθῶν, καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς οἰκουμένης φροντίδα ἔχων.—*Chrys. in 2 Cor.* xi. 28. Τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀντιλαμβάνοντο πάσης, καὶ διευκρίνα τὰς ἐκκλησίας.—*Chrys.*, tom. viii. p. 115. "Ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβλισεν, αἱ φροντίδες τῶν πανταρχῶ τῆς γῆς ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἦν ἐξηγημέναι, &c.—*Chrys.*, tom. v. *Or.* 59. 'Ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἴθνη ἐνιχυρίσθη' Παῦλος δὲ γῆν, καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον.—*Chrys.*, tom. viii. p. 39.

³ Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem, et oves Christi universas pascimus.—*Cyprian, Ep.* lxvii., *ad P. Steph.*

⁴ Quanto magis debent usque ad mortem pro veritate certare, et usque ad sanguinem adversus peccatum, quibus oves ipsas pascendas, hoc est docendas regendasque committit.—*Aug. in Joh.*, tract. 123. "How much more ought they to contend for the truth even unto death, and against sin even unto blood, to whom he commits his sheep to be fed; that is, to be taught and governed."

then St Peter received, but also with him all we priests received it."¹

"Our Lord," says St Chrysostom, "committed his sheep to Peter, and to those which came after him;"² that is, to all Christian pastors, as the scope of his discourse shows.

"When it is said to Peter," says St Augustine, "it is said to all, 'Feed my sheep.'"³

"And we," says St Basil, "are taught this" (obedience to superiors) "by Christ himself constituting St Peter pastor after himself of the church (for, 'Peter,' says he, 'dost thou love me more than these? Feed my sheep'), and conferring to all pastors and teachers continually afterward an equal power" (of doing so); "whereof it is a sign that all do in like manner bind and loose as he."⁴

St Austin comprises all these considerations in these words: "And indeed, brethren, that which a pastor is, he gave also to his members; for both Peter was a pastor, and Paul a pastor, and the rest of the apostles were pastors, and good bishops are pastors."⁵

How could these great masters more clearly express their mind, that our Lord in those words to St Peter inculcated a duty no wise peculiar to him, but equally together with him belonging to all guides of the church; in such manner, as when a master presses a duty on one servant, he thereby admonishes all his servants of the like duty? Whence St Austin says that St Peter in that case "sustained the person of the church,"⁶ that which was spoken to him belonging to all its members, especially to his brethren the clergy.

"It was," says Cyril, "a lesson to teachers, that they cannot otherwise please the Arch-pastor of all, than by taking care of the welfare of the rational sheep."⁷

8. Hence it follows that the sheep, which our Saviour bids St

¹ Quas oves, et quem gregem non solum tunc B. suscepit Petrus, sed et cum eo nos suscepimus omnes.—*Ambr. de Sacerd.*, ii.

² Τὰ πρόβατα ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνους ἐντολήσιν.—*Chrys. de Sacerd.*, i.

³ Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Pasce oves meas.—*Aug. de Agone Christ.*, xxx.

⁴ Καὶ τούτου παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδιούμεθα, Πέτρον ποιμένα μετ' αὐτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθιστῶντος, Πέτρον, γὰρ φησὶ, φίλῳ με πλείον τούτων; ποιμαίνι τὰ πρόβατά μου' καὶ πᾶσι δὴ τοῖς ἐφ' ἑξῆς ποιμαίνι καὶ διδασκάλοι; τὴν ἴσην παρίχοντες ἰξουσίαν' καὶ τούτου σημεῖον τὸ διαμῆν ἅπαντας ὁμοίως, καὶ λύειν ὡς περ ἐκείνους.—*Bas. Const. Mon.*, cap. xxii.

⁵ Et quidem, fratres, quod pastor est, quod et membris suis; nam et Petrus pastor, et Paulus pastor, et cæteri apostoli pastores, et boni episcopi pastores.—*Aug. in Joh.*, tract. xlvii.

⁶ Ut ergo Petrus quando ei dictum est, Tibi dabo claves, in figura personam gestabat ecclesiæ, sic et quando ei dictum est, Pasce oves meas, ecclesiæ quoque personam in figura gestabat.—*Aug. in Ps.* cviii. Οὐ πρὸς ἑνὸς μόνον ἰρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡμῶν τῶν καὶ μικρὸν ἱμπετισσιστευμένων ποιμένων.—*Chrys. in Matt.* xxiv. Or. 77. "This was not spoken to those priests only, but to every one of us, who have the care even of a little flock committed to us."

⁷ Διδασκάλοι; διὰ τῆς τῶν προκειμένων ἐκείνων θειότητος, ὥς οὐκ ἐν ἑνὶ ὅλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντων ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν, ἢ μὴ τῆς τῶν λογικῶν προβάτων ἐκείνων ἐκείνης, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι διαμῶντος ποιούσης φροντίδας.—*Cyrl.*, *ibid.*

Peter feed, were not the apostles, who were his fellow-shepherds, designed to feed others, and needing not to be fed by him, but the common believers, or people of God, which St Peter himself calls "The flock of God." "Feed," says he to his fellow-elders, "the flock of God, which is among you," 1 Pet. v. 2; and St Paul, "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers," Acts. xx. 28.

9. Take feeding for what you please,—for teaching, for guiding,—the apostles were not fit objects of it, who were immediately taught and guided by God himself.

Hence we may interpret that saying of St Chrysostom, which is the most plausible argument they can allege for them, that our Lord, in saying this, committed to St Peter "a charge," or presidency, "over his brethren,"¹—that is, he made him a pastor of Christian people, as he did others: at least, if *προστασία τῶν ἀδελφῶν* be referred to the apostles, it must not signify authority over them, but at most a primacy of order among them; for that St Peter otherwise should feed them St Chrysostom could hardly think, who presently after says, that "seeing the apostles were to receive the administration of the whole world, it was no longer becoming that they should keep close together, for that would have been a great loss to the world."²

10. But they, forsooth, must have St Peter solely obliged to feed all Christ's sheep; so they imposed upon him a vast and crabbed [difficult] province,—a task very incommodious, or rather impossible, for him to undergo. How could he in duty be obliged, how could he in effect be able, to feed so many flocks of Christian people scattered about in distant regions, through all nations under heaven? He, poor man, that had so few helps, that had no officers or dependants, nor wealth to maintain them, would have been much put to it to feed the sheep in Britain and in Parthia; unto infinite distraction of thoughts such a charge must needs have engaged him.

But for this their great champion [Bellarmine] has a fine expedient. "St Peter," says he, "fed Christ's whole flock, partly by himself, partly by others;"³—so that, it seems, the other apostles were St Peter's curates, or vicars and deputies. This, indeed, were an easy way of feeding; thus, although he had slept all his time, he might have fed all the sheep under heaven; thus any man as well might have fed them. But this manner of feeding is, I fear, a later invention, not known so soon in the church; and it might then seem

¹ Ἐγχύριζαι τὴν προστασίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν.—Chrys. in Joh. xxi. 16. Τὴν προστασίαν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν.—In vers. 21.

² Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἕμιλλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀναδιξασθαι, οἷα οὗτοι συμπειλίσχωνται ἀλλήλοις· ἢ γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῃ τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γίγνεται ζημία.—Ibid. vers. 23.

³ Respondeo, S. Petrum partim per se, partim per alios universum Dominicum gregem, ut sibi imperatum erat pascere, &c.—Bell. de Pont. R., i. 16.

near as absurd to be a shepherd as it is now (in his own account) to be a just man by imputation; that would be a kind of *putative* pastorage, as this is a *putative* righteousness. However, the apostles, I dare say, did not take themselves to be St Peter's surrogates, but challenged to themselves to be accounted "the ministers," "the stewards," "the ambassadors of Christ himself," (1 Cor. iv. 1; 2 Cor. v. 20, x. 8; Gal. i. 1; Tit. i. 3, &c.,) from whom immediately they received their orders, in whose name they acted, to whom they constantly refer their authority, without taking the least notice of St Peter, or intimating any dependence on him.

It was, therefore, enough for St Peter that he had authority restrained to no place; but might, as he found occasion, preach the gospel, convert, confirm, guide Christians everywhere to truth and duty: nor can our Saviour's words be forced to signify more.

In fine, this, together with the precedent testimonies, must not be interpreted so as to thwart practice and history; according to which it appears that St Peter did not exercise such a power, and therefore our Lord did not intend to confer such an one upon him.

IV. Farther, in confirmation of their doctrine, they draw forth a whole shoal of testimonies,¹ containing divers prerogatives, as they call them, of St Peter, which, as they suppose, imply this primacy. So very sharp-sighted, indeed, they are, that in every remarkable accident befalling him, in every action performed by him, or to him, or about him, they can descry some argument or shrewd insinuation of his pre-eminence, especially being aided by the glosses of some fanciful expositor. From the change of his name; from his walking on the sea; from his miraculous draught of fish; from our Lord's praying for him that his faith should not fail, and bidding him to confirm his brethren; from our Lord's ordering him to pay the tribute for them both; from our Lord's first washing his feet, and his first appearing to him after the resurrection; from the prediction of his martyrdom; from sick persons being cured by his shadow; from his sentencing Ananias and Sapphira to death; from his preaching to Cornelius; from its being said that he "passed through all," Acts ix. 32; from his being prayed for by the church; from St Paul's going to visit him;—from these passages, I say, they deduce or confirm his authority. Now, in earnest, is not this stout argument? Is it not egregious modesty for such a point to allege such proofs? What cause may not be countenanced by such rare fetches? Who would not suspect the weakness of that opinion which is fain to use such forces in its maintenance? In fine, is it honest or conscionable dealing so to wrest or play with the holy Scripture, pretending to derive thence proofs where there is no show of consequence?

¹ P. Leo IX., Ep. i. Ad ejusdem primatus confirmationem, &c.—*Bell*, i. 17.

To be even with them, I might assert the primacy of St John, and to that purpose might allege his prerogatives (which, indeed, may seem greater than those of St Peter),—namely, that he was “the beloved disciple;”—that he leaned on our Lord’s breast, John xiii. 23;—that St Peter, not presuming to ask our Lord a question, desired *him* to do it, as having a more special confidence with our Lord;—that St John did higher service to the church, and all posterity, by writing not only more epistles, but also a most divine gospel, and a sublime prophecy concerning the state of the church;¹—that St John did “outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre,” John xx. 4, in which passage such acute devisers would find out marvellous significancy;—that St John was a virgin; that he outlived all the apostles, and thence was most fit to be universal pastor;—that St Jerome, comparing Peter and John, seems to prefer the latter; for “Peter,” says he, “was an apostle, and John was an apostle; but Peter was only an apostle,—John both an apostle and an evangelist, and also a prophet. And,” says he, “that I may in brief speech comprehend many things, and show what privilege belongs to John, yea, to virginity in John;—by our Lord a virgin, his mother the virgin is commended to the virgin disciple.”² Thus I might, by prerogatives and passages very notable, infer the superiority of St John to St Peter, in imitation of their reasoning; but I am afraid they would scarce be at the trouble to answer me seriously, but would think it enough to say I trifled: wherefore, let it suffice for me in the same manner to put off those levities of discourse.

V. They argue this primacy from the constant placing St Peter’s name before the other apostles in the catalogues and narrations concerning him and them.

To this I answer,—

1. That this order is not so strictly observed as not to admit some exceptions: for St Paul says that “James, Cephas, and John, knowing the grace given unto him,” Gal. ii. 9;—so it is commonly read in the ordinary copies, in the text of ancient commentators, and in old translations. And, “Whether Paul, whether Apollos, whether Cephas,” says St Paul again, 1 Cor. iii. 22; and, “As the other apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas,” chap. ix. 5. And, “Philip,” says St John, “was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter;” John i. 44. And Clemens Alexandrinus, in Eusebius,

¹ Infinita futurorum mysteria continentem.—*Hier.* “Containing infinite mysteries of future things.”

² Petrus apostolus est, et Joannes apostolus, maritus et virgo; sed Petrus apostolus tantum, Joannes et apostolus et evangelista et propheta, &c.—*Hier. in Jovin.*, i. 14. Et ut brevi sermone multa comprehendam, doceamque cujus privilegii sit Joannes, . . . imo in Joanne virginitas; a Domino virgine mater virgo virginis discipulo commendatur.—*Hier., ibid.*

says that "the Lord, after his resurrection, delivered the special knowledge to James the Just, and to John, and to Peter;"¹ postponing St Peter, as perhaps conceiving him to have less of the sublime revelations imparted to him. That order, therefore, is not so punctually constant.

In the Apostolical Constitutions, St Paul and St Peter being introduced [introduced] jointly prescribing orders, they begin, "I Paul, and I Peter, do appoint;"² so little ambitious or curious [solicitous] of precedence are they represented.

2. But it being indeed so constant as not to seem casual, I farther say, that position of names does not argue difference of degree or superiority in power, any small advantage of age, standing, merit, or wealth serving to ground such precedence, as common experience shows.

3. We formerly assigned other sufficient and probable causes why St Peter had this place; so that this is no cogent reason.

VI. Farther (and this indeed is their far most plausible argumentation), they allege the titles and eulogies given to St Peter by the fathers, who call him ἑξαρχον, the prince; κορυφαῖον, the ringleader; κεφαλὴν, the head; πρέσβηρον, the president; ἀρχηγόν, the captain; προήγορον, the prolocutor; πρωτοστάτην, the foreman; προστάτην, the warden; ἐκκριτον τῶν ἀποστόλων, the choice or egregious apostle; majorem, the greater or grandee among them; primum, the first or prime apostle.³

To these and the like allegations, I answer,—

1. If we should say that we are not accountable for every hyperbolic flash or flourish occurring in the fathers (it being well known that they in their encomiastic speeches, as orators are wont, following the heat and gaiety of fancy, do sometimes overlash), we should have the pattern of their greatest controvertists to warrant us:⁴ for Bellarmine puts off their testimonies by saying that they "sometimes speak in way of excess, less properly, less warily, so as to need friendly exposition," &c.,⁵ as Bishop Andrews shows; and it is a common shift of Cardinal Perron, whereof you may see divers instances alleged by M. Daillé.⁶

¹ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πίττῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρίδωκε τὴν γνώσιν ὁ Κύριος.—Euseb. Hist., ii. 1.

² Ἐγὼ Παῦλος καὶ Ἰγὼ Πίτρος διατασσόμεθα.—Const. Apost. viii. 33.

³ Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59; Chrys. in Joh. xxi.; Cypr. cont. Jul., ix. p. 325; Aug., Ep. xi. 19.

⁴ The truth is, the best arguments of the Papists in other questions are some flourishes of orators, speaking hyperbolically and heedlessly.

⁵ Per excessum loqui, Bell. de Miss., ii. 10; Minus proprie, iii. 4; Benigna expositione opus habere, de Amiss., Gr. iv. 12; Minus caute, de Purg., i. 11.

⁶ Tort. Tort., p. 338; Daillé de Us. P., lib. i. cap. 6, p. 158, et p. 314. [The first reference here is to a work by Bishop Andrews, entitled *Tortura Torti*, being a reply to a treatise by Bellarmine, who wrote, under the name of *Mattheus Tortus*, against King James VI., on the subject of the oath of allegiance. The other reference is to the well-known treatise by Daillé, "On the Right Use of the Fathers."—Ed.]

Which observation is especially applicable to this case: for eloquent men never more exceed in their indulgence to fancy than in the demonstrative kind, in panegyrics, in their commendations of persons; and I hope they will embrace this way of reckoning for those expressions of Pope Leo, sounding so exorbitantly, that St Peter was by our Lord "assumed into consortship of his individual unity," and that "nothing passes to any from God, the fountain of good things, without the participation of Peter."¹

2. We may observe, that such turgid eulogies of St Peter are not found in the more ancient Fathers; for Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Firmilian, when they mention St Peter, speak more temperately and simply, according to the current notions and traditions of the church in their time, using, indeed, fair terms of respect, but not such high strains of courtship, about him. But they are found in the later Fathers, who being men of wit and eloquence, and affecting in their discourses to vent those faculties, spoke more out of their own invention and fancy.

Whence, according to a prudent estimation of things in such a case, the silence or sparingness of the first sort is of more consideration on the one hand than the speech, how free soever, of the latter is on the other hand; and we may rather suppose those titles do not belong to St Peter, because the first do not give them, than that they do, because the other are so liberal in doing it.

Indeed, if we consult the testimonies of this kind alleged by the Romanists, who, with their utmost diligence have raked all ancient writings for them, it is strange that they cannot find any very ancient ones; that they can find so few plausible ones; that they are fain (to make up the number) to produce so many which evidently have no force or pertinency, being only commendations of his apostolical office or of his personal merits, without relation to [his power over] others.

3. We say that all those terms or titles which they urge are ambiguous, and applicable to any sort of primacy or pre-eminency, to that which we admit no less than to that which we refuse, as by instances from good authors, and from common use, might easily be demonstrated; so that from them nothing can be inferred advantageous to their cause.

Cicero calls Socrates "Prince of the philosophers," and Sulpitius "Prince of all lawyers:"² would it not be ridiculous thence to infer that Socrates was a sovereign governor of the philosophers, or Sulpitius of the lawyers? The same great speaker calls Pompey "Prince

¹ Nunc enim in consortium individue unitatis assumptum id quod ipse erat voluit nominari.—*P. Leo I., Ep. lxxxix.* Nihil a bonorum fonte Deo in quenquam sine Petri participatione transire.—*P. Leo de Assumpt. sua. Serm. iii.*

² Cic. de Nat. Deor., lib. ii.; Cic. de Clar. Orat.

of the city in all men's judgment:"¹ does he mean that he exercised jurisdiction over the city?

Tertullus calls St Paul *πρωτοστάτην*, "a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes," Acts xxiv. 5; and St Basil calls Eustathius Sebas-tenus, "Foreman of the sect of the Pneumatomachi."² Did Tertullus mean that St Paul had universal jurisdiction over Christians? or St Basil that Eustathius was sovereign of those heretics?

So neither did "Prince of the apostles," or any equivalent term, in the sense of those who assigned it to St Peter, import authority over the apostles; but eminency among them in worth, in merit, in apostolical performances, or at most in order of precedence.

Such words are to be interpreted by the state of things, not the state of things to be inferred from them; and in understanding them we should observe the rule of Tertullian: "I had rather you would apply yourself to the sense of the thing than to the sound of the word."³

4. Accordingly, the Fathers sometimes explain those eulogies, signifying them to import the special gifts and virtues of St Peter, wherein he excelled; so Eusebius calls St Peter "The most excellent and great apostle, who for his virtue was prolocutor of the rest."⁴

5. This answer is thoroughly confirmed from hence, that even those who give these titles to St Peter, yet expressly affirm other apostles in power and dignity equal to him.

Who gives higher eulogies to him than St Chrysostom? yet he asserts all the apostles to be supreme, and "equal in dignity;" and particularly, he often affirms St Paul to be *ἰσότημον*, equal in honour to St Peter, as we before showed. The like we declared of St Jerome, St Cyril, &c.; and as for St Cyprian, who allowed a primacy to St Peter, nothing can be more evident than that he took the other apostles to be "equal to him in power and honour." The like we may conceive of St Augustine, who, having carefully perused those writings of St Cyprian, and frequently alleging them, never contradicts that his sentiment. Even Pope Gregory himself acknowledges St Peter not to have been properly the head, but only "the first member of the universal church, all being members of the church under one head."⁵

¹ Quem omnium judicio longe principem esse civitatis videbat, . . . principem orbis terre virum, &c.—*Cic. pro Domo sua*.

² *Πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν πνευματομάχων αἰρέσεως*.—*Bas., Ep. lxxiv.*

³ Malo te ad sensum rei quam ad sonum vocabuli exerceas.—*Tert. adv. Prax.*, cap. iii. Οὐ γὰρ αἱ λέξεις τὸν φύσιν παραιοῦνται· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις τὰς λέξεις εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἑλκυσσάμενη μεταβάλλει.—*Athan. Orat. iii. adv. Ar.*, p. 373. "For words do not take away the nature of things, but the nature rather changes the words, and draws them to itself."

⁴ Euseb. Hist., ii. 14.

⁵ Certe Petrus apostolus primum membrum S. et universalis ecclesie, . . . sub uno capite omnes membra sunt ecclesie.—*Greg. I., Ep. iv. 38.*

6. If Pope Leo I., or any other ancient pope, seems to mean farther, we may reasonably except against their opinion, as being singular, and proceeding from partial affection to their see; such affection having influence on the mind of the wisest men, according to that certain maxim of Aristotle, "Every man is a bad judge in his own case."

7. The ancients, when their subject allures them, adorn other apostles with the like titles, equalling those of St Peter, and not well consistent with them, according to that rigour of sense which our adversaries affix to the commendations of St Peter.

The Epistle of Clemens Romanus to St James (an apocryphal but ancient writing) calls St James, our Lord's brother, "The bishop of bishops;"¹ the Clementine Recognitions call him "The prince of bishops;" Ruffinus, in his translation of Eusebius, "The bishop of the apostles;" St Chrysostom says of him, that he "presided over all the Jewish believers;"² Hesychius, presbyter of Jerusalem, calls him "The chief captain of the new Jerusalem, the captain of priests, the prince of the apostles, the top among the heads," &c.³

The same Hesychius calls St Andrew "The first-born of the apostolical choir, the first-settled pillar of the church, the Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the first-fruits of the beginning," &c.⁴

St Chrysostom says of St John, that he was "a pillar of the churches through the world, he that had the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c.⁵

But as occasion of speaking about St Paul was more frequent, so the eulogies of him are more copious, and indeed so high as not to yield to those of St Peter.

"He was," says St Chrysostom, "the leader and president of the choir of the saints."⁶ "He was the tongue, the teacher, the apostle of the world. He had the whole world put into his hands, and took care thereof, and had committed to him all men dwelling

¹ Κλήμης Ἰακώβου ἱερισκόπου ἱερισκόση. Jacobum episcoporum principem sacerdotum princeps orabat—*Clem. Rec.*, i. 68. Apostolorum episcopus.—*Ruf. Euseb.*, ii. 1.

² It is likely that Ruffinus called him so, by mistaking that in the Apostolical Constitutions: Ὁ τοῦ ἱερισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου.—*Apost. Const.*, viii. 10. τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίου πιστευόντων προιστάται πάντων.—*Chrys.*, tom. v. *Or.* 59.

³ Τὸν τῆς νῆας Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀρχιστράτηγον, τῶν ἱερῶν ἡγήμονα, τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸν ἑταίρον, τὸν ἐν κεφαλῇ κορυφὴν, &c.—*Hesych. Presb.*, apud *Phot. Cod.* 275, p. 1525.

⁴ Ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρωτότοκος, ὁ πρωτοπαγὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας στόλος, ὁ πρὸ Πέτρου Πίτρος, ὁ τοῦ Σιμελίου Σιμελίος, ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαρχή.—*Hesych.*, apud *Phot. Cod.* 269.

⁵ Ὁ στόλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ τὰς κλῆεις ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν, &c.—*Chrys.* in *Joh.* i. 1.

⁶ Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων χοροῦ κορυφαῖος καὶ πρωστάτης.—*Chrys.* in *Rom.* xvi. 24. Ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπόστολος.—*Chrys.* in *1 Cor.* ix. 2.

upon earth."¹ "He was the light of the churches, the foundation of faith, the pillar and ground of truth." "He had the patronage of the world committed into his hands."² "He was better than all men, greater than the apostles, and surpassing them all."³ "Nothing was more bright, nothing more illustrious, than he."⁴ "None was greater than he, yea, none equal to him."⁵

Pope Gregory I. says of St Paul that he "was made head of the nations, because he obtained the principate of the whole church."⁶

These characters of St Paul I leave them to interpret, and reconcile with those of St Peter.

8. That the fathers, by calling St Peter prince, chieftain, &c., of the apostles, do not mean authority over them, may be argued from their joining St Paul with him in the same appellations, who yet surely could have no jurisdiction over them; and his having any would destroy the pretended ecclesiastical monarchy.

St Cyril calls them, together, "Patrons or presidents of the church."⁷

St Austin (or St Ambrose or Maximus) calls them "Princes of the churches."⁸

The Popes Agatho and Adrian, in their general synods, call them "The ringleading [the coryphæi of the] apostles."⁹

¹ Ἡ γλῶττα τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ θιμίλιος τῆς πίστεως, ὁ στύλος καὶ ἰστίονα τῆς ἀληθείας. Τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἰγκυχυρισμένος. "He had the whole habitable world committed to his charge." Τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος ἂν τοὺς τὴν γῆν οἰκοῦντας ἅπαστας ἰσχυρισθείς. "He was the teacher of the world, and had all the inhabitants of the earth committed to his trust."

² Τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἰγκυχυρισμένος.—*In Jud. Or.* vi. Τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν προστασίαν ἰσχυρισθείς.—*In 1 Cor. Or.* xlii. Οὐ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ φέρον ἴσχυιν ὁ Θεός;—*Tom.* vii. p. 2. "Did not God put into his hands the whole world?" Ὁ πάσης οἰκουμένης κρατῆρας.—*In 2 Tim.* ii. 1 "He had the charge of the whole world."

³ Πάντων ἀνθρώπων κρίστην.—*De Sacerd.* iv. Τίς οὖν ἅπαντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμύνων; τίς δὲ ἴσχυος ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ἱερεὺς, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος. . . . εἰ τοίνυν μίζονα τῶν ἀποστόλων λαμβάνει στίφανον, τῶν δὲ ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδεὶς γίγνεται, οὗτος δὲ κἀκείνους μίζων, εὐδαίμων ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτης ἀπολαύσεται τιμῆς καὶ σπουδῆς.—*Tom.* v. *Or.* 33. "Who then was better than all other men? who else but that tent-maker, the teacher of the world? . . . If, therefore, he receive a greater crown than the apostles, and none perhaps was equal to the apostles, and yet he greater than they, it is manifest that he shall enjoy the highest honour and pre-eminence."

⁴ Παῦλον λαμπρότερον οὐδὲν ἦν, οὐδὲ περιφανέστερον.—*Tom.* v. *Or.* 47.

⁵ Οὐδεὶς δὲ ἱερέως μίζων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἴσος ἱερέϊ.—*Tom.* vi. *Or.* 9. Οὐδέ τις Παύλου ἴσος ἦν.—*2 Tim.* iii. 15. Ὁ πάνσοφος, ὁ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄριστος ἀρχιτέκτων.—*Theod., Ep.* cxlvi. "The most wise and best architect or chief builder of the churches." Ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος, ὁ τῶν πατέρων πατήρ.—*Just. M. Resp. ad Orthod. Qu.* cxix. "The blessed apostle, the father of the fathers."

⁶ Caput effectus est nationum, quia obtinuit totius ecclesie principatum.—*Greg. M.* in 1 *Reg.* lib. iv. Videsis. Paulus apostolorum princeps.—*Ep. Spalat.* in *Lat. Syn. sub. P. Jul.* II., sess. i. p. 25.

⁷ Πίστεος καὶ Παύλος, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσταταί.—*Cyril, Cat.* vi.

⁸ Ecclesiarum principes.—*Aug. de Sanct.*, xxvii.

⁹ Κορυφαῖοι ἀποστόλων.—*P. Agatho, in 6 Syn. Act.* iv. p. 35; *P. Adrian, in 7 Syn. Act.* ii. p. 554.

The Popes Nicholas I. and Gregory VII., &c., call them "Princes of the apostles."¹

St Ambrose, or St Augustine, or St Maximus Taur. [of Turin,] (choose you which,) thus speaks of them: "Blessed Peter and Paul are most eminent among all the apostles, excelling the rest by a kind of peculiar prerogative; but whether of the two be preferred before the other is uncertain, for I count them to be equal in merit, because they are equal in suffering,"² &c.

To all this discourse I shall only add, that if any of the apostles, or apostolical men, might claim a presidency or authoritative headship over the rest, St James seems to have the best title thereto;³ for "Jerusalem was the mother of all churches,"⁴ the fountain of the Christian law and doctrine, the *see* of our Lord himself, the chief pastor, Isa. ii. 3; Luke xiii. 34.

He therefore who, as the fathers tell us, was by our Lord himself constituted bishop of that city, and the "first" of all bishops, might best pretend to be in special manner our Lord's vicar or successor.⁵ "He," says Epiphanius, "first received the episcopal chair, and to him did our Lord first intrust his own throne upon earth."⁶

He, accordingly, first exercised the authority of presiding and moderating in the first ecclesiastical synod, as St Chrysostom in his notes thereon remarks.

He, therefore, probably by St Paul is first named in his report concerning the passages at Jerusalem, Gal. ii. 9; and to his orders it seems that St Peter himself conformed, for it is said there, that "before certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew," chap. ii. 12.

Hence, in the Apostolical Constitutions, in the prayer prescribed for the church and for all the governors of it, the bishops of the principal churches being specified by name, St James is put in the first place, before the bishops of Rome and of Antioch:—"Let us pray for the whole episcopacy under heaven, of those who rightly

¹ Nic. I., Ep. vii., Plat. in Greg. VII., &c.

² Beati Petrus et Paulus eminent inter universos apostolos, et peculiari quadam prerogativa præcellunt; verum inter ipsos quis cui præponatur incertum est, puto enim illos æquales esse meritis, quia æquales sunt passione, &c.—*Ambr., Sermon. lxxvi.; Aug. de Sanct., xxvii.; Max. Taur., Sermon. liv.*

³ Hæc voces ecclesiæ, ex qua habuit omnis ecclesiæ initium.—*Iren., iii. 12.* "These are the words of the church from whence every church had its beginning."

⁴ Ecclesia in Hierusalem fundata totius orbis ecclesias seminavit.—*Hieron. in Isa. ii.* "The church founded in Jerusalem was the seminary of the churches throughout the whole world." *Theod., v. 9.* Vide *Tert. de Præscr., cap. xx.*

⁵ "Ἐπειτα ἔφη Ἰακώβη, μοι δοκεῖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν λίγισται πιχριστομηναίαι, καὶ ταῖς αἰσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμοις πιστοποιεῖται πρῶτον.—*Chrys. in 1 Cor., Or. ii.* "After that he was seen of James, I suppose to his brother; for he is said to have ordained him, and made him the first bishop of Jerusalem."

⁶ Πρῶτος αὐτός ἐληφθὲν τὴν καθίδραν τοῦ ἱεροποῦτος Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ γῆς πρῶτον.—*Epiph. Hær., lxxviii.*

dispense the word of thy truth; and let us pray for our bishop James, with all his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Clemens, and all his parishes; let us pray for Euodius, and all his parishes.”¹

Hereto consents the tradition of those ancient writers afore-cited, who call St James “The bishop of bishops, the bishop of the apostles,” &c.

SUPPOSITION II

I PROCEED to examine the next supposition [hypothesis] of the church monarchists, which is, “*That St Peter’s primacy, with its rights and prerogatives, was not personal, but derivable to his successors.*”

Against which supposition I assert, that, admitting a primacy of St Peter, of what kind or to what purpose soever, we yet have reason to deem it merely personal, and not, according to its grounds and its design, communicable to any successors, nor indeed in effect conveyed to any such.

It is a rule in the canon law, that “a personal privilege follows the person, and is extinguished with the person;”² and such we affirm that of St Peter: for,—

1. His primacy was grounded upon personal acts,—such as his cheerful following of Christ, his faithful confessing of Christ, his resolute adherence to Christ, his embracing special revelations from God; or upon personal graces,—his great faith, his special love to our Lord, his singular zeal for Christ’s service; or upon personal gifts and endowments,—his courage, resolution, activity, forwardness in apprehension and in speech: the which advantages are not transient, [transferable,] and consequently a pre-eminency built on them is not in its nature such.

2. All the pretence of primacy granted to St Peter is grounded upon words directed to St Peter’s person, characterized by most [by simply] personal adjuncts, as name, parentage, and which exactly were accomplished in St Peter’s personal actings; which, therefore, it is unreasonable to extend farther, Matt. xvi. 17; John xxi. 15–17.

Our Lord promised to “Simon, son of Jona,” to build his church on him, Matt. xvi. 17; accordingly, in eminent manner, the church was founded upon his ministry, or by his first preaching, testimony, performances.

¹ Τὸν πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν τῶν ὁριστομένων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας διηδώμι· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου, καὶ τῶν παραικίων αὐτοῦ διηδώμι· ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος, &c.—*Const. Ap.*, viii. 10.

² Privilegium personale personam sequitur. et cum persona extinguitur.—*Reg. Juris*, 7 in *Sexto*.

Our Lord promised to give him the keys of the heavenly kingdom: this power St Peter signally executed in converting Christians, and receiving them by baptism into the church, by conferring the Holy Ghost, and the like administrations.

Our Lord charged "Simon, son of Jonas, to feed his sheep," John **xxi** 15-17: this he performed by preaching, writing, guiding, and governing Christians, as he found opportunity. Wherefore, if any thing was couched under those promises or orders singularly pertinent to St Peter, for the same reason that they were singular they were personal; for,—

These things being, in a conspicuous manner, accomplished in St Peter's person, the sense of those words is exhausted; there may not with any probability, there cannot with any assurance, be any more grounded on them: whatever more is inferred must be by precarious assumption; and justly we may cast at those who shall infer it that expostulation of Tertullian, "Who art thou that dost overturn and change the manifest intention of our Lord, personally conferring this on Peter?"¹

3. Particularly, the grand promise to St Peter of founding the church on him cannot reach beyond his person; because there can be no other foundations of a society than such as are first laid. The successors of those who first erected a society and established it are themselves but superstructures.

4. The apostolical office, as such, was personal and temporary; and therefore, according to its nature and design, not successive or communicable to others in perpetual descendance [descent] from them.

It was, as such, in all respects extraordinary,—conferred in a special manner, designed for special purposes, discharged by special aids, endowed with special privileges; as was needful for the propagation of Christianity and founding of churches.

To that office it was requisite that the person should have an immediate designation and commission from God; such as St Paul so often insists upon for asserting his title to the office: "Paul, an apostle, not from men, or by man," Gal. i. 1. "Not by men," says St Chrysostom; "this is a property of the apostles."²

It was requisite that an apostle should be able to attest concerning our Lord's resurrection or ascension, either immediately, as the twelve, or by evident consequence, as St Paul. This St Peter implied at the choice of Matthias: "Wherefore of those men which have companied with us . . . must one be ordained to be a witness with us of the resurrection," Acts i. 21, 22. And, "Am I not," says

¹ Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem?—*Tertul. de Pud.*, **xxi**.

² Τὸ δὲ οὐ δι' ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο ἵδιον τῶν ἀποστόλων.—*Chrys. in Gal* i. 1.

St Paul, "an apostle? have I not seen the Lord?" 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 8; according to that of Ananias, "The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth; for thou shalt bear witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard," Acts xxii. 14, 15.

It was needful, also, that an apostle should be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces, enabling him both to assure his authority and to execute his office: wherefore St Paul calls these the "marks of an apostle;" the "which were wrought by him among the Corinthians in all patience" (or perseveringly), "in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds," 2 Cor. xii. 12; Rom. xv. 18, 19.

It was also, in St Chrysostom's opinion, proper to an apostle that he should be able, according to his discretion, in a certain and conspicuous manner, to impart spiritual gifts, as St Peter and St John did at Samaria; which to do, according to that father, "was the peculiar gift and privilege of the apostles."¹

It was also a privilege of an apostle, by virtue of his commission from Christ, "to instruct all nations" in the doctrine and law of Christ; he had right and warrant to exercise his functions everywhere; "his charge was universal and indefinite; the whole world was his province;"² he was not affixed to any one place, nor could be excluded from any; he was, as St Cyril calls him, "an oecumenical judge," and "an instructor of all the sub-celestial [sublunary] world."³

Apostles also governed in an absolute manner, according to discretion, as being guided by infallible assistance; to the which they might upon occasion appeal and affirm: "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and us," Acts xv. 28. Whence their writings have passed for inspired, and therefore canonical, or certain rules of faith and practice.

It belonged to them to found churches, to constitute pastors, to settle orders, [order?] to correct offences, to perform all such acts of sovereign spiritual power, in virtue of the same divine assistance, "according to the authority which the Lord had given them for edification," as we see practised by St Paul.

In fine, the "apostleship was," as St Chrysostom tells us, "a business fraught with ten thousand good things; both greater than all privileges of grace and comprehensive of them."⁴

¹ Τούτοι γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνον τῶν δώδεκα—ταῦτο γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἰξάριμον.—*Chrys. in Act. viii. 18.* De solis apostolis legitur, quorum vicem tenent episcopi, quod per manus impositionem Spiritum S. dabant.—*P. Eugenius IV., in Instit. Arm.* "It is recorded of the apostles alone, in whose room the bishops succeed, that they give the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands."

² Ἐπειδὴ ἱμελλόν τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἰσχυροπῆν ἰσιδίξασθαι.—*Chrys. in Joh. xxi.*

³ Κρίται οἰκουμηνικοί, καὶ τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ καθηγηταί.—*Cyrl., γλαφ. in Gen. vii.*

⁴ Τὴν ἀποστολὴν, πρῶγμα μυρίων ἀγαθῶν γίμνη, τῶν χαρισμάτων ἀπάντων καὶ μιλίων, καὶ πνευματικῶν.—*Chrys. in Rom. i. Or. 1, tom. viii. p. 114.*

Now, such an office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, which were requisite for the foundation of the church and the diffusion of Christianity, against the manifold difficulties and disadvantages which it then must needs encounter, was not designed to continue by derivation; for it contains in it divers things which apparently were not communicated, and which no man, without gross imposture and hypocrisy, could challenge to himself.

Neither did the apostles pretend to communicate it. They indeed appointed standing pastors and teachers in each church,—they assumed fellow-labourers or assistants in the work of preaching and governance; but they did not constitute apostles equal to themselves in authority, privileges, or gifts: for, “Who knows not,” says St Augustine, “that the principate of apostleship is to be preferred before any episcopate?”¹ and, “The bishops,” says Bellarmine, “have no part of the true apostolical authority.”²

Wherefore St Peter, who had no other office mentioned in Scripture, or known to antiquity, beside that of an apostle, could not have properly and adequately any successor to his office; but it naturally expired with his person, as did that of the other apostles.

5. Accordingly, whereas the other apostles, as such, had no successors, the apostolical office not being propagated, the primacy of St Peter, whatever it were, whether of order or jurisdiction in regard to his brethren, ceased with him; for when there were no apostles extant there could be no “head” or “prince of the apostles” in any sense.

6. If some privileges of St Peter were derived to popes, why were not all? why was not Pope Alexander VI. as holy as St Peter? why was not Pope Honorius as sound in his private judgment? why is not every pope inspired? why is not every papal epistle to be reputed canonical? why are not all popes endowed with power of doing miracles? why does not the pope by a sermon convert thousands? why, indeed, do popes never preach? why does not he cure men by his shadow (he is, say they, himself his shadow)? what ground is there of distinguishing the privileges, so that he shall have some, not others? where is the ground to be found?

7. If it be objected that the fathers commonly call bishops successors of the apostles, to assail that objection we may consider, that whereas the apostolical office virtually contained the functions of teaching and ruling God’s people,—the which, for preservation of

¹ Quis nescit illum apostolatus principatum cuilibet episcopatu præferendum?—*Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don.*, ii. 1.

² Episcopi nullam habent partem veræ apostolicæ auctoritatis.—*Bell.*, iv. 25. The apostles themselves make the apostolate a distinct office from pastors and teachers, which are the standing offices in the church.—*Eph.* iv. 11; *1 Cor.* xii. 28.

Christian doctrine and edification of the church, were requisite to be continued perpetually in ordinary standing offices,—these, indeed, were derived from the apostles, but not properly in way of succession, as by univocal propagation, but by ordination, imparting all the power needful for such offices; which, therefore, were exercised by persons during the apostles' lives concurrently, or in subordination to them, even as a dictator at Rome might create inferior magistrates, who derived from him, but not as his successors; for, as Bellarmine himself tells us, "There can be no proper succession but in respect of one preceding; but apostles and bishops were together in the church."¹

The fathers, therefore, in a large sense so call all bishops successors of the apostles; not meaning that any one of them succeeded to the whole apostolical office, but that each received his power from some one, immediately or mediately, whom some apostle constituted bishop, vesting him with authority to feed the particular flock committed to him in way of ordinary charge. According to the sayings of that apostolical person, Clemens Romanus, "The apostles, preaching in regions and cities, constituted their first converts, having approved them by the Spirit, for bishops and deacons of those who should afterward believe;" and, "Having constituted the foresaid" bishops and deacons, "they withal gave them farther charge, that if they should die, other approved men successively should receive their office."² Thus did the bishops supply the room of the apostles, "each in guiding his particular charge,"³ all of them together, by mutual aid, conspiring to govern the whole body of the church.

8. In which regard it may be said that not one single bishop, but all bishops together through the whole church, succeed St Peter, or any other apostle; for that all of them, in union together, have an universal sovereign authority commensurate to an apostle.

9. This is the notion which St Cyprian so much insists upon, affirming that the bishops succeed St Peter and the other apostles "by vicarious ordination;"⁴ that "the bishops are apostles;"⁵ that there is but "one chair by the Lord's word built upon one Peter;"⁶ "one undivided bishopric, diffused in the peaceful numerosity of many

¹ Non succeditur proprie nisi præcedenti, at simul fuerunt in ecclesia apostoli et episcopi, &c.—*Bell. de Pont. R.*, iv. 25.

² Κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀρχαὶς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες ἐν πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.—*Clem. ad Corinth.*, i. p. 54. Κατίσταναν τοὺς ἀρειρημένους, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἱκανοῦν ἐκιδιδάσκαι, ὥσως ἴαν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδίδονται ἱεροὶ διδουκασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.—*Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ Singulis pastoribus portio gregis adscripta est, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, &c.—*Cyprian.*, *Ep.* lv.

⁴ Præpositos, qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt, &c.—*Ep.* lxi., xlii., lxxv.

⁵ Apostolos, id est, episcopos et præpositos Dominus elegit.—*Ep.* lxx.

⁶ Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata, &c.—*Ep.* xl., et *Ep.* lxxiii., et *De Unit. Eccl.*

bishops, whereof each bishop holds his share;"¹ "one flock, whom the apostles by unanimous agreement fed, and which afterward the bishops feed," having "a portion thereof allotted to each, which he should govern."²

So the synod of Carthage, with St Cyprian: "The meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest in sending his apostles, and allowing the power given him of the Father to them alone; whose successors we are, governing the church of God by the same power."³

So, also, St Chrysostom says that "the sheep of Christ were committed by Him to Peter and to those after him;"⁴ that is, in his meaning, to all bishops.

10. Such, and no other power, St Peter might devolve on any bishop ordained by him in any church which he constituted or inspected; as in that of Antioch, of Alexandria, of Babylon, of Rome.

The like the other apostles communicated, who had the same power with St Peter in founding and settling churches; whose successors of this kind were equal to those of the same kind whom St Peter constituted (Hier. ad Evagr.); enjoying in their several precincts an equal part of the apostolical power; as St Cyprian often asserts.

11. It is in consequence observable, that in those churches whereof the apostles themselves were never accounted bishops, yet the bishops are called successors of the apostles; which cannot otherwise be understood than according to the sense which we have proposed,—that is, because they succeeded those who were constituted by the apostles, according to those sayings of Irenæus and Tertullian: "We can number those who were instituted bishops by the apostles and their successors;"⁵ and, "All the churches show those whom, being by the apostles constituted in the episcopal office, they have as continuers of the apostolical seed."⁶

So, although St Peter was never reckoned bishop of Alexandria, yet because it is reported that he placed St Mark there, the bishop of Alexandria is said to succeed the apostles.⁷

¹ Episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordia numerositate diffusus.—*Ep.* lii. Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.—*De Unit. Eccl.*

² Et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascitur.—*De Unit. Eccl.* Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas, &c.—*Ep.* lxvii. "For though we are many pastors, yet we feed one flock, and all the sheep," &c.

³ Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a patre sibi datam permittentis quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes.

⁴ Τὰ ἐπίσκοποι . . . ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρήματα.—*Chrys. de Sacerd.* i.

⁵ Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi, et successores eorum usque ad nos, &c.—*Iren.* iii. 8.

⁶ Proinde utique et ceteræ exhibent, quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habent.—*Tert. de Præscr.* xxxii.

⁷ Τίταρος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτοῦ λειτουργίαν κληροῦται. Πίριμος.—*Euseb. Hist.*

And because St John abode at Ephesus, inspecting that church, and "appointing bishops there," the bishops of that see "referred their origin to him."¹

So many bishops do claim from St Paul.

So St Cyprian and Firmilian assert themselves "successors of the apostles,"² who yet, perhaps, never were at Carthage or Cæsarea.

So the church of Constantinople is often, in the Acts of the Sixth General Council, called "This great apostolic church;" being such churches as those of which Tertullian says, that "although they do not produce any of the apostles or apostolical men for their author, yet, conspiring in the same faith, they are no less, for the consanguinity of doctrine, reputed apostolical."³

Yea, hence St Jerome asserts a parity of merit and dignity sacerdotal to all bishops; because, says he, "all of them are successors to the apostles," having all a like power by their ordination conferred on them.—*Hier. ad Evagr.**

12. Whereas our adversaries pretend that indeed the other apostles had an extraordinary charge as legates of Christ, which had no succession, but was extinct in their persons, but that St Peter had a peculiar charge, as ordinary pastor of the whole church, which survives (*Bell. iv. 25, &c.*),—

To this it is enough to rejoin, that it is a mere figment, devised for a shift, and affirmed precariously, having no ground either in holy Scripture or in ancient tradition; there being no such distinction in the sacred or ecclesiastical writings,—no mention occurring there of any office which he assumed, or which was attributed to him, distinct from that extraordinary one of an apostle; and all the pastoral charge imaginable being ascribed by the ancients to all the apostles in regard to the whole church; as has been sufficiently declared.

iv. 1. "Primus is the fourth from the apostles who was the bishop of that place, or obtained the ministry there."

¹ "Ὁσων μὲν ἐκκλησίους καταστήσαν, ὅσων δὲ ἅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσαν, &c.—*Clem. Alex.*, apud *Euseb.*, iii. 23. Ordo episcoporum ad originem recens in Joannem stabit autorem.—*Tert. in Marc.*, iv. 5; *Tert. de Præscr.*, xxxii.

² Unitatem a Domino et per apostolis nobis successoribus traditam.—*Cypr., Ep. xlii.* Adversarii nostri qui apostolis successimus.—*Firmil. in Cypr., Ep. lxxv.*

³ — ab illis ecclesiis, quæ licet nullum ex apostolis, vel apostolicis auctorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quæ denique quotidie instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus apostolicæ deputantur, pro consanguinitate doctrinæ.—*Tert. de Præscr.*, xxxii.

* The reference here is to Jerome's celebrated epistle, *Ad Evagrium*, in which he asserts the original identity of the presbyterate and the episcopate, and maintains that the churches were at first governed *communi presbyterorum consilio*. Bellarmine and Durand express their indignant surprise at this sentiment of Jerome. "Inde demonstrare nititur," says the former, "dignitatem presbyterorum esse maximam, quod eadem sit cum episcopali."—*Bellar. De Cleric.*, cap. xv. "Magis autem mirandum," writes the latter, "quod Hieronymus, per sua verba, videtur æquare presbyteros episcopis."—*Dur. in Sentent. Dist. 24, q. 5.*—*Ed.*

13. In fine, if any such conveyance of power, of power so great, so momentous, so mightily concerning the perpetual state of the church and of each person therein, had been made, it had been,—for general direction and satisfaction, for avoiding all doubt and debate about it, for stifling these pretended heresies and schisms,—very requisite that it should have been expressed in some authentic record, that a particular law should have been extant concerning it, that all posterity should be warned to yield the submission grounded thereon.

Indeed, a matter of so great consequence to the being and welfare of the church could scarce have escaped from being clearly mentioned somewhere or other in Scripture, wherein so much is spoken touching ecclesiastical discipline; it could scarce have avoided the pen of the first fathers (Clement, Ignatius, the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions, Tertullian, &c.), who also so much treat concerning the function and authority of Christian governors.

Nothing can be more strange than that in the Statute-book of the New Jerusalem, and in all the original monuments concerning it, there should be such a dead silence concerning the succession of its chief magistrate.

Wherefore, no such thing appearing, we may reasonably conclude no such thing to have been, and that our adversaries' assertion of it is wholly arbitrary, imaginary, and groundless.

14. I might add, as a very convincing argument, that if such a succession had been designed, and known in old times, it is morally impossible that none of the fathers, Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Cyril, Jerome, Theodoret, &c., in their exposition of the places alleged by the Romanists for the primacy of St Peter, should declare [have declared] that primacy to have been derived and settled on St Peter's successor; a point of that moment, [such importance that,] if they had been aware of it, they could not but have touched, as a most useful application and direction for duty.

SUPPOSITION III.

They affirm, *That St Peter was bishop of Rome.*

Concerning which assertion we say, that it may with great reason be denied, and that it cannot any wise be assured; as will appear by the following considerations:—

1. St Peter's being bishop of Rome would confound the offices which God made distinct; for God appointed "first apostles, then

prophets, then pastors and teachers," 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11. Wherefore, St Peter, after he was an apostle, could not well become a bishop; it would be such an irregularity as if a bishop should be made a deacon.

2. The offices of an apostle and of a bishop are not in their nature well consistent: for the apostleship is an extraordinary office, charged with instruction and government of the whole world, and calling for an answerable care; the "apostles being rulers," as St Chrysostom says, "ordained by God; rulers not taking several nations and cities, but all of them in common intrusted with the whole world;"¹—but episcopacy is an ordinary standing charge, affixed to one place, and requiring a special attendance there; bishops being pastors, who, as St Chrysostom says, "sit, and are employed, in one place."² Now, he that has such a general care can hardly discharge such a particular office; and he that is fixed to so particular attendance can hardly look well after so general a charge. Either of these offices alone would suffice to take up a whole man, as those tell us who have considered the burden incumbent on the meanest of them; the which we may see described in St Chrysostom's discourses concerning the priesthood.

Baronius says of St Peter, that "it was his office not to stay in one place, but, as much as it was possible for one man, to travel over the whole world, and to bring those who did not yet believe to the faith, and thoroughly to establish believers."³ If so, how could he be bishop of Rome, which was an office inconsistent with such vagrancy?

3. It would not have beseemed St Peter, the prime apostle, to assume the charge of a particular bishop, it had been a degradation of himself, and a disparagement to the apostolical majesty, for him to take upon him the bishopric of Rome; as if the king should become mayor of London, as if the bishop of London should be vicar of Pancras.

4. Wherefore it is not likely that St Peter, being sensible of that superior charge belonging to him, which exacted a more extensive care, would vouchsafe to undertake an inferior charge.

We cannot conceive that St Peter affected the name of a bishop, as now men do, allured by the baits of wealth and power, which then were none [not in existence]. If he affected the title, why did he

¹ "Ἀρχοντὶς εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χρηματονηθέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἴθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφύρουσιν λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοιτῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἱμνιστευόντες.—*Chrys.*, tom. viii. p. 115.

² Οἱ καθήμενοι καὶ περὶ ἓνα τόπον ἡσυχολημένοι.—*Chrys. in Eph.* iv. 11.

³ Non erat ejus officii in uno loco consistere, sed quantum homini licuisset universum peragrarē orbem, et nondum credentes ad fidem perducere, credentes vero in fide penitus stabilire.—*Baron.*, Ann. lviil., § 51.

not in either of his epistles (one of which, as they would persuade us, was written from Rome) inscribe himself bishop of Rome?

Especially considering that, being an apostle, he did not need any particular authority; that involving all power, and enabling him in any particular place to execute all kinds of ecclesiastical administrations, there was no reason that an apostle (or universal bishop) should become a particular bishop.

5. Also, St Peter's general charge of converting and inspecting the Jews, dispersed over the world (his "apostleship," as St Paul calls it, "of the circumcision,"—'Ἀποστολὴ περιτομῆς, Gal. ii. 8), which required much travel, and his presence in divers places, does not well agree to his assuming the episcopal office at Rome.

Especially at that time, when they first make him to assume it,—which was in the time of Claudius, who, as St Luke and other histories report, banished all the Jews from Rome, as Tiberius also had done before him,—he was too skilful a fisherman to cast his net there, where there were no fish.—Acts xviii. 2; Sueton. in Claud. 25, in Tib. 36.

6. If we consider St Peter's life, we may well deem him incapable of this office, which he could not conveniently discharge; for it [his life], as history represents it, and [as] may be collected from divers circumstances of it, was very unsettled. He went much about the world, and, therefore, could seldom reside at Rome.

Many have argued him to have never been at Rome: which opinion I shall not avow, as bearing a more civil respect to ancient testimonies and traditions,* although many false and fabulous relations of that kind having crept into history and common vogue (Euseb. iii. 3), many doubtful reports having passed concerning him,

* We have every reason to conclude, from the New Testament, that the apostle Peter *never was at Rome*. According to the papal doctors, he was bishop of Rome twenty-five years; namely, from A.D. 43 to A.D. 68. Now, we have distinct evidence that Peter was *not* at Rome during this period. Paul says that three years after his conversion, which occurred about the year 37, he went to see Peter at Jerusalem; where he found him. Fourteen years after, or in the year 51, he again went to Jerusalem; and again found Peter there. During the interval between 43 and 68, when Peter is said to have been at Rome, we have eight instances in which Paul communicated with Rome, once by writing *to* them, six times when writing *from* Rome, and once, at least, during an abode of two years in that city; and still there is no hint given that Peter was there during any portion of this time; and if he had been there, can it be imagined that "his beloved brother Paul" would have taken no notice of him? The unlikelihood of such an omission is converted into absolute incredibility when we consider the circumstances mentioned by our author in the following page. It is only, therefore, on the testimony of tradition that such a thing as Peter's presence in Rome can be asserted; and although Dr Barrow declines avowing the opposite opinion, "as bearing a more civil respect to ancient testimonies and traditions," the reader may judge of the degree of respect which is due in the present instance, when informed that the whole of these traditions, which embody, on the same authority, some of the most ridiculous fables, may be traced up to the assertion of one Papias, quoted by Eusebius, who is obliged to confess that "he was a rude and simple person, and endowed with very little judgment." (Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. iii. cap. 36, cum Annot. Valesii, tom. i. p. 130.) The argu-

many notorious forgeries having been invented about his travels and acts (all that is reported of him out of [beyond] Scripture having a smack of the legend), would tempt a man to suspect any thing touching him which is grounded only upon human tradition; so that the forger of his epistle to St James might well induce [introduce] him saying, "If while I do yet survive, men dare to feign such things of me, how much more will they dare to do so after my decease?"¹

But, at least, the discourses of those men have evinced that it is hard to assign the time when he was at Rome, and that he could never long abide there; for,—

The time which old tradition assigns of his going to Rome is rejected by divers learned men, even of the Roman party.²

He was often in other places; sometimes at Jerusalem, sometimes at Antioch, sometimes at Babylon, sometimes at Corinth, sometimes probably at each of those places unto which he directs his catholic epistles;³ among which Epiphanius says, that "Peter often visited Pontus and Bithynia."⁴

And that he seldom was at Rome may well be collected from St Paul's writings;* for he writing at different times one epistle to Rome, and divers epistles from Rome (that to the Galatians, that to the Ephesians, that to the Philippians, that to the Colossians, and the second to Timothy), never mentions him, sending any salutation to him or from him.

Particularly, St Peter was not there when St Paul, mentioning Tychicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Marcus, and Justus, adds, "THESE ALONE are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort unto me," Col. iv. 11.

He was not there when St Paul said, "At my first defence *no man* stood with me, but *all men* forsook me," 2 Tim. iv. 16.

He was not there immediately before St Paul's death, when "the time of his departure was at hand," when he tells Timothy that "*all the brethren* did salute him," 2 Tim. iv. 6, 21; and naming divers of them, he omits Peter.

Which things being considered, it is not probable that St Peter would assume the episcopal chair of Rome, he being little capable

ment drawn from Rome being figuratively "the church that is at Babylon" (1 Pet. v. 13), only shows the straits to which Rome is reduced to support this pure figment, on which all its pretensions rest.—Ed.

¹ Εἰ δὲ ἰμοῦ ἴτι περίοντος τοιαῦτα τελέμωσιν καταψύδιεσθαι, τίς γὰρ μᾶλλον μιστ' ἰμὶ ποιῶσι μιστ' ἰμὶ τελέμωσιν;—Petr. ad Jacob.

² Scal. in Euseb., p. 189; Onuph., apud Bell. ii. 6; Vales. in Euseb. ii. 16.

³ Acts xi. 2, xv. 7; Gal. i. 18, ii. 9, 11; 1 Pet. v. 13; 1 Cor. i. 12; Euseb. ii. 25; 1 Pet. i. 1, v. 13.

⁴ Πίστες πολλὰς Πόντον καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἐπισκεύατο.—Ephiph., Hær. xxvii.

* See foot-note in the preceding page.—Ed.

to reside there, and for that [because] other needful affairs would have forced him to leave so great a church destitute of their pastor.

7. It was needless that he should be bishop; because by virtue of his apostleship, involving all the power of inferior degrees, he might, whenever he should be at Rome, exercise episcopal functions and authority. What need a sovereign prince to be made a justice of peace?

8. Had he done so, he must have given a bad example of non-residence,—a practice that would have been very ill relished in the primitive church; as we may see by several canons¹ interdicting offences of kin to it (it being, I think, then not so known as nominally to be censured), and culpable upon the same ground, and by the sayings of fathers condemning practices approaching to it.²

Even later synods, in more corrupt times, and in the declension of good order, yet prohibited this practice.³

Epiphanius, therefore, well inferred that it was needful the apostles should constitute bishops resident at Rome. "They might very possibly," says he, "the apostles Peter and Paul yet surviving, constitute other bishops, because the apostles often took journeys into other countries, for preaching Christ; but the city of Rome could not be without a bishop."⁴

9. If St Peter were bishop of Rome, he thereby offended against divers other good ecclesiastical rules, which either were in practice from the beginning, or at least the reason of them was always good upon which the church afterward enacted them; so that either he

¹ Conc. Nic., can. xvi.; Conc. Ant., can. iii.; Conc. Sard., can. xi., xii.; Conc. Trul., can. lxxx.

² Οἷδες ἀναγνούς τὰς γραφὰς, ὅτις ἐστὶ δὴ ἔγκλημα παταλιμπάνειν ἰστέκεσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀμιλιῦν τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιμνίων.—*Athan., Apol. i.* "Having read the Scriptures, you know how great an offence it is for a bishop to forsake his church, and to neglect the flocks of God." Oportet enim episcopus curis secularibus expeditis curam suorum agere populorum, nec ecclesiis suis abesse diutius.—*P. Paschal II., Ep. xxii.* "For bishops ought to be disentangled from secular cares, and to take charge of their people, and not to be long absent from their churches."

³ Præcipimus ne conductitiis ministris ecclesiæ committantur, et unaquæque ecclesia, cui facultas suppetit, proprium habeat sacerdotem.—*Conc. Lat. ii. (sub Innoc. II.), can. 10.* "We enjoin that churches be not committed to hired ministers, but that every church, that is of ability, have its proper priest." Cum igitur ecclesia vel ecclesiasticum ministerium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc persona quaeratur, quæ residere in loco, et curam ejus per seipsum valet exerceere; quod si aliter fuerit actum, et qui receperit, quod contra sanctos canones accepit, amittat.—*Conc. Lat. iii. (sub Alexandro III.), cap. 13.* "Therefore, when a church, or the ecclesiastical ministry, be to be committed to any man, let such a person be found out for this purpose who can reside upon the place, and discharge the cure by himself; but if it prove otherwise, then let him who has received lose that which he has taken contrary to the holy canons."

⁴ Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἡδύνατο ἵτι περιόντων τῶν ἀποστόλων, φημι δι τῶν περι Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, ἰσιστόπους ἄλλους καθίστασθαι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀποστόλους πολλὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πατρίδας τὴν πορίαν ἐτίλλεσθαι, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἄνι ἰσιστόπου εἶναι.—*Epiaph., Hæc. xxvii.*

did ill in thwarting them, or the church had done it in establishing them, so as to condemn his practice.

10. It was against rule that any bishop should desert one church and transfer himself to another (Apost. Can. xiv.); and indeed against reason, such a relation and endearment being contracted between a bishop and his church which cannot well be dissolved.

But St Peter is by ecclesiastical historians reported, and by Romanists admitted, to have been bishop of Antioch for seven years together.¹

He therefore did ill to relinquish that church, "that most ancient and truly apostolic church of Antioch,"² as the Constantinopolitan fathers called it, and to place his see at Rome.

This practice was esteemed bad, and of very mischievous consequence; earnestly reprov'd, as heinously criminal, by great fathers; severely condemned by divers synods.

Particularly, a transmigration from a lesser and poorer to a greater and more wealthy bishopric, which is the present case, was checked by them, as rankly savouring of selfish ambition or avarice.

The synod of Alexandria (in Athanasius), in its epistle to all catholic bishops, says that Eusebius, by passing from Berytus to Nicomedia, "had annulled his episcopacy,"³ making it "an adultery," worse than that which is committed by marriage upon divorce. "Eusebius," say they, "did not consider the apostle's admonition, 'Art thou bound to a wife? do not seek to be loosed:;' for if it be said of a woman, how much more of a church, of the same bishopric, to which one being tied ought not to seek another, that he may not be found also an adulterer, according to the holy Scripture?"⁴ Surely when they said this, they forgot what St Peter was said to have done in that kind; as did also the Sardican fathers in their synodical letter, extant in the same Apology of Athanasius, condemning "translations from lesser cities unto greater dioceses."⁵

The same practice is forbidden by the synods of Nice I., of Chalcedon, of Antioch, of Sardica, of Arles I., &c.⁶

In the synod under Mennas, it was laid to the charge of Anthimus, that having been bishop of Trebisonde, he had "adulterously snatched the see of Constantinople, against all ecclesiastical laws and canons."⁷

¹ Τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου θρόνον ἡ Ἀντιοχίαν μεγαλόπολις ἔχει.—*Theodor.*, *Ep.* lxxxvi. "The great city of the Antiochians has the throne of the great St Peter."

² Τὴν ἀριστοτάτην καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—*Theod.*, *v.* 6.

³ Ἀκυρώσας αὐτήν.—*Athanas.* *Apol.* ii. p. 726.

⁴ Οὐ συνερῶν τὸ παράγγλημα, δίδισαι γυναῖκα, μὴ ζήσῃ λύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ γυναῖκα τὸ ῥητὸν, πόσῃ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ἥ ὃ συνδεδίς ἑλλην οὐκ ἐφίλει ζῆταιν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μοιχὴς παρὰ ταῖς θείαις ἐνρίπνεται γραφαῖς.—*Syn. Alex.*, apud *Athan.*, p. 727.

⁵ Τὰς μεταστάσεις ἀπὸ μικρῶν πόλεων εἰς μείζονας παρουσίας.—*Id.*, p. 765.

⁶ *Syn. Nic.*, can. xv.; *Syn. Chalced.*, can. v.; *Syn. Ant.*, can. xxi.; *Syn. Sard.*, can. i.; *Syn. Arel.*, can. xxii.; *Grut. Caus.* viii. qu. 1, cap. 4.

⁷ — ἡδυνήθη μοιχικῶς τὸν θρόνον τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν ὕφαρπάσαις θρόνον παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς διασμένους καὶ πανόνας.—*Conc. sub Menn.* p. 9.

Yea, great popes of Rome (little considering how peccant therein their predecessor Pope Peter was), Pope Julius and Pope Damasus, greatly taxed this practice;¹ the latter of whom, in his synod at Rome, excommunicated all those who should commit it.²

In like manner Pope Leo I:—"If any bishop, despising the meanness of his city, seeks for the administration of a more eminent place, and, upon any occasion whatsoever, transfers himself to a greater people, he shall not only be driven out of another's see, but also lose his own,"³ &c.

These laws were so indispensable, that, in respect to them, Constantine M., [the Great,] who much loved and honoured Eusebius, acknowledging him, in the common judgment of the world, deserving to be bishop of the whole church, did not like that he should accept the bishopric of Antioch, to which he was invited; and commended his waiving it, as an act not only "consonant to the ecclesiastical canons," but "acceptable to God, and agreeable to apostolical tradition:"⁴ so little aware was the good emperor of St Peter being translated from Antioch to Rome.

In regard to the same law, Gregory Nazianzen, a person of so great worth, and who had deserved so highly of the church at Constantinople, could not be permitted to retain his bishopric of that church, to which he had been called from that small one of Sasima. "The synod," says Sozomen, "observing the ancient laws and the ecclesiastical rule, received his bishopric from him, being willingly offered, no wise regarding the great merits of the person:"⁵ the which synod surely would have excluded St Peter from the bishopric of Rome. And it is observable that Pope Damasus approved and exhorted those fathers to that proceeding.⁶

We may, indeed, observe that Pope Pelagius II. excused the translation of bishops by the example of St Peter. "For who ever

¹ P. Jul. I., apud Athan. in Apol. ii. p. 744.

² Τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς ἑτέρας ἐκκλησίας μεταβάντας ἄχρι τοσούτου ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀλλοτριῶς ἔχομεν, ἄχρι οὗ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκκαλεσθῶσι τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς πρῶτον ἐχειροτονήσαν.—*Theod.*, v. 11. "Those that pass from their own churches to other churches, we esteem so long excommunicate, or strangers from our communion, till such time as they return to the same cities where they were first ordained."

³ Si quis episcopus, mediocritate civitatis sue despecta, administrationem loci celebrioris ambierit, et ad majorem se plebem quacunque occasione transtulerit, non solum a cathedra quidem pellatur aliena, sed carebit et propria, &c.—*P. Leo. I., Ep. lxxxiv. c. 4.*

⁴ Euseb. de Vit. Const., iii. 61.

⁵ 'Αλλ' ἕμους ἡ συνέδος καὶ τοὺς πατέριους νόμους, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν φυλάττουσα, δὲ δίδωκε πρὸς ἱκόντας ἀπίληφι, μηδὲν αἰδισθῆσα τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κλεινοκτημάτων.—*Sozom.*, vii. 7.

⁶ Illud præterea commoneo dilectionem vestram, ne patiamini aliquem contra statuta majorum nostrorum de civitate alia ad aliam transduci, et deserere plebem sibi commissam, &c.—*P. Damasi Epist.*, apud *Holsten.*, p. 41, et *R. Marc.*, v. 21. "Moreover, this I advise you, that out of your charity you would not suffer any one, against the decrees of our ancestors, to be removed from one city to another, and to forsake the people committed to his charge," &c.

dares to say," argues he, "that St Peter, the prince of the apostles, did not act well when he changed his see from Antioch to Rome?"¹

But I think it more advisable to excuse St Peter from being author of a practice judged so irregular, by denying the matter of fact laid to his charge; [i.e., denying that he changed his see.]

11. It was anciently deemed a very irregular thing; "contrary," says St Cyprian, "to the ecclesiastical disposition, contrary to the evangelical law, contrary to the unity of catholic institution;"² "a symbol," says another ancient writer, "of dissension, and disagreeable to ecclesiastical law;"³ which therefore was condemned by the synod of Nice, by Pope Cornelius, by Pope Innocent I., and others, that two bishops should preside together in one city.⁴

This was condemned with good reason: for this on the church's part would be a kind of spiritual polygamy; this would render a church a monster with two heads; this would destroy the end of episcopacy, which is unity and "prevention of schisms."⁵

But if St Peter was bishop of Rome, this irregularity was committed; for the same authority upon which St Peter's episcopacy of Rome is built also reckons St Paul bishop of the same; the same writers do make both founders and planters of the Roman church, and the same call both bishops of it. Wherefore, if episcopacy be taken in a strict and proper sense, agreeable to this controversy, that rule must needs be infringed thereby.*

Irenæus says, that "the Roman church was founded and constituted by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul;"⁶ Dionysius of Corinth calls it "the plantation of Peter and Paul;"⁷ Epiphanius says, "that Peter and Paul were first at Rome both apostles and bishops;"⁸ so Eusebius implies, saying that Pope Alexander "derived a succession in the fifth place from Peter and Paul."⁹

Wherefore both of them were Roman bishops, or neither of them. In reason and rule neither of them may be called so in a strict and

¹ Quis enim unquam audent dicere S. Petrum apostolorum principem non bene egisse, quando mutavit sedem de Antiochia in Romam?—*Pelag. II., Ep. i.*

² Contra ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra evangelicam legem, contra institutionis catholicæ unitatem, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. 44* (ut et *Ep. 46, 52, 55, 58*).

³ Ὁ διχονομίας σύμβολόν ἐστι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ διαμαῦ ἀλλότριν.—*Soz., iv. 15.*

⁴ Syn. Nic., can. viii.; Corn. ap. Eus., vi. 43; Cypr., Ep. xlv; P. Innoc. ap. Sozom. viii. 26; Opt. I. Cathedra una.

⁵ In remedium schismatis.—*Hier.*

* Most certainly, two apostles could not be both bishops of the same church, in the sense in which Romanists hold Peter to have been bishop of Rome.—*Ed.*

⁶ — a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundata et constituta ecclesia.—*Iren. iii. 3, iii. 1.*

⁷ Τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν, &c.—*Dionys. Corinth., apud Euseb. ii. 25.*

⁸ Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γίνονται πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι.—*Εἰρήμ., Παρ. xxvii.*

⁹ Πίμπαντι ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου πατάγων διαδοχῇ.—*Euseb. iv. 1.*

proper sense; but in a larger and improper sense both might be so styled.

Indeed, that St Paul was in some acception [acceptation] bishop of Rome,—that is, had a supreme superintendence or inspection of it,—is reasonable to affirm, because he for a good time resided there, and during that residence could not but have the chief place, could be subject to no other. “He,” says St Luke, “dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that entered in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him,” Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

It may be [might have been] inquired, if St Peter was bishop of Rome, how he became such? did our Lord appoint him such? did the apostles, all or any, constitute him? did the people elect him? did he put himself into it? Of none of these things there is any appearance, nor any probability: *non constat*.

SUPPOSITION IV.

They affirm, *That St Peter continued bishop of Rome after his translation, and was so at his decease.*

Against which assertions we may consider,—

1. Ecclesiastical writers affirm that St Peter, either alone or together with St Paul, constituted other bishops; wherefore St Peter was never bishop, or did not continue bishop there.

Irenæus says that “the apostles founding and rearing that church, delivered the episcopal office into the hands of Linus.”¹ If so, how did they retain it in their own hands or persons? could they give and have?*

Tertullian says that “St Peter ordained Clement.”²

In the Apostolical Constitutions, a very ancient book, and setting forth the most ancient traditions of the church, the apostles ordering prayers to be made for all bishops, and naming the principal, reckon not St Peter, but Clement: “Let us pray for our bishop James, for our bishop Clement, for our bishop Euodius,” &c.

These reports are consistent, and reconciled by that which the Apostolical Constitutions affirm,—that “Linus was first ordained

¹ Θιμιλιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τῷ ἱεροκωῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνυχοῖσαν. — *Iren.*, apud *Euseb.* v. 6.

* That is, could they both give and have the office at the same time?—Ed.

² Romanorum ecclesie Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit.—*Tert. de Præscr.* xxxii.

Ex quibus electum magnum plebique probatum,

Hac cathedra, Petrus qua sederat ipse, locatum

Maxima Roma Linum primum considerare jussit.—*Tert. [Poem.] in Marc.* iii. 9.

bishop of the Roman church by Paul; but Clement, after the death of Linus, by Peter, in the second place.”¹

Others between Linus and Clement interposed Cletus, or Anacletus (some taking these for one, others for two persons); which does not alter the case.²

Now, hence we may infer, both that St Peter never was bishop; and, upon supposition that he was, that he did not continue so: for,—

2. If he had ever been bishop, he could not well lay down his office, or subrogate another either to preside with him or to succeed him, according to the ancient rules of discipline, and that which passed for right in the primitive church.

This practice Pope Innocent I. condemned as irregular, and never known before his time. “We,” says he in his epistle to the clergy and people of Constantinople, “never have known these things to have been adventured by our fathers, but rather to have been hindered; for none has power given him to ordain another in the place of one living.”³ He did not, it seems, consider that St Peter had used such a power.

Accordingly, the synod of Antioch, to secure the tradition and practice of the church, which began by some to be infringed, made this sanction, that “it should not be lawful for any bishop to constitute another in his room to succeed him, although it should be at the point of death.”⁴

3. But supposing St Peter were bishop once, yet, by constituting Linus or Clement in his place, he ceased to be so, and divested himself of that place; for it had been a great irregularity for him to continue bishop together with another.

That being [supposed], in St Cyprian’s judgment the ordination of Linus had been void and null; for, “Seeing,” says that holy martyr, “there cannot after the first be any second, whoever is after one who ought to be sole bishop, he is no longer second, but is nobody.”⁵

Upon this ground, when the Emperor Constantius would have procured Felix to sit bishop of Rome together with Pope Liberius, at his return from banishment, after his compliance with the Arians, the people of Rome would not admit it, exclaiming, “One God, one

¹ Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Λίνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὲρ Παύλου, Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ’ ἑαυτοῦ Πέτρου διύστερος ἐκχριστοσύνηται.—*Const. Apost.* vii. 46.

² Euseb. iii. 4, 18; Aug. Ep. clxv.; Epiph. Hær. xxvii.; Opt. ii.; Tertull. poem. in Marc. iii. 9; Phot. Cod. cxii. p. 290. N. Eusebius, iii. 2, says that Linus sat bishop *after the martyrdom of St Peter*; but this is not so probable as that which the author of the Constitutions affirms, which reconciles the dissonancies of writers.

³ Οὐδὲ γὰρ πώποτε παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ταῦτα τιτολημῆσθαι ἰγνώκαμιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κενωλύσθαι, τῇ μηδεὶ εἰς τόσους ζῶντες χριστοσύνην ἄλλον διδόνθαι ἰξουσίαν.—*P. Inn. I.*, apud Soz. viii. 26.

⁴ Ἐπισκοπὴν μὴ ἔξῃναι ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ καθίστασθαι ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου τυγχάνει.—*Syn. Ant., can.* xxiii.

⁵ Cum post primum secundus esse non possit; quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est.—*Cypr., Ep.* lii.

Christ, one bishop." And whereas Felix soon after that died, the historian remarks it as "a special providence of God, that Peter's throne might not suffer infamy, being governed under two prelates."¹ He never considered that St Peter and St Paul, St Peter and Linus, had thus governed that same church.

Upon this account St Augustine, being assumed by Valerius to be with him bishop of Hippo, afterward discerned and acknowledged his error.²

In fine, to obviate this practice, so many canons of councils, both general and particular, were made, which we before mentioned.

4. In sum, when St Peter ordained others, as story [history] accords in affirming, either he retained the episcopacy, and then, beside [against] need, reason, and rule, there were concurrently divers bishops of Rome at one time; or he quite relinquished and finally divorced himself from the office, so that he did not die bishop of Rome; the which overturns the main ground of the Romish pretence.³ Or will they say that St Peter, having laid aside the office for a time, afterward, before his death, resumed it? Then what became of Linus, of Cletus, of Clement? Were they dispossessed of their place, or deposed from their function? Would St Peter succeed them in it? This, in Bellarmine's own judgment, "had been plainly intolerable."⁴

5. To avoid all which difficulties in the case, and perplexities in story [history], it is reasonable to understand those of the ancients who call Peter bishop of Rome, and Rome the place, the chair, the see of Peter, as meaning that he was bishop or superintendent of that church in a large [general] sense; because he founded the church by converting men to the Christian faith; because he erected the chair by ordaining the first bishops; because he, in virtue both of his apostolical office and his special parental relation to that church, maintained a particular inspection over it when he was there;—which notion is not new, for of old Rufinus affirms that he had it, not from his own invention, but from tradition of others. "Some," says he, "inquire how, seeing Linus and Cletus were bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, Clement himself, writing to James, could say that the see was delivered to him by Peter; whereof this reason has

¹ Theod. Hist. ii. 17. Ταύτην πρὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διακείμενην, ὥστε τὸν Πέτρον θρόνον μὴ ἀδοξῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ δούλου ἡγουμένου ἱδρυμένην.

² Adhuc in corpore posito beatæ memoriæ patre et episcopo meo scne Valerio episcopus ordinatus sum, et sedi cum illo; quod concilio Niceno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam, nec ipse sciebat.—*Aug., Ep. cx.* "While my father and bishop of blessed memory, old Valerius, was yet living, I was ordained bishop, and held the see with him; which I knew not, nor did he know, to be forbidden by the Council of Nice."

³ Ipse sublimavit sedem, in qua etiam quiescere, et præsentem vitam finire dignatus est.—*Greg. I., Ep. vi. 37; Innoc. I., Ep. xxi.; P. Nic. I., Ep. ix. p. 509; Grat. Caus. viii. q. i. cap. 1.* "He advanced that see, wherein he vouchsafed both to set up his rest and also to end this present life."

⁴ Bell. ii. 12, §. At vero, &c. Petrum apostolum successisse in episcopatu Antiocheno alicui ex discipulis, quod est plene intolerandum.—*Bell. ii. 6.*

been given us, that Linus and Cletus were indeed bishops of Rome before Clement, but that they were so during the lifetime of Peter: so that they undertook the episcopal charge while he fulfilled the office of the apostleship."¹

6. This notion may be confirmed by divers observations.

It is observable, that the most ancient writers,* living nearest the fountains of tradition, do not expressly style St Peter bishop of Rome, but only say that he founded that church, instituting and ordaining bishops there, as the other apostles did in the churches which they settled; so that the bishops there, in a large sense, succeeded him, as deriving their power from his ordination, and supplying his room in the instruction and governance of that great church. Yea, their words, if we well mark them, exclude the apostles from the episcopacy:—"The blessed apostles, therefore, founding and instructing the church, delivered the episcopal power of ordering and governing the church to Linus."² Which words the later writers (who did not foresee the consequence, nor what an exorbitant superstructure would be raised on that slender bottom, and who were willing to comply with the Roman bishops, affecting by all means to reckon St Peter for their predecessor) easily caught, and, not well distinguishing, called him bishop, and St Paul also, so making two heads of one church.

7. It is also observable, that in the recensions of the Roman bishops, sometimes the apostles are reckoned in, sometimes excluded.

So Eusebius calls Clement "the third bishop of Rome," yet before him he reckons Linus and Anacletus.⁴

And of Alexander he says, that "he deduced his succession in the fifth place from Peter and Paul,"⁵—that is, excluding the apostles.

And Hyginus is thus accounted sometime the eighth, sometime the ninth bishop of Rome.⁶

The same difference in reckoning may be observed in other churches: for instance, although St Peter is called no less bishop of Antioch than of Rome by the ancients, yet Eusebius says that "Euodius was first bishop of Antioch;" and another bids the Anti-

¹ Quidam enim requirunt quo modo, cum Linus et Cletus in urbe Roma ante Clementem hunc fuerint episcopi, ipse Clemens ad Jacobum scribens, sibi dicat a Petro docendi cathedram traditam; cujus rei hanc accepimus esse rationem, quod Linus et Cletus fuerunt quidem ante Clementem episcopi in urbe Roma, sed superstitute Petro; videlicet ut illi episcopatus curam gererent, ipse vero apostolatus impleret officium.—*Rufin. in pref. ad Clem. Recogn.* [As we have shown above, p. 108, it cannot be proved that the apostle Peter ever was at Rome at all. Ancient writers differ much about the first bishops of Rome, and whether there was one or more there at a time.—Ed.]

² Const. Apost. vii. 46; Iren. iii. 8; Tertull.

³ Fundantes igitur, et instruantes beati apostoli ecclesiam Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt.—*Iren.* iii. 8.

⁴ Euseb. iii. 4, 18, 15; Iren. iii. 8.

⁵ Πρώτος ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατὰ γὰρ διαδοχῆν.—*Euseb.* iv. 1.

⁶ Iren. i. 28, iii. 8, 4; Euseb. iv. 10.

oceans "remember Euodius, who was first intrusted with the presidency over them by the apostles."¹

Other instances may be seen in the notes of Cotelier* upon the Apostolical Constitutions, where he makes this general observation:—"It is a usual custom to mark the apostles according to their power, ordinary or extraordinary, episcopal or apostolical, by the titles of prelates, or to except them from these."² But it was needless to suppose these two powers when one was sufficient, it virtually containing the other.

This is an argument that the ancients were not assured in opinion that the apostles were bishops, or that they did not esteem them bishops in the same notion with others.

8. It is observable that divers churches took denomination from the apostles ("Apostolicæ ecclesiæ," Tert. de Præscr. xxxii.), and were called "apostolical thrones," or "chairs," (*Ἀποστολικοὶ Θρόνοι*, Soz. i. 17); not because the apostles themselves did sit bishops there, but because they exercised their apostleship in teaching, and "in constituting bishops there" (2 Tim. i. 6, who), as Tertullian says, "propagated the apostolical seed."³

So was Ephesus esteemed, because St Paul founded it and ordained Timothy there; and because St John governed and appointed bishops there.⁴

So was Smyrna accounted, because Polycarpus "was settled there by the apostles," or "by St John."⁵

So Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, "had a controversy about metro-

¹ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος Εὐόδιος ἱερομάρτυς.—*Euseb. Chron.*, p. 7, *Hist. iii. 22.* Μνημονεύει Εὐόδιον, ὃς πρῶτον ἐκκληρίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμστέρων προστασίᾳ.—*Pseud. Ignat. ad Ant.* Eusebius counts Annianus the first bishop of Alexandria, *iii. 21.*

* John Baptist Cotelier, professor of Greek at Paris in the seventeenth century, was a diligent collector of ancient writings, and wrote notes on these (pretended) Apostolical Constitutions.—*Ed.*

² Celebris mos est apostolos pro potestate eorum ordinaria vel extraordinaria, episcopali vel apostolica, indiculis antistitum præfigere, aut ex iis eximere.—*Cotel. Not.* p. 299.

³ In canonicis autem scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illæ sunt, quæ apostolicas sedes habere, et epistolas accipere meruerunt.—*Aug. de Doctr. Ch.* ii. 8. "Let him follow the authority of those many catholic churches in the canonical scriptures, among which surely are those which had the honour to have apostolical sees, and to receive epistles from the apostles." Proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habent.—*Tertull. de Præscr.* xxxii.

⁴ Sed et quæ est Ephesi ecclesia a Paulo quidem fundata, Johanne autem permanente apud eos usque ad Trajani tempora, &c.—*Iren.* iii. 8. "And also the church of Ephesus, which was founded by St Paul, St John continuing with them till the time of Trajan," &c. Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensens in Johannem stabit auctorem.—*Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5. Τῆς δὲ Ἐφίσιου Τιμόθεος μὲν ὑπὸ Παύλου, Ἰωάννης δὲ ὑπὸ ἰμοῦ Ἰωάννου.—*Apost. Const.* vii. 46.

⁵ Ab apostolis in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus.—*Iren.* iii. 3. Smyrnesorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne collocatum.—*Tertull. de Præscr.* xxxii.; *Euseb.* iii. 36. Τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ διατηρουσῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἱερομάρτυς.—*Euseb.* iii. 36.

political rights with Acaïus, bishop of Cæsarea, as presiding in an apostolical see."¹

So Alexandria was deemed, because St Mark was supposed by the appointment of St Peter to sit there.

So were Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, called by Tertullian (Tertull. de Præscr. xxxvi.), because St Paul founded them, and furnished them with pastors; in which respect peculiarly the bishops of those places were called successors of the apostles.

So Constantinople assumed the title of an apostolical church, probably because, according to tradition, St Andrew founded that church, although Pope Leo I. would not allow it that appellation.²

Upon the same account might Rome at first be called an apostolical see, although afterward the Roman bishops rather pretended to that denomination upon account of St Peter being bishop there; and the like may be said of Antioch.³

9. It is observable that the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, reciting the first bishops constituted in several churches, does not reckon any of the apostles; particularly not Peter, nor Paul, nor John.—Const. Apost. vii. 46.*

10. Again, any apostle, wherever he resided, by virtue of his apostolical office, without any other designation or assumption of a more special power, was qualified to preside there, exercising a superintendency comprehensive of all episcopal functions; so that it was needless that he should take upon himself the character or style of a bishop.

This, besides the tenor of ancient doctrine, appears from the demeanour of St John, who never was reckoned "bishop of Ephesus," nor could be, without displacing Timothy, who by St Paul was constituted bishop there, or succeeding in his room;⁴ yet he, abiding at

¹ Περὶ μπερσαπολιτικῶν δικαίων διφίρετο πρὸς Ἀκάσιον τὸν Καισαρείας, ὡς ἀποστολικῶν θρόνου ἡγεύμενος.—Sozom. iv. 25.

² Ἀποστολικῶν θύτου θρόνου καταφρονεῖς.—Syn. Chal., Act. x. p. 379, and p. 284. "Thou despisest this apostolical throne."——Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρῶτον ἐκτίσθησαν τὸν Στῆν Στάχυον καταστήσας, ἐν ἰαλληρίᾳ ἢ ἐν αἰνῶσι πρῶτος ὄντος ἐκτίσθη.—Nicolph. ii. 39. "Forasmuch as having appointed holy Stachys the first bishop in the church which he first settled there." Non dignetur regiam civitatem, quam apostolicam non potest facere sedem, &c.—P. Leo I., Ep. liv. "Let him not disdain the royal city, which he cannot make an apostolic see."

³ Memento quia apostolicam sedem regis, &c.—Greg. M., Ep. iv. 37. "Remember you rule an apostolic see."

* The learned differ as to the author and origin of the "Constitutions," but are now agreed that this supposititious work, falsely bearing the name of the apostles, was compiled, or at least altered, probably by Arian hands, in the fourth century. Buddæi Isagoge, pars ii.; Weisman. Introd. i. 79; Mosheim's Ins. Ecol. Hist. (Reid's ed.), p. 37. These "Constitutions" are considered useful, however, with the notes of Cotelier, in determining various points of practice in the church during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries.—Ed.

⁴ Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν πλὴν ἐκτίσθησαν ἡγούμενοι πάντες ἐν Ἐφίῳ χειροτονήσαντες.—Syn. Chal., Act. ii.; 2 Tim. i. 6. "From holy Timothy till now there have been twenty-seven bishops, and all ordained at Ephesus." Johanne autem permanente apud eos, &c.—Iren. iii. 3.

Ephesus, there discharged the office of a metropolitan, "governing the churches, and in the adjacent churches, here constituting bishops, there forming whole churches, elsewhere allotting to the clergy persons designed by the Spirit."¹

Such functions might St Peter execute in the parts of Rome or Antioch without being a bishop; and as the bishops of Asia, says Tertullian, "referred their original to St John," so might the bishops of Italy, upon the like ground, "refer their original to St Peter."²

It is observable, that whereas St Peter is affirmed (Baron. § 8) to have been bishop of Antioch (An. Ch. 39) seven years before his access to Rome, that is, within the compass of St Luke's story (Acts ix. 32, xi. 20), yet he passes over a matter of so great moment; as St Jerome observes, "We have received by tradition that Peter was the first bishop of Antioch, and from thence translated to Rome; which Luke has altogether omitted."³

I cannot grant that if St Luke had thought Peter sovereign of the church, and his episcopacy of a place a matter of such consequence, he would have slipped it over, being so obvious a thing, and coming in the way of his story.

He, therefore, I conceive, was no bishop of Antioch, although a bishop at Antioch.⁴

11. If, in objection to some of these discourses [arguments], it be alleged that St James, our Lord's near kinsman, although he was an apostle, was made bishop of Jerusalem; and that for the like reason St Peter might assume the bishopric of Rome, I answer,—

(1.) It is not certain that St James the bishop of Jerusalem was an apostle (meaning an apostle of the primary rank); for Eusebius, the greatest antiquary of the old times, reckons him "one of the seventy disciples."⁵

So does the author of the Apostolical Constitutions in divers places suppose.⁶

Hegesippus, that most ancient historian, was of the same mind, who says that "there were many of this name," and that this "James did undertake the church with the apostles."⁷

¹ Τὰς αὐτοὶ διῴκην ἐκκλησίας . . . Ἰσπου μὲν ἰστανότους καταστήσων Ἰσπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρτίσων Ἰσπου δὲ πλήρη ἵνα γι τινὰ πληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σηματιομένων.—*Euseb.*, *Hist.* iii. 23.

² Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensens in Joannem stabit auctorem.—*Tertull.* in *Marc.* iv. 5.

³ Denique primum episcopum Antiochenæ ecclesiæ Petrum fuisse accepimus, et Roman exinde translatus, quod Lucas penitus omisit.—*Hier.* in *Gal.* ii.

⁴ It is the distinction of a pope: Rex Etruriæ, et rex in Etruria.

⁵ Εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἦν.—*Euseb.* i. 12.

⁶ Apost. Const. vi. 12, 14, ii. 55, vii. 46, &c. Ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα ἄμα τῷ Ἰακώβῳ, &c., "We the twelve apostles, together with James."

⁷ Διαδίδχεται δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος.—*Euseb.* ii. 23.

Of the same opinion was Epiphanius, who says that St James was the son of Joseph by another wife.—Epiph., *Hær.* lxxviii.

The whole Greek church supposes the same, keeping three distinct solemnities for him and the two apostles of the same name.

Gregory Nyssen, [bishop of Nyssa,] St Jerome, and divers other ancient writers, concur herein; whom we may see alleged by Grotius, Dr Hammond, who themselves embraced the same opinion, Valesius, Blondel, &c.¹

Salmasius, after his confident manner, says, "It is certain that he was not one of the twelve."² I may at least say, it is not certain that he was; and, consequently, the objection is grounded on an uncertainty.

(2.) Granting that St James was one of the apostles, as some of the ancients seem to think,³ calling him an apostle, and as divers modern divines conceive, grounding chiefly upon these words of St Paul, "But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother," Gal. i. 19, and taking "apostles" there in the strictest sense, I answer,—

That the case was peculiar, and there appears a special reason why one of the apostles should be designed to make a constant residence at Jerusalem, and consequently to preside there like a bishop. For Jerusalem was the metropolis, the fountain, the centre of the Christian religion, where it had birth; where was greatest matter and occasion of propagating the gospel, most people disposed to embrace it resorting thither; where the church was very numerous, consisting, as St Luke, or St James in him, intimates, of "divers myriads of believing Jews," Acts xxi. 20: whence it might seem expedient that a person of greatest authority should be fixed there, for the confirming and improving that church, together with the propagation of religion among the people who resorted thither; the which might induce the apostles to settle St James there, both for discharging the office of an apostle and the supplying the room of a bishop there.

Accordingly, to him, says Eusebius, "the episcopal throne was committed by the apostles;"⁴ or, "Our Lord," says Epiphanius, "intrusted him with his own throne."⁵

But there was no need of fixing an apostle at other places, nor does it appear that any one was so fixed; especially, St Peter was

¹ Grot. in Jac. i. 1; Hamm. Dissert. Ignat. iv. 3; Vales. in Euseb. i. 12; Blondel. in Epist. Clem. ad Jacob.

² Certum est non fuisse unum ex duodecim.—*Sal., Mess.* p. 20.

³ Hierosolymitanam, quam primus apostolus Jacobus episcopatu suo rexit.—*Aug. cont. Cresc.* ii. 37. "The church of Jerusalem, which James the apostle first governed by his episcopal power."

⁴ Ὁ πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐστὶν ἱεροποιεῖς ἱεραρχίαντες Σπίνος.—*Euseb.* ii. 28.

⁵ Ὁ ἀποστόλος Κύριος τὸν Σπίνον αὐτοῦ.—*Epiph., Hær.* lxxviii.

incapable of such an employment, requiring settlement and constant attendance, who, beside his general apostleship, had a peculiar apostleship of the dispersed Jews committed to him, who, therefore, was much engaged in travel for propagation of the faith, and edifying his converts everywhere.

(3.) The greater consent [majority] of the most ancient writers making St James not to have been one of the twelve apostles, it is thence accountable why, as we before noted, St James was called by some ancient writers "The bishop of bishops, the prince of bishops," &c., because he was the first bishop of the *first see*, the mother church, the apostles being excluded from the comparison.

Upon these considerations we have great reason to refuse the assertion or scandal cast on St Peter, that he took on him to be bishop of Rome, in a strict sense, as it is understood in this controversy.

SUPPOSITION V.

A FARTHER assertion is this, superstructed by consequence on the former, *That the bishops of Rome, according to God's institution, and by original right derived thence, should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction* (containing the privileges and prerogatives formerly described) *over the Christian church.*

This assertion to be very uncertain, yea, to be most false, I shall by divers considerations evince:—

1. If any of the former suppositions be uncertain or false, this assertion, standing on those legs, must partake of those defects, and answerably be dubious or false. If either Peter were not monarch of the apostles, or if his privileges were not successive, or if he were not properly bishop of Rome at his decease, then farewell the Romish claim. If any of those things be dubious, it totters; if any of them prove false, then down it falls.

But that each of them is false has, I conceive, been sufficiently declared; that all of them are uncertain has, at least, been made evident. The structure, therefore, cannot be firm which relies on such props.

2. Even admitting all those suppositions, the inference from them is not assuredly valid. For St Peter might have an universal jurisdiction, he might derive it by succession, he might be bishop of Rome; yet no such authority might hence accrue to the Roman bishop, his successor in that see.

For, that universal jurisdiction might be derived into another channel, and the bishop of Rome might in other respects be successor to him, without being so in this.

As, for instance, in the Roman empire, before any rule of succession was established therein, the emperor was sovereign governor, and he might die consul of Rome, having assumed that place to himself; yet, when he died, the supreme authority did not lapse into the hands of the consul who succeeded him, but into the hands of the senate and people, his consular authority only going to his successor in that office. So might St Peter's universal power be transferred unto the ecclesiastical college of bishops and of the church, his episcopal, inferior authority over the singular *παροικία*, or province of Rome, being transmitted to his followers in that chair.

3. That in truth it was thus, and that all the authority of St Peter, and of all the other apostles, was devolved to the church, and to the representative body thereof, the fathers supposed, affirming the church to have received from our Lord a sovereign power.

"This," says St Cyprian, "is that one church which holds and possesses all the power of her Husband and Lord; in her we preside; for her honour and unity we fight,"¹ says he, in his epistle to Julianus, wherein he impugns the proceedings of Pope Stephanus;—the which sentence St Augustine appropriates to himself, speaking it absolutely, without citing St Cyprian.² To this authority of the church St Basil would have all that confess the faith of Christ to submit: "To which end we exceedingly need your assistance, that they who confess the apostolic faith, renouncing the schisms which they have devised, may submit themselves henceforth to the authority of the church."³

They, after the holy Scripture, (which says that each bishop has a "care of God's church," 1 Tim. iii. 5, 15; and is obliged to "feed the church of God," Acts xx. 28; and is appointed to "edify the body of Christ," Eph. iv. 12,) suppose the administration of ecclesiastical affairs concerning the public state of the church, the defence of the common faith, the maintenance of order, peace, and unity, jointly to belong to the whole body of pastors;⁴ according to that of St Cyprian to Pope Stephanus himself, "Therefore, most dear brother, the body of priests is ample, being so joined together by the cement of mutual concord and the bond of unity, that if any of our college should attempt to commit heresy, and to tear and waste the flock of Christ, the rest may come to the succour, and, like useful and merciful shep-

¹ Hæc est una quæ tenet et possidet omnem Sponsi sui et Domini potestatem; in hac præsidemus; pro honore ejus et unitate pugnamus, &c.—*Cyprianus, Ep. lxxiii.*

² Aug. de Bap. cont. Don. iv. 1.

³ 'Εφ' ἅπας καὶ μέλητα τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν χρήζομεν βοηθείας, ὥστε τοὺς ἐν ἀποστολικῇ ἡμελογούοντας πίστιν, ἅπας ἰκινήσαν, σχίσματα διαλύσαντας, ὑποταγῆναι τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐν ἀδελφότητι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—*Bas., Ep. lxi.*

⁴ Collegium sacerdotum.—*Cyprianus, Ep. lxxvii. 52.* 'Τῶν πάντων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν.—*Apost. Const. viii. 10.*

herds, may collect the sheep of the Lord into the flock."¹ And again, "Which thing it concerns us to look after and redress, dearest brother, who, bearing in mind the divine clemency, and holding the scales of church-government,"² &c.

So even the Roman clergy acknowledged: "For we ought all of us to watch for the body of the whole church, whose members are distributed through several provinces."³

"Like the Trinity, whose power is one and undivided, there is one priesthood among divers bishops."⁴

So in the Apostolical Constitutions, the apostles tell the bishops that "an universal episcopacy is intrusted to them."⁵

So the council of Carthage, with St Cyprian:—"Clear and manifest is the mind and meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ, sending his apostles, and affording to them alone the power given him of the Father, in whose room we have succeeded, governing the church of God with the same power."⁶

"Christ, our Lord and our God, going to the Father, commended his spouse to us."⁷

A very ancient instance of which administration is the proceeding against Paulus Samosatenus,* when "the pastors of the churches, some from one place, some from another, assembled together against him as a pest of Christ's flock, all of them hastening to Antioch,"⁸ where they deposed, exterminated [expelled], and deprived him of communion, warning the whole church to reject and disavow him.

"Seeing," [says St Augustine,] "the pastoral charge is common to us all who bear the episcopal office, although thou sittest in a higher and more eminent place."⁹

¹ Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, concordiae mutuae glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes oves Domini in gregem colligant.—*Cypr., Ep. lxvii.*

² Cui rei nostrum est consulere, et subvenire, frater charissime, qui divinam clementiam cogitantes, et gubernandæ ecclesiæ libram tenentes, &c.—*Ibid.*

³ Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare.—*Cler. Rom., apud Cypr., Ep. xxx.*

⁴ Ad Trinitatis instar, cujus una est atque individua potestas, unum esse per diversos antistites sacerdotium.—*P. Symmachus ad Æonium Arelat.*

⁵ Εἰς ἐπιστηρυγμὸν ὑμῶν, τῶν τὴν καθόλου ἐκκλησίαν προϊστάμενων.—*Const. Apost. vi. 14.*

⁶ Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a Patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes.—*Conc. Carth., apud Cypr. p. 405.*

⁷ Christus Dominus et Deus noster ad Patrem proficiens, sponsam suam nobis commendavit, &c.—*Ibid., p. 404.*

⁸ Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who was the founder of a sect in the third century, and held heretical views on the doctrine of the Trinity.—*Ed.*

⁹ Οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συμφέροντες ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυσιμῶν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιήσεως συνίσταν, οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀντιόχειᾳ συνίσταντες.—*Euseb. vii. 27.*

⁹ Cum communis sit omnibus nobis, qui fungimur episcopatus officio, quamvis ipse in eo præmineas celsiore fastigio, specula pastoralis, &c.—*Aug. ad Bonif. contra duas Epist. Pelag. i. 1.*

"Therefore," [says Pope John I.,] "for this cause the holy church is committed to you and to us, that we may labour for all, and not be slack in yielding help and assistance to all."¹

Hence St Chrysostom said of Eustathius, his bishop, "He was well instructed, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that a president or bishop of a church ought not to take care of that church alone where-with he is intrusted by the Spirit, but also of the whole church dispersed throughout the world."²

They [the fathers] consequently reputed schism, or ecclesiastical rebellion, to consist in "a departure from the common agreement of the body of the priesthood,"³ as St Cyprian in divers places expresses it, in his epistles to Pope Stephen and others.

They deem all bishops to partake of the apostolical authority, according to that of St Basil to St Ambrose: "The Lord himself has translated thee from the judges of the earth unto the prelacy of the apostles."⁴

They took themselves all to be vicars of Christ and judges in his stead, according to that of St Cyprian: "For heresies are sprung up and schisms grown, from no other source than this, because God's priest was not obeyed, nor was there one priest or bishop for a time in the church, nor a judge thought on, for a time, to supply the room of Christ."⁵ Where that by "church" is meant any particular church, and by "priest" a bishop of such church, any one, not bewitched with prejudice, by the tenor of St Cyprian's discourse will easily discern.⁶

They conceive that our Saviour promised to St Peter the keys in behalf of the church, and as representing it.—Cypr., Ep. xxvii.

They suppose the combination of bishops, in peaceable consent and mutual aid, to be the "rock" on which the church is built.

They allege the authority granted to St Peter as a ground of claim to the same in all bishops jointly, and in each bishop singly, according to his "rata pars," or allotted proportion; "which may easily be understood by the words of our Lord, when he says to blessed

¹ Hujus ergo rei gratia vobis et nobis sancta commissa est ecclesia, ut pro omnibus laboremus, et cunctis opem ferre non negligamus.—*P. Joh. I., Ep. i. ad Zachar.,* apud *Bin.,* tom. iii. p. 812.

² Καὶ γὰρ ἦν πισταυδυνίως καλῶς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας προϊστάμενος οὐκ ἐκείνης μόνος κῆδεσθαι διὰ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἰσχυριότητος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κηρύσσων.—*Chrys.,* tom. v. *Or.* 93.

³ A corpore nostri, et sacerdotii consensione discesserit, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lxvii.* Qui se ab ecclesiæ vinculo, atque a sacerdotum collegio separat.—*Cypr., Ep. lii.*

⁴ Ἀντίς εἰ ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ τῶν κριτῶν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προεδρίαν τῶν ἀποστόλων μετέθηκεν.—*Basil., Ep. lvi.*

⁵ Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperetur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatus.—*Cypr., Ep. lv.*

⁶ Episcopus personam habet Christi, et vicarius Domini est.—*Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi.* "The bishop sustains the person of Christ, and is the vicar of our Lord."

Peter, whose place the bishops supply, 'Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.'"¹

"I have the sword of Constantine in my hands, you of Peter," said our great king Edgar.²

They, therefore, in this regard, take themselves all to be successors of St Peter, that his power is derived to them all, and that the whole episcopal order "is the chair by the Lord's voice founded on St Peter." Thus St Cyprian in divers places (before touched) discourses; and thus Firmilian, from the keys granted to St Peter, infers, disputing against the Roman bishop. "Therefore," says he, "the power of remitting sins is given to the apostles, and to the churches which they, being sent from Christ, constituted, and to the bishops which succeed them by vicarious ordination."³

4. The bishops of any other churches founded by the apostles, in the Fathers' style, are successors of the apostles, in the same sense and to the same intent as the bishop of Rome is by them accounted successor of St Peter; the apostolical power, which in extent was universal, being, in some sense, in reference to them, not quite extinct, but transmitted by succession. Yet the bishops of apostolical churches never claimed, nor allowedly exercised, apostolical jurisdiction beyond their own precincts; according to these words of St Jerome, "Tell me, what does Palestine belong to [what has Palestine to do with] the bishop of Alexandria?"⁴

This shows the inconsequence of their discourse; for in like manner the pope might be successor to St Peter, and St Peter's universal power might be successive, yet the pope have no singular claim thereto, beyond the bounds of his particular church.

5. So again, for instance, St James (whom the Roman church, in her liturgies, avows for an apostle) was bishop of Jerusalem more unquestionably than St Peter was bishop of Rome. Jerusalem also was the root, and "the mother of all churches,"⁵ as the fathers of the second general synod, in their letter to Pope Damasus himself, and the occidental [western] bishops, called it, forgetting the singular pretence of Rome to that title.

Yet the bishops of Jerusalem, successors of St James, did not thence claim I know not what kind of extensive jurisdiction; yea,

¹ Quod ex verbis Domini facile intelligi potest, quibus B. Petro, cujus vicem episcopi gerunt, ait, Quodcunque, &c.—*Capit. Caroli M.*, lib. v. cap. 168.

² Ego Constantini, vos Petri gladium habitus in manibus.

³ Potestas ergo remittendorum peccatorum apostolis data est, et ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria succedunt.—*Firmil.*, apud *Cypr.*, Ep. lxxv.

⁴ Responde mihi, ad Alexandrinum episcopum Palestina quid pertinet?—*Hier. ad Pammach.*, Ep. lxi. 15.

⁵ Τῆς δι μητρὸς ἀπαρχῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις.—*Theodor.* v. 9. Mater Christiani nominis.—*Imper. Just. ad P. Hormisd.*, apud *Bin.*, tom. iii. p. 794. "The mother of the Christian name."

notwithstanding their succession, they did not so much as obtain a metropolitocal authority in Palestine, which belonged to Cæsarea, having been assigned thereto in conformity to the civil government, and was by special provision "reserved thereto" in the synod of Nice;¹—whence St Jerome did not stick to affirm that the bishop of Jerusalem was subject to the bishop of Cæsarea;² for, speaking to John, bishop of Jerusalem, who, for compurgation of himself from errors imputed to him, had appealed to Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, he says, "Thou hadst rather cause molestation to ears possessed, [Thou hast preferred, with prepossessed mind, rather to cause molestation,] than render honour to thy metropolitan,"³—that is, to the bishop of Cæsarea.

By which instance we may discern what little consideration sometimes was had of personal or topical succession to the apostles in determining the extent of jurisdiction; and why should the Roman bishop upon that score pretend more validity than others?

6. St Peter, probably, ere that he came at Rome, founded divers other churches, whereof he was paramount bishop, or retained a special superintendency over them;⁴ particularly, "Antioch was anciently called his see,"⁵ and he is acknowledged to have sat there seven years before he was bishop of Rome.

Why, therefore, may not the bishop of Antioch pretend to succeed St Peter in his universal pastorship, as well as his younger brother of Rome? Why should Euodius, ordained by St Peter at Antioch, yield to Clement, afterward by him ordained at Rome?

Antioch was the first-born of Gentile churches, where the name of Christians was first heard, Acts xi. 26; Antioch was, as the Constantinopolitan fathers called it, "The most ancient and truly apostolical church."⁶

Antioch, by virtue of St Peter's sitting there,⁷ or peculiar relation to it, was, according to their own conceits, the principal see.

Why, therefore, should St Peter be so unkind to it as not only to relinquish it, but to debase it; not only transferring his see from it, but divesting it of the privilege which it had got?

Why should he prefer before it the city of Rome, the mystical Babylon, "the mother of abominations of the earth," Rev. xvii. 5,

¹ Τῇ μητροπόλει συζυγίῳ τοῦ οἰκίου ἀγέμενος.—*Conc. Nic., can. vii.*

² Ibi decernitur, ut Palestinæ metropolis Cæsarea sit.—*Hier., Ep. lxi. 15.* "It is there decreed that Cæsarea should be the metropolis of Palestine."

³ Maluisti occupatis auribus molestias facere, quam debitum metropolitano tuo honorem reddere.—*Hier. ad Pammach., Ep. lxi. 15.*

⁴ Hier. ad Galat. ii.; P. Pelag. II., Ep. i.

⁵ ——— Ὁρίον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μεγαλοπόλεως, τὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου.—*Syn. Chalced., Act. vii., p. 264.*

⁶ Πρωτογάστρη καὶ ὅτις ἀποστολικὴ ἰακωβεία.—*Theod. v. 9.*

⁷ Ubi imperator, ibi Roma. "Where the emperor is, there is Rome."

the throne of Satan's empire, the place which then most persecuted the Christian faith, and was "drunk with the blood of the saints?" Rev. xvii. 6.¹

7. The ground of this preference was, say they, St Peter's will (Bell. ii. 12); and they have reason to say so, for otherwise, if St Peter had died intestate, the elder son of Antioch would have had the best right to all his goods and dignities.²

But how does that *will* appear? in what tables was it written? in what registers is it extant? in whose presence did he nuncupate it? It is nowhere to be seen or heard of.

Neither do they otherwise know of it than by reasoning it out; and in effect they say only that it was fit he should will it. But they may be mistaken in their divinations; and, perhaps, notwithstanding them, St Peter might will as well to his former see of Antioch as to his latter of Rome.

8. Indeed, Bellarmine sometimes positively and briskly enough affirms that "God commanded St Peter to fix his see at Rome;"³ but his proofs of it are so ridiculously fond and weak, that I grudge the trouble of reciting them; and he himself sufficiently confutes them, by saying elsewhere, "It is not improbable that our Lord gave an express command that Peter should so fix his see at Rome, that the bishop of Rome should absolutely succeed him."⁴

He says, "It is not improbable;"—if it be no more than so, it is uncertain; it may be a mere conjecture or a dream.

It is much more not improbable, that if God had commanded it, there would have been some assurance of a command so very important.

9. Antioch has at least a fair plea for a share in St Peter's prerogatives; for it ever held the repute of an apostolical church, and upon that score some deference was paid to it: why so, if St Peter carried his see with all its prerogatives to another place? But if he carried with him only part of his prerogatives, leaving some part behind at Antioch, how much then, I pray, did he leave there? why did he divide unequally, or leave less than half? If perchance he left half, the bishop of Antioch is equal to him of Rome.

10. Other persons also may be found, who, according to equal judgment, might have a better title to the succession of Peter in his

¹ Sic et Babylon apud Joannem nostrum Romanæ urbis figura est, proinde et magnæ et regno superbæ, et sanctorum debellatrix.—*Tertull. adv. Jud.*, cap. ix. "So also Babylon in our St John is a type of the city of Rome, and therefore of a great, royal, and proud city, and a subduer of the saints."

² Potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut fecit primis quinque annis, &c.—*Ibid.* "Peter might have chosen to himself no particular city, as he did the first five years."

³ Jubente Domino, ii. 1. Deus ipse jussit Romæ figi apostolicam Petri sedem, iv. 4.

⁴ Non est improbabile Dominum etiam aperte jussisse, ut sedem suam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus episcopus absolute ei succederet.—*Bell.* ii. 12, § Et quoniam.

universal authority than the pope, having a nearer relation to him than he (although his successor in one charge), or upon other equitable grounds.

For instance, St John, or any other apostle, who survived St Peter: for if St Peter was the father of Christians (which title yet our Saviour forbids any one to assume), St John might well claim to be his eldest son; and it had been a very hard case for him to have been postponed in the succession. It had been a derogation to our Lord's own choice, a neglect of his special affection, a disparagement of the apostolical office, for him to be subjected to any other; neither could any other pretend to the like gifts for management of that great charge.

11. The bishop of Jerusalem might with much reason have put in his claim thereto, as being successor of our Lord himself, who unquestionably was the High Priest of our profession and Archbishop of all our souls; whose see was the mother of all churches, wherein St Peter himself at first resided, exercising his vicarship. If our Lord, upon special accounts, out of course, had put the sovereignty into St Peter's hands, yet after his decease it might be fit that it should return into its proper channel.

This may seem to have been the judgment of the times when the author of the Apostolical Constitutions wrote, who reports the apostles to have ordered prayers to be made first for James, then for Clement, then for Euodius.

12. Equity would rather have required that one should by common consent and election of the whole church be placed in St Peter's room, than that the bishop of Rome, by election of a few persons there, should succeed into it.

As the whole body of pastors was highly concerned in that succession, so it was reasonable that all of them should concur in designation of a person thereto. It is not reasonable to suppose that either God would institute, or St Peter by will should devise, a course of proceeding in such a case so unequal and unsatisfactory.

If, therefore, the church, considering this equity of the case, together with the expediency of affairs in relation to its good, should undertake to choose for itself another monarch (the bishop of another see, who should seem fitter for the place), to succeed unto the prerogatives of St Peter, that person would have a fairer title to that office than the pope; for such a person would have a real title, grounded on some reason of the case, whereas the pope's pretence only stands upon a positive institution, whereof he cannot exhibit any certificate. This was the mind of a great man among themselves, who says that "possibly the bishop of Treves might be chosen for

head of the church; for the church has free power to provide itself a head."¹

Bellarmino himself confesses, that "had St Peter," as he might have done if he had pleased, "chosen no particular see, as he did not for the first five years, then, after Peter's death, neither the bishop of Rome nor of Antioch had succeeded, but he whom the church should have chosen for itself."² Now, if the church, upon that supposition, would have had such a right, it is not probable that St Peter *by his fact* would have deprived it thereof, or willingly done any thing in prejudice to it, there being apparently so much equity that the church should have a stroke in designation of its pastor.

In ancient times there was not any small church which had not a suffrage in the choice of its pastor; and was it fitting that all the church should have one imposed on it without its consent?³

If we consider the manner in ancient times of electing and constituting the Roman bishop, we may thence discern not only the improbability but iniquity of this pretence. How was he then chosen? Was it by a general synod of bishops, or by delegates from all parts of Christendom, whereby the common interest in him might appear, and whereby the world might be satisfied that one was elected fit for that high office? No; he was chosen, as usually then other particular bishops were, by the clergy and people of Rome, none of the world being conscious of the proceeding, or bearing any share therein.

Now, was it equal that such a power of imposing a sovereign on all the grave bishops, and on all the good people of the Christian world, should be granted to one city?

Was it fitting that such a charge, importing advancement above all pastors, and being intrusted with the welfare of all souls in Christendom, should be the result of an election liable to so many defects and corruptions, which assuredly often, if not almost constantly, would be procured by ambition, bribery, or partiality,—would be managed by popular faction and tumults?

It was observed generally of such elections by [Gregory] Nazi-

¹ Quod si per possibile Trevirensis eligeretur pro capite ecclesiæ. Habet enim ecclesia potestatem liberam sibi de capite providendi, &c.—*Card. Cus. de Conc. Cath.* ii. 13, &c.

² Nam potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut fecit primus quinque annis, et tunc moriente Petro, non episcopus Romanus neque Antiochenus successisset, sed is quem ecclesia sibi elegisset.—*Bel.* ii. 12.

³ Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a comprovincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani judicio consecrati.—*P. Leo I., Ep.* xcii. "No reason will admit that they should be esteemed bishops who are neither chosen by the clergy, nor desired by the people, nor consecrated by the bishops of the same province, with the consent of the metropolitan." Nullus invitis detur episcopus: cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensus requiratur.—*P. Celest. I., Ep.* ii.; *Grat. Dist.* lxi. cap. 13. "Let there be no bishop imposed on any against their wills: let the consent of the clergy, and people, and his own order, be required."

anzen, that "the prelacy was got less by virtue than by naughtiness; and that episcopal thrones were allotted to the more powerful rather than to the more worthy."¹

And declaring his mind or wish, that elections of bishops should "rest only or chiefly on the best men, not on the wealthiest and mightiest, nor on the impetuousness and unreasonableness of the people, and among them on those who are most easily bribed,"² whereby he intimates the common practice, he subjoins, "But now I can hardly avoid thinking that the civil governments are better ordered than ours, which are reputed to have divine grace attending them."

And that the Roman elections in that time were come into that course, we may see by the relation and reflections of an honest pagan historian [Ammianus Marcellinus] concerning the election of Pope Damasus, contemporary of Gregory Nazianzen. "Damasus and Ursinus," says he, "above human measure burning with desire to seize the episcopal see, having lost their tempers, engaged in a fierce battle;"³ in which conflict, upon one day, in the very church, an hundred and thirty persons were slain.⁴ So did that great pope get into the chair! Thus, as the historian reflects, the "wealth and pomp of the place naturally provoked ambition"⁵ by all means to seek it, and caused fierce contentions to arise in the choice; whence, commonly, wise and modest persons being excluded from any capacity thereof, any ambitious and cunning man who had the art or the luck to please the multitude would by violence obtain it; which was a goodly way of constituting a sovereign to the church.

Thus it went, within three ages after our Lord; and afterwards, in the declensions of Christian simplicity and integrity, matters were not like to be mended, but indeed rather grew worse, as,—beside the reports and complaints of historians, how that commonly by ambitious prensations [violent seizures], by simoniacal corruptions, by political bandyings, by popular factions, by all kinds of sinister ways, men crept into the place,—appears by those many dismal schisms, which gave the church many pretended heads but not one certain one; as also by the result of them, being the choice of persons very unworthy and horribly flagitious.⁶

¹ Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρετῆς; μᾶλλον, ἢ πανουργίας ἢ πρεσβείας, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀξιοτέρων μᾶλλον, ἢ δυνατωτέρων οἱ θρόνοι.—*Naz.*, *Or.* xx. p. 335.

² 'Εφ' οἷς ἰδοὶ τὰς τοιαύτας πρεσβυλίας κινεῖσθαι μόνους, ἢ ὅτι μάλιστα—ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ὑπερετάτοις τε καὶ δυνατωτάτοις, ἢ θεοῦ δέμου καὶ ἀλογίᾳ, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τοῖς ὑποτάτοις· ὧν δὲ κινδυνεύει τὰς δημοσίας ἀρχὰς ὑτακτωτέρως ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἡρεσιῶν, αἷς ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπιφηνίσκεται.—*Greg. Naz.*, *Or.* xix. p. 310.

³ Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopalem sedem ardentibus studiis acerrime conflictabantur.—*Am. Marcell.*, lib. xxvii.

⁴ Sozom. vi. 32.

⁵ Neque ego ab uno ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidus, &c.—*Id. ibid.*

⁶ Damasus II. pontificatum per vim occupat, nullo cleri populiue consensu; adeo

If it be said that the election of a pope in old times was wont to be approved by the consent of all bishops in the world, according to the testimony of St Cyprian, who says of Cornelius, that "he was known by the testimony of his fellow-bishops, whose whole number, through all the world, with peaceful unanimity consented:"¹

I answer, that this consent was not in the election, or antecedently to it; that it was only by letters or messages declaring the election, according to that of St Cyprian;² that it was not any wise peculiar to the Roman bishop, but such as was yielded to all catholic bishops, each of whom "was to be approved," as St Cyprian says, "by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues;"³ that it was in order only to the maintaining fraternal communion and correspondence, signifying that such a bishop was duly elected by his clergy and people, was rightly ordained by his neighbour bishops, professed the catholic faith, and was therefore qualified for communion with his brethren. Such a consent to the election of any bishop of old was given, especially upon occasion, and when any question concerning the right of a bishop intervened, whereof now, in the election of a pope, no footstep remains.

enim inoleverat hic mos, ut jam cuique ambizioso liceret Petri sedem invadere.—*Plut.*, p. 314. "Damasus II. invades the popedom by force, without any consent of the clergy and people; for so was it now grown into custom, that any ambitious man might invade Peter's see." Eo enim tum pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione et ambitione, non dico sanctitate vitæ et doctrina valeret, is tantummodo dignitatis gradum bonis oppressis et rejectis obtineret; quem morem utinam aliquando non retinuissem nostra tempora.—*Plat. in Sylv. III.* "For the business of the papacy was come to that pass, that whoever, by bribery and ambition, I say not by holiness of life and learning, got the start of others, he alone obtained that degree of dignity, good men in the meantime being depressed and rejected; which custom I would to God our times had not retained." Cum jam eo devenissent ecclesiastici, ut non coacti ut antea, sed sponte et largitionibus pontificium munus obirent.—*Plut. in Steph. VI.*; *Baron.*, ann. cxii. § 8. "Whenas now ecclesiastical persons are come to that pass that they execute the papal office, not being compelled unto it as heretofore, but of their own accord, and by bribing for it." Videbat enim imperator eo licentiæ factiosum quemque et potentem, quamvis ignobilem devenisse, ut corruptis suffragiis tantam dignitatem consequeretur, &c.—*Plat. in Clem. II.* p. 318. "For the emperor saw that every factious and powerful person, though base and ignoble, was grown to that height of licentiousness that he obtained so great dignity by corruption and buying of suffrages." Omne papale negotium manus agunt. Quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in papam receperit, pretio seu spe pretii non interveniente?—*Bern. de Consid. iv. 2.* "The whole business of making a pope is managed by gifts. Whom can you show me, in all this great city, who took you into the papacy without being bribed and corrupted with reward, or at least with the hope of it?"

¹ — co-episcoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordī unanimitate consentit.—*Cypr.*, *Ep.* lii. Cum Fabiani locus, id est, cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis, vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate atque omnium nostrum consensione, &c.—*Ibid.* "When Fabianus' place, that is, when the place of Peter, and the degree of the sacerdotal chair, was vacant, which being obtained by the will of God and all our consents," &c.

² Satis erat ut tu te episcopum factum literis nunciaries, &c.—*Cypr.*, *Ep.* xlii. "It was enough that you declared by letters that you were made bishop."

³ Episcopo semel facto, et collegarum ac plebis testimonio et iudicio comprobato, &c.—*Cypr.*, *Ep.* xli.

We may also note, that the election of Cornelius being contested, he more solemnly acquainted all the bishops of the world with his case, and so obtained their approbation in a way more than ordinary.—Euseb.

13. If God had designed this derivation of universal sovereignty, it is probable that he would have prescribed some certain, standing, immutable way of election, and imparted the right to certain persons, and not left it at such uncertainty, to the chances of time, so that the manner of election has been often changed, and the power of it tossed into divers hands:—

“At several times there have been observed several ways as to the election of the Roman pontiffs, according as the necessity and expediency of the church required.”¹

Of old it was, as other elections, managed by nomination of the clergy and suffrage of the people.

Afterward the emperors assumed to themselves the nomination or approbation of them:—

“For then nothing was done by the clergy in the choice of the pope, unless the emperor had approved his election.”²

“But he, seeing the prince’s consent was required, sent messengers with letters, to entreat Mauritius that he would not suffer the election made by the clergy and people of Rome in that case to be valid.”³

“Leo VIII., being tired out with the inconstancy of the Romans, transferred the whole power and authority of choosing the pope from the clergy and people of Rome to the emperor.”⁴

At some times the clergy had no hand in the election, but popes were intruded by powerful men or women at their pleasure.⁵

Afterwards the cardinals,—that is, some of the chief Roman clergy,—appropriated the election to themselves, by the decree of Pope Nicholas II. in his Lateran synod.⁶

Sometimes, out of course, general synods assumed the choice to themselves; as at Constance, Pisa, and Basil.

14. From the premises, to conclude the pope’s title to St Peter’s

¹ Et licet diversis temporibus diversi modi super electione Romanorum pontificum observati sunt, prout necessitas et utilitas ecclesiæ exposcebat, &c.—*Conc. Bas.*, sess. xxxvii. p. 98. Vide *Grat. Dist. lxxiii.* per tot.

² Nil enim tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset.—*Plat. in Pelag. II.*

³ Is autem, cum principis consensus requireretur, nuncios cura literis miserat, qui Mauritium obsecrarent, ne pateretur electionem cleri et populi Romani ea in re valere.—*Plat. in Greg. M.* Vide *Grat. Dist. lxxiii.*, &c.

⁴ *Conc.*, tom. vii. p. 182, Leo VIII. Romanorum inconstantiam pertæsus, auctoritatem omnem eligendi pontificis a clero populoque Romano ad imperatorem transtulit.—*Plat. in Leo VIII.*, p. 291.

⁵ Nusquam cleri eligentis, vel postea consentientis aliqua mentio.—*Baron.*, ann. cxii. § 8, ann. cxxxi. § 1. “There was nowhere any mention of the clergy electing, or afterward consenting.”

⁶ *Grat. Dist. xxiii.* cap. 1; *Plat. in Nic. II.*

authority, it is requisite to show the power demised by him to be, according to God's institution and intent, immutable and indefectible; for power built upon the like, but far more certain principles, has in course of times, and by worldly changes, been quite lost, or conveyed into other channels than those wherein it was first put, and that irrecoverably, so that it cannot any wise be retrieved or reduced into the first order

For instance, Adam was by God constituted universal sovereign of mankind, and into that power his eldest son of right succeeded; and so it of right should have been continually propagated.

Yet soon that power failed, or was diverted into other courses, the world being cantonized into several dominions; so that the *heir-at-law*, among all the descendants of Adam, cannot so easily be found as *a needle in a bottle of hay*. He probably is a subject, and perhaps is a peasant.

So might St Peter be monarch of the church, and the pope might succeed him; yet, by revolutions of things, by several defaults and incapacities in himself, by divers obstructions incident, by forfeiture upon encroaching on other men's rights,—according to that maxim of a great pope, “He loseth his own who coveteth more than his due,”¹—his power might be clipped, might be transplanted, might utterly decay and fail. To such fatalities other powers are subject; nor can that of the pope be exempt from them, as elsewhere we shall more largely declare.

15. Indeed, that God intended his church should perpetually subsist united in any one political frame of government, is a principle which they assume and build upon, but can no wise prove. Nor, indeed, is it true; for,—

If the unity of the church designed and instituted by God were only an unity of faith, of charity, of peace, of fraternal communion and correspondence between particular societies and pastors, then in vain it is to seek for the subject and seat of universal jurisdiction. Now, that God did not intend any other unity than such as those specified we have good reason to judge, and shall, we hope, elsewhere sufficiently prove.*

16. We may consider that really the sovereign power, such as it is pretended, has often failed, there having been, for long spaces of time, no Roman bishops at all, upon several accounts; which is a sign that the church may subsist without it.

As,—(1.) When Rome was desolated by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards.

¹ *Propria perdit qui indebita concupiscit.*—*P. Leo I., Ep. liv.*

* This the author has done at length, in his “Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church.”—Ed.

(2.) In times when the Romans would not suffer popes to live with them.¹

(3.) In case of discontinuance from Rome, when the popes, so calling themselves, for above seventy years abode in France; when they, indeed, not being chosen by the Roman people, nor exercising pastoral care over them, were only titular, not real bishops of Rome, (they were popes of Avignon, not of Rome, and successors of God knows whom, not of St Peter),—no more than one continually living in England can be bishop of Jerusalem.

(4.) In times of many long schisms (twenty-two schisms), when either there was no true pope, or, which in effect was the same, no certain one. *Inopem me copia fecit*,—[Abundance has made me poor.]

(5.) When popes were intruded by violence,—whom Baronius himself positively affirms to have been no popes;² how, then, could a succession of true popes be continued from them by the clergy which they, in virtue of their papal authority, pretended to create?

(6.) When elections had a flaw in them, were uncanonical, and so null.

(7.) When popes were simoniacally chosen; who, by their own rules and laws, are no true popes, being heretics, heresiarchs.³

The which was done for long courses of time very commonly, and in a manner constantly.⁴

(8.) When popes have been deposed, as some [have been], by the emperors, others by general councils; in which case, according to papal principles, the successors were illegal, for the pope being sovereign, he could not be judged or deposed, and his successor is an usurper.

(9.) When popes were heretical;—that is, say they, no popes.

(10.) When [popes have been] atheists, sorcerers, &c.

Elections in some of these cases being null, and therefore the acts consequent to them invalid, there is probably a defailance of right continued to posterity.⁵

¹ Vide Bern., Ep. cexlii. cexliii.; Bell. iv. 4.

² Baron., ad an. cxii. § 8.

³ P. Greg. VII., Ep. iii. 7; P. Jul. in Conc. Lat., sess. v. p. 57. Non solum hujusmodi electio vel assumptio eo ipso nulla existat, &c.—Vide sup. § 12. "Such an election or assumption, let it not only be upon that account void and null."

⁴ Vide quæso quantum isti degeneraverint a majoribus suis; illi enim, utpote viri sanctissimi, dignitatem ultro oblatam contemnebant, orationi et doctrinæ Christianæ vacantes; hi vero largitione et ambitione pontificatum querentes, et adepti, posthabito divino cultu, &c.—*Plat. in Serg.* iii. p. 279. Vide — in *Bened. IV.* p. 277. "See, I beseech you, how much they have degenerated from their ancestors; for they, as being very holy men, did contemn that dignity when freely offered, giving themselves wholly to prayer and the doctrine of Christ; but these by bribery and ambition seek and obtain the papacy."

⁵ *Plat. in Joh. x.* p. 275. Pontifices ipsi a Petri vestigiis discesserant. "The popes had swerved from the examples of Peter." Possessor mæse fidei ullo tempore non præscribit.—*Reg. Jur.* ii. in *Sixto*. "He that has no right to the thing he possesses cannot plead any length of time to make his possession lawful."

And probably, therefore, THERE IS NOW NO TRUE POPE.

For, upon violent intrusion, or simoniacal choice, or any usurpation, the cardinals, bishops, &c., whom the pope creates, are not truly such, and consequently their votes not good in the choice of another pope; and so successively.

These considerations may suffice to declare the inconsequence of their discourses, even admitting their assertions, which yet are so false, or so apparently uncertain.

I shall, in the next place, level some arguments directly against their main conclusion itself.

I. My first argument against this pretence shall be, that it is destitute of any good warrant either from divine or human testimony, and so is groundless; as will appear by the following considerations:—

1. If God had designed the bishop of Rome to be for the perpetual course of times sovereign monarch of his church, it may reasonably be supposed that he would expressly have declared his mind in the case,¹ it being a point of greatest importance of all that concern the administration of his kingdom in the world. Princes do not use to send their viceroys unfurnished with patents, clearly signifying their commission, that no man, out of ignorance or doubt concerning that point, excusably may refuse compliance; and in all equity, promulgation is requisite to the establishment of any law, or exacting obedience. But in all the pandects of divine revelation, the bishop of Rome is not so much as once mentioned, either by name, or by character, or by probable intimation; they cannot hook him in otherwise than by straining hard, and framing a long chain of consequences, each of which is too subtile to constrain any man's persuasion. They have, indeed, found the pope in the first chapter of Genesis; for, if we believe Pope Innocent III., he is one of the *two great luminaries* there:² and he is as plainly there as anywhere else in the Bible!

Wherefore, if upon this account we should reject this pretence, we might do it justly; and for so doing we have the allowance of the ancient fathers, for they did not hold any man obliged to admit any

¹ Nec vero simile sit, ut rem tam necessariam ad ecclesiæ unitatem continendam Christus Dominus apostolis suis non revelarit.—*Melch. Can.* vi. 8. “Neither is it likely that our Lord Christ would not have revealed to his apostles a thing so necessary for preserving the unity of the church.”

² Ad firmamentum igitur cœli, hoc est universalis ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo magna luminaria; id est, duas instituit dignitates, quæ sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestas;—sed illa quæ præest diebus, id est, spiritualibus, major est; quæ vero carnalibus, minor, &c.—*Innoc. III., in Decret. Greg. I.* xxxiii. 6. “For the firmament therefore of heaven, that is, of the universal church, God made two great lights; that is, he ordained two dignities or powers, which are the pontifical authority and the regal power;—but that which rules the days, that is, spiritual matters, is the greater; that which governs carnal things is the lesser,” &c.

point of doctrine or rule of manners which is not in express words, or in terms equivalent, contained in holy Scripture, or which at least might not thence be deduced by clear and certain inference. This their manner of disputing with heretics and heterodox people shows; this appears by their way of defining and settling doctrines of faith; this they often avow in plain words applicable to our case: for, "If," says St Augustine, "about Christ, or about his church, or about any other thing that concerns our faith and life, I will not say *we*, who are not once to be compared to him who said, 'Though *we*;' but certainly as he adds, 'Though an angel from heaven should tell you' any thing beyond what you have received in the legal and evangelical Scriptures, 'let him be anathema.'"¹ In which words we have St Augustine's warrant not only to refuse but to detest this doctrine, which, being nowhere extant in law or gospel, is yet obtruded on us, as nearly relating both to Christ and his church, [and] as greatly concerning both our faith and practice.

2. To enforce this argument, we may consider that the evangelists speak about the propagation, settlement, and continuance of our Lord's kingdom; that the apostles often treat about the state of the church and its edification, order, peace, unity; about the distinction of its officers and members; about the qualifications, duties, graces, privileges of spiritual governors and guides; about prevention and remedy of heresies, schisms, disorders;—upon any of which occasions how is it possible that the mention of such a spiritual monarch, who was to have a main influence on each of these particulars, should wholly escape them, if they had known such an one instituted by God?

In the Levitical law (Exod. xxviii. 1–4; Lev. xxi. 1–15), all things concerning the high priest,—not only his designation, succession, consecration, duty, power, maintenance, privileges, but even his garments, marriage, mourning, &c.,—are punctually determined and described; and is it not wonderful, that in the many descriptions of the new law no mention should be made concerning any duty or privilege of its high priest, whereby he might be directed in the administration of his office, and know what observance to require?

3. Whereas, also, the Scripture inculcates duties of all sorts, and does not forget frequently to press duties of respect and obedience toward particular governors of the church, is it not strange that it never should bestow one precept, whereby we might be instructed and admonished to pay our duty to the universal pastor? especially

¹ Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus ecclesia, sive de quacunque alia re, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram, non dicam nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, *Licet si nos*, sed omnino quod sequutus adjecit, *Si angelus de celo vobis annuntiaverit*, præterquam quod in scripturis legalibus ac evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit.—*Aug. contr. Petil.*, iii. 6.

considering that God, who directed the pens of the apostles, and who intended that their writings should continue for the perpetual instruction of Christians, foresaw how requisite such a precept would be to secure that duty? for if but one such precept appeared, it would do the business, and void [terminate] all contestation about it.

4. They who so carefully exhort to honour and obey the temporal sovereignty, how come they so wholly to waive urging the no less needful obligations to obey the spiritual monarch? while they are so mindful of the emperor, why are they so neglectful of the pope? inasmuch that divers popes, afterward, to ground and urge obedience to them, are fain to borrow those precepts which command obedience to princes, accommodating them by analogy and inference to themselves.¹

5. Particularly St Peter, one would think, who so earnestly enjoins to obey "the king as supreme," and to "honour him," 1 Pet. ii. 13-17, should not have been unmindful of his successors, or quite have forborne to warn Christians of the respect due to them. Surely the popes afterward do not follow him in this reservedness; for in their decretal epistles they urge nothing so much as obedience to the apostolical see.

6. One might have expected something of that nature from St Paul himself, who wrote so largely to the Romans, and so often from Rome,—that at least some word, or some intimation, should have dropped from him concerning these huge rights and privileges of this see, and of the regard due to it; particularly then when he professedly enumerates the offices instituted by God for standing use and perpetual duration, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith," &c.,² Eph. iv. 11-13; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

He commends them [the Romans] for their faith, which "was spoken of through the whole world," Rom. i. 8; yet "giving them no advantage above others," as St Chrysostom observes on these words, "For obedience to the faith among all nations, among whom also are ye."³ "This," says St Chrysostom, "he says to cast down their conceit, to humble their haughtiness of mind, and to teach them to deem others equal in dignity with themselves."⁴

When he writes to that church, which was some time after St Peter had settled the popedom, he only styles them *Κληροὶ ἁγιοί*,

¹ P. Nic. I., Ep. x.; P. Leo IX., Ep. i.; P. Greg. VII., Ep. i. 22.

² Quorum laudum et gloriæ degenerem fuisse, maximum crimen est.—*Cl. Rom. ad Cypr.*, Ep. xxxi. "To degenerate from which praise and glory is an exceeding great crime."

³ Οὐδὲν πλὴν αὐτοῖς δίδωσι τῶν λοιπῶν ἰσχύων.

⁴ Ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς καθαρῶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρόνημα τῆς διανοίας, καὶ διδάσκει αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους ἰσότητιαν.

"Called saints," and Ἀγαπητοὶ Θεοῦ, "Beloved of God;" which are common adjuncts of all Christians. He says that their *faith* was spoken of generally, but of the fame of their *authority* being so spread he takes no notice; that "their obedience had come abroad to all men," but their commands had not, it seems, come anywhere.¹

He wrote divers epistles from Rome, wherein he resolves many cases debated, yet never urges the authority of the Roman church for any point, which is now so ponderous an argument.

7. But, however, seeing the Scripture is so strangely reserved, how comes it to pass that tradition is also so defective and staunch* in so grand a case? We have in divers of the fathers, particularly in Tertullian, in St Basil, in St Jerome,² catalogues of traditional doctrines and observances, which they recite, to assert tradition [as] in some cases supplemental to Scripture, in which their purpose required that they should set down those of principal moment; and they are so punctual as to insert many of small consideration;—how, then, came they to neglect this, concerning the papal authority over the whole church, which had been most pertinent to their design, and in consequence [importance] vastly surpassed all the rest which they name?

8. The designation of the Roman bishop by succession to obtain so high a degree in the church, being above all others a most remarkable and noble piece of history, which it had been a horrible fault in an ecclesiastical history to slip over without careful reporting and reflecting upon it, yet Eusebius, that most diligent compiler of all passages relating to the original constitution of the church, and to all transactions therein, has not one word about it! who yet studiously reports the successions of the Roman bishops, and all the notable occurrences he knew concerning them, with favourable advantage.

9. Whereas this doctrine is pretended to be a point of faith, of vast consequence to the subsistence of the church, and to the salvation of men, it is somewhat strange that it should not be inserted into any one ancient summary of things to be believed,—of which summaries divers remain, some composed by public consent, others by persons of eminency in the church,³—nor by fair and forcible consequence should be deducible from any article in them; especially considering that such summaries were framed upon occasion of heresies springing up which disregarded the pope's authority, and which by asserting it were plainly confuted. We are, therefore, beholden to Pope Innocent III. and his Lateran synod for first synodically defining this point, together with other points no less new and

¹ Vid. Chrys., Theo., Hier.; Baron., an. lviii., § 46, &c.; Rom. i. 7, 8, xvi. 19.

* *Staunch*, used perhaps for stanch, or stinted.—Ed.

² Tertull. de Cor. Mil. iii.: Basil. de Sp. S., xxvii.; Hier. advers. Lucif. iv.

³ Const. Apost. vii. 41 (a full creed, at baptism).

unheard of before.¹ The Creed of Pope Pius IV., formed the other day, is the first, as I take it, which contained this article of faith.*

10. It is much that this point of faith should not be delivered in any of those ancient expositions of the [Apostles'] Creed (made by St Augustine, Ruffin,† &c.), which enlarge it to necessary points of doctrine connected with the articles therein, especially with that of the catholic church, to which the pope's authority has so close a connection; that it should not be touched in the catechetical discourses of Cyril, Ambrose, &c.; that in the systems of divinity composed by St Augustine, Lactantius, &c., it should not be treated on. The world is now changed, for the Catechism of Trent does not overlook so material a point; and it would pass for a lame body of theology which should omit to treat on this subject.

11. It is more wonderful that this point should never be defined, in downright and full terms, by any ancient synod, it being so notoriously in those old times opposed by divers who dissented in opinion and discorded in practice from the pope; it being also a point of that consequence, that such a solemn declaration of it would have much conduced to the ruin of all particular errors and schisms, which were maintained then in opposition to the church.

12. Indeed, had this point been allowed by the main body of orthodox bishops, the pope could not have been so drowsy or stupid as not to have solicited for such a definition thereof, nor would the bishops have been backward in compliance thereto, it being, in our adversaries' conceit, so compendious and effectual a way of suppressing all heresies, schisms, and disorders; although, indeed, later experience has shown it no less available to stifle truth, justice, and piety. The popes after Luther were better advised; and so were the bishops adhering to his opinions.

13. Whereas, also, it is most apparent that many persons disclaimed this authority, not regarding either the doctrines or decrees of the popes, it is wonderful that such men should not be reckoned in the large catalogues of heretics, wherein errors of less obvious consideration, and of far less importance, placed men. If Epiphanius, Theodoret, Leontius, &c., were so negligent and unconcerned, yet St Augustine, Philastrius, western men, should not have overlooked this sort of desperate heretics. Aërius, for questioning the dignity of bishops, is set among the heretics; but who got that name for dis-

¹ Conc. Lat. iv., cap. 5, an. 1215.

* This Creed, which is the great standard summary of the popish religion, bears date November, 1564; which, in regard to the era of primitive Christianity, may be justly said even now, as well as in 1677, when Barrow wrote, to be only "the other day."—Ed.

† Ruffin, more generally known by his Latin name Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, and a commentator, flourished in the fourth century, and was a contemporary of Jerome, with whom he was involved in a bitter feud.—Ed.

avowing the pope's supremacy, among the many who did it? It is but lately that such as we have been thrust in among heretics.

14. Whereas no point avowed by Christians could be so apt to raise offence and jealousy in Pagans against our religion as this, which sets up a power of so vast extent and huge influence; whereas no novelty could be more surprising or startling than the erection of an universal empire over the consciences and religious practices of men; whereas, also, this doctrine could not but be very conspicuous and glaring in ordinary practice,—it is prodigious [marvellous] that all Pagans should not loudly exclaim against it.

It is strange that pagan historians (such as Marcellinus, who often speaks of popes, and blames them for their luxurious way of living and pompous garb;¹ as Zosimus, who bore a great spite at Christianity; as all the writers of the imperial history before Constantine) should not report it as a very strange pretence, newly started up.

It is wonderful that the eager adversaries of our religion (such as Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian himself) should not particularly level their discourse against it, as a most scandalous position and dangerous pretence, threatening the government of the empire.

It is admirable [astonishing] that the emperors themselves, inflamed with emulation and suspicion of such an authority, which has been so terrible even to Christian princes, should not in their edicts expressly decry and impugn it; that, indeed, every one of them should not with extremest violence implacably strive to extirpate it.

In consequence of these things it may also seem strange, that none of the advocates of our faith (Justin, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyril, Augustine) should be put to defend it, or so much as forced to mention it, in their elaborate apologies for the doctrines and practices which were reprehended by any sort of adversaries thereto.

We may add, that divers of them, in their apologies² and representations concerning Christianity, would have appeared not to deal fairly, or to have been very inconsiderate, when they profess for their common belief assertions repugnant to that doctrine; as when Tertullian says, "We reverence the emperor as a man second to God, and less only than God;"³ when Optatus affirms, that "above the

¹ — procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas.—*Marcell.*, lib. xxvii. p. 388. "They travel sitting in chariots, curiously apparelled, cooking profuse dainties, inso-much that their meals exceed the feasts of kings."

² Sentiunt enim Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et super omnes deos. Quidni? cum super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt, et mortuis antistant.—*Tertull. Apolog.*, cap. xxx. "For they think it is God alone in whose power they are, next to whom they [magistrates] are the chief, before all, and above all gods. And why not? when they are above all men alive, and excel the dead."

³ Colimus imperatorem ut hominem a Deo secundum, et solo Deo minorem.—*Tertull. ad Scap.* ii.

emperor there is none beside God, who made the emperor,"¹ and that "Donatus by extolling himself," as some now do, "above the emperor, in so doing exceeded, as it were, the bounds of men, esteeming himself as God, not as a man;"² when St Chrysostom asserts "the emperor to be the crown and head of all men upon earth,"³ and says that "even apostles, evangelists, prophets, any men whoever,"⁴ are to be subject to the temporal powers; when St Cyril calls the emperor "the summit of glory among men, elevated above all others by incomparable degrees,"⁵ &c.; when even popes talk at this rate,—as Pope Gregory I., calling the emperor his "lord, and lord of all," telling the emperor that his competitor, by assuming the title of universal bishop, "set himself above the honour of his imperial majesty,"⁶ which he supposes a piece of great absurdity and arrogance; and even Pope Gregory II. calls that emperor (against whom he afterward rebelled) "the head of Christians;"⁷—whereas, indeed, if the pope be monarch of the church, endowed with the regalities which they now ascribe to him, it is plain enough that he is not inferior to any man living in real power and dignity. Wherefore the modern doctors of Rome are far more sincere or considerate in their heraldry than were those old fathers of Christendom, who now stick not downrightly to prefer the pope before all princes of the world, not only in doctrine and notion, but in the sacred offices of the church;⁸ for in the very canon of their mass, the pope (together with the bishop of the diocese, one of his ministers) is set before all Christian princes; every Christian subject being thereby taught to deem the pope superior to his prince. Now we must believe (for one pope has written it, another has put it in his decretals, and it is

¹ Cum super imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus qui fecit imperatorem.—*Opt. lib. iii.*

² — dum se Donatus super imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat modum, ut se ut Deum, non hominem aestimaret.—*Id. ibid.*

³ Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφή καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἵστιν πάντων.—*Chrys., 'Ανθρ. ii. p. 468.*

⁴ Καὶ ἀπόστολος ἦν, καὶ ἐὼς ἀγγελιστὴς, καὶ ἐὼς προφήτης, καὶ ἵστασθαι, &c.—*Chrys. in Rom. xiii. 1.* Οὐ γὰρ ἵστιν ὁ ὑβριστὴς ἰσχυρότερον τινὰ ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, βασιλεὺς γὰρ, &c.—*Chrys. supra.* "For he that is thus wronged has not his equal upon earth, for he is king," &c.

⁵ Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐκκλησίας τὸ ἀνώτατον καὶ ἀσυγκρίτως διαφοραῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀνισταχὲς καὶ ὑπερβαίνουσα, ὅμοιος, ὁ φιλέχριστος βασιλεὺς, καὶ κληρὸς ὅμιν ἱεραὶστίς τε καὶ πρίστων παρὰ Θεοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῇ κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχῆς.—*Cyrl. ad Theod. in Conc. Eph., part i., cap. 3, p. 20.*

⁶ P. Greg. M., Ep. ii. 62. Quia serenae domine ex illo jam tempore dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc dominus omnium non eras . . . Ego quidem jussioni subjectus, &c.—*Ibid.* Ad hoc enim potestas dominorum meorum pietati coelitus data est super omnes homines, &c.—*Ibid.* Ego indignus famulus vester.—*Ibid.* Qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit.—*P. Greg. I., Ep. iv. 32.*

⁷ Ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν.—*P. Greg. II., in Ep. i. ad Leon. Isaur., apud Bin., tom. v. p. 502.* "As king and head of Christians."

⁸ — una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N, et antistite nostro N, et rege nostro N, et omnibus orthodoxis, &c. "Together with thy servant our Pope N, and our Bishop N, and our King N, and all orthodox," &c.

current law) that the papal authority no less surpasses the royal than the sun outshines the moon.¹

Now it is abundantly "declared" by papal "definition, as a point necessary to salvation, that every human creature," neither king nor Cæsar excepted, "is subject to the Roman high priest."²

Now the mystery is discovered why popes, when summoned by emperors, declined to go in person to general synods, because "it was intolerable that the emperor," who sometime would be present in synods, "should sit above the pope,"³ as, in the pride of his heart, he might perhaps offer to do. I cannot forbear to note what an ill conceit Bellarmine had of Leo I. and other popes, that they forbore coming to synods out of their villanous pride and haughtiness.

15. One would admire [wonder] that Constantine, if he had smelt this doctrine, or any thing like it in Christianity, should be so ready to embrace it, or that so many emperors should in those times do so; some princes then probably being jealous of their honour, and unwilling to admit any superior to them.

It is at least much [matter of wonder] that emperors should, with so much indulgence, foster and cherish popes, being their so dangerous rivals for dignity, and that it should be true which Pope Nicholas affirms, that "the emperors had exalted the Roman see with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits,"⁴—had done I know not how many things more for it. Surely they were bewitched thus to advance their concurrent competitor for honour and power, one who pretended to be a better man than themselves. Bellarmine, in his Apology against King James, says that "the pope was, *vellet nollet*, constrained to be subject to the emperors, because his power was not known to them."⁵ It was well it was not; but how could it be concealed from them if it were a doctrine commonly avowed by Christians? It is hard keeping so prac-

¹ Fiat autem oratio pro dignitate regia post orationem factam pro papa, quia potestas suprema sacerdotalis excedit regiam antiquitate, dignitate, et utilitate, &c.—*Gab. Biel. in Can. Mis.* "Let prayer be made for the king after prayer made for the pope; because the supreme sacerdotal power exceeds the kingly in antiquity, dignity, and utility," &c.

² Subeasse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creature declaramus, decimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—*P. Bonif. VIII. in Extrav. Com.*, lib. i. tit. 38.

³ At quamvis utcumque tolerabile sit, ut principes seculares in concilio sedeant ante alios episcopos, tamen nullo modo convenit, ut ante ipsum summum pontificem, &c.—*Bell. de Conc.*, i. 19.

⁴ Quapropter attendat clementia vestra; quantus fuerit erga sedis apostolicæ reverentiam antecessorum vestrorum, piorum duntaxat imperatorum . . . amor, et studium; qualiter eam diversis privilegiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficii ampliaverint; qualiter eam literis suis honoraverint, ejus votis annuerint, &c.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. viii. ad Mich. Imp.*

⁵ Apol. Bell., p. 202.

tical a doctrine from breaking forth into light. But to leave this consideration,—

Furthermore, we have divers ancient writings, the special nature, matter, scope whereof required, or greatly invited, giving attestation to this power, if such an one had been known and allowed in those times; which yet afford no countenance, but rather much prejudice thereto,—

16. The Apostolical Canons,¹ and the Constitutions of Clement, which describe the state of the church, with its laws, customs, and practices, current in the times of those who compiled them (which times are not certain but ancient, and the less ancient the more it is to our purpose), wherein especially the ranks, duties, and privileges of all ecclesiastical persons are declared or prescribed, yet do not touch the prerogatives of this universal head, or the special respects due to him, nor mention any laws or constitutions framed by him; which is no less strange than that there should be a body of laws, or description of the state of any kingdom, wherein nothing should be said concerning the king or the royal authority. It is not so in our modern canon law, wherein the pope makes *utramque paginam*; we read little beside his authority and decrees made by it.

The Apostolical Canons particularly prescribe that “the bishops of each nation should know him that is first among them, and should esteem him the head, and should do nothing considerable,” or extraordinary, “without his advice;” as also, that “each one” of those head bishops “should only meddle with those affairs which concerned his own precinct [district], and the places under it; also, that no such primate should do any thing without the opinion of all, that so there may be concord.”² Now, what place could be more opportune to mention the pope’s sovereign power? How could the canonist, without strange neglect, pass it over? Does he not indeed exclude it, assigning the supreme disposal, without farther resort, of all things, to the arbitration of the whole body of pastors, and placing the maintenance of concord in that course?

17. So also the old writer, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, treating in several places about the degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, was monstrously overseen [mistaken] in omitting its sovereign.³ In the fifth chapter of his Ecclesiastical Hierarchy he professes carefully to speak of those orders, but has not a word of this

¹ Const. Apost., viii. 4, &c.

² Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστω ἔθνει εἰδῖναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγῆσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν τι πράττειν περιττὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνον πράττειν ἵνασθαι, ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν χώραις· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκείνους αὐτοῦ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιῶν τι· οὕτω γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἴσται.—Apost. Can. xxxiv.

³ Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις πρώτη μὲν ἵσται τῶν Διοσκρινῶν τάξιον, ἀκροτάτη δὲ καὶ ἰσχυράτη ἡ αὐτή· καὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποτιλίται καὶ ἀποκληροῦνται πᾶσα τῆς κατ’ ἡμᾶς ἱεραρχίας διακρίσεις.—Dionys. de Hier. Eccl., cap. v.

supereminent rank, but avers "episcopacy to be the first and highest of divine orders, in which the hierarchy is consummated."¹ And in his epistle to Demophilus there is a remarkable place, wherein he could hardly have avoided touching the pope, had there been then one in such vogue as now; for, advising that monk to gentleness and observance towards his superiors, he thus speaks: "Let passion and reason be governed by you, but you by the holy deacons, and these by the priests, and the priests by the bishops, and the bishops by the apostles, or by their successors" (that is, says Maximus, "those which we now call patriarchs"); "and if, perhaps, any one of them shall fail of his duty, let him be corrected by those holy persons who are co-ordinate to him."² Why not, in this case, let him be corrected by the pope, his superior? But he knew none of an order superior to the apostles' successors.

18. Likewise, Ignatius in many epistles frequently describes the several ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, extols their dignity and authority to the highest pitch, mightily urges the respect due to them; yet never does he so much as mention or touch this sovereign degree, wherein the majesty of the clergy chiefly shone.

In his very epistle to the Romans, he does not yield any deference to their bishop, nor, indeed, so much as take notice of him. Is it not strange he should so little mind the sovereign of the church? or was it for a sly reason,—because being bishop of Antioch he had a pique to his brother Jacob, who had supplanted him, and got away his birthright?

The counterfeiter, therefore, of Ignatius personates him well when he says that "in the church there is nothing greater than a bishop,"³ and that "a bishop is beyond all rule and authority;"⁴ for in the time of Ignatius there was no domineering pope over all bishops.

19. We have some letters of popes (though not many, for popes were then not very scribaticious [fond of writing], or not so pragmatical; whence, to supply that defect, lest popes should seem not able to write, or to have slept almost four hundred years, they have forged divers for them, and those so wise ones, that we, who love the memory of those good popes, disdain to acknowledge them authors of such idle stuff),—we have yet some letters of and to popes, to and from

¹ Ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἱερατικὰς τάξεις καὶ ἀποκληρώσεις, δυνάμεις τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἰσχυρίας ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ὡς ἡμῶν ἱπικτῶν.—*De Eccl. Hier.*, cap. v.

² Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ καὶ λόγῳ τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀφορίζονται· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Θεοὶ λειτουργοὶ καὶ τοῦτοι οἱ ἱερεῖς· ἱεράρχαι δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἱεράρχαις οἱ ἀποστόλοι καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάδοχοι καὶ ἵσουσιν καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ προσήκουτος ἀποφαλεῖν, παρὰ τῶν ἱεροταγῶν ἀγίων ἐκκλησιασθήσονται, &c.—*Dionys. Ar., Ep. viii.* Ἀποστόλων δὲ διαδόχους τοὺς οὖν πατριάρχους ἡγοῦμαι ἵπαι.—*Max. Schol., ibid.*

³ Οὗτοι Θεοὶ τῆς κρίσεως, ἡ παραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν, οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκκλησιάζουσιν τι μιλῶν.—*Pseud. Ignat. ad Smyrn.*

⁴ Τί γὰρ ἴσθιν ἱστικῶτες, ἀλλ' ἡ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἰστικῶτα, &c.—*Id. ad Trall.*

divers eminent persons in the church, wherein the former do not assume nor the latter ascribe any such power: the popes do not express themselves like sovereigns, nor the bishops address themselves like subjects; but they treat one another in a familiar way, like brethren and equals. This is so true that it is a good mark of a spurious epistle (of which we have good store, devised by colloguing [flattering] knaves, and fathered on the first popes), when any of them talks in an imperious strain, or arrogates such a power to himself.

20. Clement, bishop of Rome in the apostolical times, when the church of Corinth was engaged in discords and factions, wherein the clergy were much affronted (divers presbyters, who had well and worthily behaved themselves, having been ejected from their office in a seditious manner), wrote a very large epistle [to them]; wherein, like a good bishop, and charitable Christian brother, he earnestly, by manifold inducements, persuades them to charity and peace;¹ but nowhere does he speak imperiously, like their prince. In such a case, one would think, if ever, for quashing such disorders, and quelling so "perverse folks,"² who spurned the clergy, it had been decent, it had been expedient, to employ his authority, and to speak like himself,—challenging obedience, upon duty to him, and at their peril. How would a modern pope have ranted in such a case! how thundering a bull would he have despatched against such outrageous contemners of the ecclesiastical order! how often would he have spoken of the apostolic see and its authority! We should infallibly have heard him swagger in his wonted style, "Whoever shall presume to cross our will, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul."³ But our popes, it seems, have more wit or better mettle than Pope Clement; that good pope did not know his own strength, or had not the heart to use it.

21. Among the epistles of St Cyprian there are divers epistles of his to several popes (to Cornelius, to Lucius, to Stephanus⁴); in which, although written with great kindness and respect, yet no impartial eye can discern any special regard to them, as to his superiors in power, or pastors in doctrine, or judges of practice. He reports matters to them; he confers about points with all freedom; he speaks

¹ Ὅρῳμιν γὰρ ὅτι ἰνίους ὁμῶς μεταγέγαται καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμείνων αὐτοῦ ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίας.—*Clem. ad Corinth.*, Ep. i. p. 58, *Jun.* "For we see that you have removed some, who behaved themselves well in their office, out of their ministry, blamelessly discharged by them." *Συναγάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.*

² Πρώτου προσηγορῆ καὶ αὐτάδην.—*E.* 2.

³ Si quis voluntati nostræ contraire præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostoli se noverit incursum. In such terms usually the pope's bulls end.

⁴ *Cypr.*, Ep. 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 67, 72.

his sense and gives his advice without any restraint or awe; he spares not upon occasion to reprove their practices and to reject their opinions; he, in his addresses to them and discourses of them, styles them *brethren* and *colleagues*; and he continually treats them as such, upon even terms.¹ "When," says he to the clergy of Rome, "dearest brethren, there was among us an uncertain rumour concerning the decease of the good man my colleague, Fabianus."² Upon which words Rigaltius had cause to remark, "How like an equal and fellow-citizen does the bishop of Carthage mention the bishop of Rome, even to the Roman clergy!"³ But would not any man now be deemed rude and saucy who should talk in that style of the pope?

Pope Cornelius, also, to St Cyprian has some epistles,⁴ in which no glimpse appears of any superiority assumed by him. But of St Cyprian's judgment and demeanour toward popes we shall have occasion to speak more largely, in a way more positively opposite to the Roman pretences.

Eusebius cites divers long passages out of an epistle of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, against Novatus;⁵ wherein no mark of this supremacy appears, although the magnitude and flourishing state of the Roman church is described, for aggravation of Novatus' schism and ambition.

Pope Julius has a notable long epistle, extant in one of Athanasius' Apologies, to the bishops assembled at Antioch, in which he had the fairest occasion that could be to assert and insist upon this sovereign authority, they flatly denying and impugning it, questioning his proceedings as singular, supposing him subject to the laws of the church no less than any other bishop, and downrightly affirming each of themselves to be his equal;—about which point he thought good not to contend with them; but, waiving pretences to superiority, he justifies his actions by reasons grounded on the merit of the cause, such as any other bishop might allege. But this epistle I shall have more particular occasion to discuss.

Pope Liberius has an epistle to St Athanasius, in which he not only, for his direction and satisfaction, inquires his opinion about the point, but professes, in compliment perchance, that he shall obediently follow it. "Write," says he, "whether you think as we do, and hold the same things in the true faith, that I may be undoubtedly

¹ Et quamquam sciam, frater charissime, pro mutua dilectione, quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis, florentissimo illic clero tecum præsidenti, &c.—*Ep. iv.* "And although I know, most dear brother, out of the mutual love and respect which we owe and yield one to another," &c.

² Cum de excessu boni viri collegæ mei, rumor apud nos incertus esset, collegæ charissimi, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. iv.*

³ Quam ex æquo et civilis mentio episcopi Romani ab episcopo Carthaginis apud clerum!—*Rigalt., ibid.*

⁴ *Cypr., Ep. xlii., xlviii.*

⁵ *Euseb. vi. 48.*

assured about what you think good to command me.”¹—Socr. iv. 12. Was not that spoken, indeed, like a courteous sovereign, and an accomplished judge in matters of faith? The same pope, in the head of the western, writes to a knot of eastern bishops, whom they call “their beloved brethren and fellow-ministers,” and in a brotherly strain, not like an emperor.

In the time of Damasus, successor to Liberius, St Basil has divers epistles to the western bishops; in which, having represented and bewailed the wretched state of the eastern churches, then overborne with heresies and unsettled by factions, he craves their charity, their prayers, “their sympathy, their comfort, their brotherly aid,”² by affording to the orthodox and sound party the countenance of their communion, by joining with them in contention for truth and peace, as the communion of so great churches would be of mighty weight to support and strengthen their cause, giving credit thereto among the people, and inducing the emperor to deal fairly with them, in respect to such a multitude of adherents, especially of those which were at such a distance, and not so immediately subject to the eastern emperor; for, “If,” says he, “very many of you concur unanimously in the same opinion, it is manifest that the multitude of the judges will make the doctrine to be received without contradiction.”³ And, “I know,” says he again, writing to Athanasius about these matters, “but one way of redress to our churches,—the unanimity of the western bishops;”⁴ which being obtained, “would probably yield some advantage to the public, the secular power revering the trustworthiness of the multitude, and the people universally following them without contradiction.”⁵ And, “You,” says he to the western bishops, “the farther you are from them, the more trustworthy you will be to the people.”⁶

¹ Γράψον, εἰ ὅτεν φρονεῖς καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ στίσι· ἵνα πάγω πιστοῦς ᾧ ἀδικήματι περι ὧν ἔξοις κλιούνη μοι.—*Liber. ad Ath.*, tom. i. p. 248.

² Ὅπως παρακαλούμεν συμπάθειαν ἡμῶν ταῖς διαμύσεισι.—*Ep.* lxi. Ἐπεὶ οὖν παραμύθεον ἀγάπης, εἴτε κοινοῖα πνεύματος, εἴτε σπλάγγνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ, ἐκλήθητι πρὸς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν.—*Ibid.* “We beseech you to have a fellow-feeling of our distractions.” “If there be any comfort of love, any fellowship of the Spirit, any bowels and mercies, be ye moved with pity and commiseration to help us.” Δότε χεῖρα τοῖς εἰς γόνυ κλιθεῖσι, συγκαταθήτω ἰσὺς ἡμῶν τὰ ἀδελφικά ὑμῶν σπλάγγνα, πρὸς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν καὶ συμπάθειαν.—*Ep.* lxi. Ἐπεισομένθα τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν καὶ συμπάθειαν.—*Ep.* lxx. Ἐλθεῖν τοῖς παρ’ ὑμῶν εἰς ἰσχύειν καὶ παραμύθειαν τῶν θλιβομένων.—*Ibid.* Vide *Ep.* lxxiv. (Εἰ μὴν διορδοῖτε, εἴτα κοινοῖα, &c.)

³ Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμφώνως πλείους ἡμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δογματίσῃτε, ὅλον ἔστι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δογματισάντων ἀνατιπῆναι αὐτοὺς τὴν παραδοχὴν κατασκευάσει τοῦ δόγματος.—*Ep.* lxxiv. (*Ep.* ccxciii.)

⁴ — μίαν ἰσχυοῦς ὁδὸν βοηθείας ταῖς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίαις, τὴν παρὰ τῶν δυτικῶν ἐπισκόπων σύμπνοιαν, &c.—*Ep.* xlviii.

⁵ Ταῦτα ἂν εἰ γίνετο τοῖς κοινοῖς ὅφελος, τῶν τε πρῶτον τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ πλήθους διασωτηριῶν, καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων λαῶν ἀκαταστάτων αὐτοῖς ἀνατιπῆναι.—*Ibid.*

⁶ Ὅπως δὲ ἴσον μακρὰν αὐτῶν ἀπαισιμὴν τυγχάνει, τοσοῦτον πλεον παρὰ τοῖς λαοῖς ἀξίωμα ἔχει.—*Ep.* lxxiv.

This, indeed, was according to the ancient rule and practice in such cases, that any church, being oppressed with error, or distracted with contentions, should, from the bishops of other churches, receive aid to the removal of those inconveniences. That it was the rule appears from what we have before spoken; and of the practice there be many instances;—for so St Cyprian sent two of his clergy to Rome to compose the schism there, moved by Novatian against Cornelius;¹—so was St Chrysostom called to Ephesus, although out of his jurisdiction, to settle things there;—so, to omit divers instances occurring in history, St Basil himself was called by the church of Iconium “to visit it, and to give it a bishop,” although it did not belong to his ordinary inspection; and he tells the bishops of the coasts (*παραλίωται*), that they should have done well “in sending” some to “visit” and assist his churches “in their distresses.”

But now how, I pray, comes it to pass that in such a case he should not have a special recourse to the pope, but in so many addresses should only wrap him up in a community? Why should he not humbly petition him to exert his sovereign authority for the relief of the eastern churches, laying his charge and inflicting censures on the dissenters? Why should he lay all the stress of his hopes on the consent of the western bishops? Why does he not say a word of the dominion resident in them over all the church? These things are inconceivable if he took the pope to be the man our adversaries say he is.

But St Basil had other notions;² for, indeed, being so wise and good a man, if he had taken the pope for his sovereign, he would not have taxed him as he does, and so complain of him, when, speaking of the western bishops (of which the pope was the chieftain and most concerned), he has these words, occasioned, as I conceive, by the bishop of Rome’s rejecting that excellent person, Meletius, bishop of Antioch: “What we should write, or how to join with those that write, I am in doubt; for I am apt to say, with Diomedes, ‘You ought not to beg, for he is a haughty man;’ for, in truth, observance renders men of proud manners more contemptuous than otherwise

¹ Quod servis Dei, et maxime sacerdotibus justis et pacificis congruebat, frater charissime, miseramus nuper collegas nostros Caldonium et Fortunatum, ut non tantum persuasione literarumstrarum, sed præsentia sua, et consilio omnium vestrum eniterentur, quantum possent, et elaborarent, ut ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem scissi corporis membra componeret, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. xlii., ad Cornel. Pallad.* “As it became the servants of God, especially righteous and peaceable priests, most dear brother, we lately sent our colleagues, Caldonius and Fortunatus, that they might, not only by the persuasion of our letters, but also by their presence, and the advice of you all, endeavour to their utmost, and strive to reduce the members of that divided body to the unity of the catholic church.” *Ἀδελφὶ καὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, ὅσῃ αὐτῶν δύναιτο ἐπίσκεπται.*—*Bas., Ep. viii.* ‘Ἀπίλυσον ἢ παρὰ τῆς ὁμοτιμίας ἀγάπης καὶ τῶν γνησίων τινος ἀποστάλλεσθαι συνιχῶς, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἡμῶν τῶν καταπονομένων.—*Ep. lxxvii.*

² Vide Ep. 272, 278, 321, 325, 349.

they are.¹ For if the Lord be propitious to us, what else do we need? But if the anger of God continue, what help can we have from the Western superciliousness? men who, in truth, neither know nor can bear to learn; but, prepossessed with false suspicions, now do what they did before in the cause of Marcellus, affecting to contend with those who report the truth to them, and establishing heresy by themselves."² Would that excellent person (the greatest man of his time in reputation for wisdom and piety), have thus, unbowelling his mind in an epistle to a very eminent bishop, smartly reflected on the qualities and proceedings of the western clergy, charging them with pride and haughtiness, with a suspicious and contentious humour, with incorrigible ignorance and indisposition to learn, if he had taken him who was the leader in all these matters to have been his superior and sovereign? would he have added the following words, immediately touching him: "I would in the common name have written to their chief, nothing indeed about ecclesiastical affairs, except only to intimate that they neither know the truth with us, nor admit the way by which they may understand it, but in general about their being bound not to fall upon those who were humbled with afflictions, nor should judge themselves dignified by pride,—a sin which alone suffices to make one God's enemy."³ Surely this great man knew better what belonged to government and manners than in such rude terms to accost his sovereign. Nor would he have given him that character which he does elsewhere, when, speaking of his brother, St Gregory Nyssen, he says he was an unfit agent to Rome, because, "although his address with a sober man would find much reverence and esteem, yet to a haughty and reserved man, sitting aloft, I know not where, and thence not able to hear those below speaking the truth to him, what profit can there be to the public from the converse of such a man, whose disposition is alien to slavish flattery?"⁴ But these speeches suit with that conceit which St Basil (as Baronius, I know not whence, reports)⁵ expressed by saying,

¹ Τῷ ἔντι γὰρ διαρραπυόμενα τὰ ὑπερήφανα ἦδη ταυτῶν ὑπερωπευκώτατα γίνεσθαι πίθεται.—*Bas., Ep. x. ad Euseb. Samos. Ep.*

² — Πότα βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δουτικῆς ὁρμός; οἱ τόγῃ ἀληθεῖς οὗτοι ἴσασιν οὗτοι μαθῶν ἀνίσχονται, ψευδῆς δὲ ὑπονομίας προσηλημνύουσι, ἐκείνῃ ποιῶσι νῦν, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρτίλλῳ πρὸς μὴν τοὺς τῇν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονικήσαντες· τῇν δὲ αἰρίειν δὲ ταυτῶν βέλαιόσαντες.—*Ibid.*

³ Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς αἰὶν τοῦ κοινοῦ σχήματος ἐβουλόμην αὐτῶν ἐπιστῆλαι τῷ κοροφαίῳ, πρὶ μὲν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ ἴσον παραινεῖσθαι, ὅτι οὗτοι ἴσασιν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τῇν ἀλήθειαν, οὗτοι τῇν ὁδὸν δὲ ἥς ἂν μάθωσι καταδύχονται· καθόλου δὲ πρὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πειρασμῶν ταπεινωθῆναι ἐπιτίθεται, μηδὲ ἀξίωμα κρίνει ὑπερηφανίας, ἀμάργημα, καὶ μόνον ἀρκούν ἰχθῆραι ποιῆσθαι εἰς Θεόν.—*Ibid.*

⁴ Καὶ ἐν γινώσκοντι μὲν ἀνδρὶ αἰδέσονται αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοὺ ἀξίαν τὴν συντυχίαν· ὑψηλῇ δὲ καὶ μετιάρῃ, ἅνθρωπον καθήμενῃ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούειν τῶν χαμέθων αὐτῷ τῇν ἀλήθειαν φθγγυμένῃ μὴ δυναμένη, τί ἂν γίνωτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς, παρὰ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐμύλιας, ὅς ἀλλότρινον ἔχει δουκίαν ἀνελιψίαν τὸ ἦθος;—*Bas., Ep. ccl.*

⁵ *Anast. ad Joh. Hier., apud Hier.*

"I hate the pride of that church;" which humour in them that good man would not be guilty of fostering by too much obsequiousness.

St Chrysostom having, by the practice of envious men combined against him, in a packed assembly of bishops, upon vain surmises, been sentenced and driven from the see,¹ did thereupon write an epistle to Pope Innocent I., bishop of Rome, together with his brethren the bishops of Italy;² therein representing his case, complaining of the wrong, vindicating his innocence, displaying the iniquity of the proceedings against him, together with their mischievous consequences toward the whole church, [and] then requiring his succour for redress. Yet although the sense of his case and care of his interest were likely to suggest the greatest deference that could be, neither the style, which is very respectful, nor the matter, which is very copious, implies any acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy. He does not address to him as to a governor of all, who could by his authority command justice to be done, but as to a brother and a friend of innocence, from whose endeavour he might procure relief. He had "recourse," not to his sovereign power, but "to his brotherly love," (*πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀναδραμεὴν ἀγάπην*); he "informed his charity," (*διδάξομεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγάπην*), did not appeal to his bar. In short, he did no more than implore his assistance, in an ecclesiastical way; —that he would express his resentment of so irregular dealings; that he would avow communion with him, as with an orthodox bishop, innocent and abused; that he would procure his cause to be brought to a fair trial in a synod of bishops, lawfully called and indifferently affected.³ Had the good man had any conceit of the pope's supremacy, he would, one would think, have framed his address in other terms, and sued for another course of proceeding in his behalf; but it is plain enough that he had no such notion of things, nor had any ground for such. For indeed Pope Innocent, in his answer to him, could do no more than exhort him to patience; in another, to his clergy and people, could only comfort them, declare his dislike of the adversaries' proceedings and grounds, signify his intention to procure a general synod, with hopes of a redress [from] thence,—his sovereign power, it seems, not availing to any such purposes. "But what," says he, "can *we* do in such cases? A synodical cognizance is necessary; which we heretofore said ought to be called, and which alone can allay the commotions of such tempests."⁴

¹ Tom. vii., Ep. 122.

² Vide Laun., Ep. i. 8.

³ — "Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς οὐχ ἀλόντας, οὐκ ἱλιγχαμένους, οὐκ ἀποδουχθέντας ὑποθέτους, τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων διότι ἀπολαύει συνεχῶς, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσων καὶ ἱμμεροῦν. "But as for us, we who are not condemned, nor convicted, nor proved guilty, let us continually enjoy the benefit of your letters, and love, and all other things, as before."

⁴ "Ἀλλὰ τί κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἐν τῇ παρόντι ποιήσωμεν; ἀναγκαῖά ἐστι διάγνωσις ἐντι-

It is true that the later popes, Siricius, Anastasius, Innocent, Zosimus, Bonifacius, Celestinus, &c., after the Sardican council, in their epistles to the western bishops, over whom they had encroached, and who were overpowered by them, &c., speak in a somewhat more lofty strain; but are more modest toward those of the east, who could not bear, &c., [to be treated in the same style of overweening arrogance.]*

22. Farther: it is most prodigious that in the disputes managed by the fathers against heretics, [such as] the Gnostics, Valentinians, Marcionites, Montanists, Manichees, Paulianists, Arians, &c., they should not, even in the first place, allege and urge the sentence of the universal pastor and judge as a most evidently conclusive argument, as the most efficacious and compendious method of convincing and silencing them. Had this point been well proved and pressed, then, without any more concertations [contentions], from Scripture, tradition, reason, all heretics had been quite defeated; and nothing then could more easily have been proved, if it had been true, when the light of tradition shone so brightly,—nothing, indeed, had been to sense more conspicuous than the continual exercise of such an authority.

We see *now*, among those who admit such an authority, how surely, when it may be had, it is alleged, and what sway it has to the determination of any controversy; and so it would have been *then*, if it had been then as commonly known and avowed.

23. Whereas several of the fathers purposely treat on methods of confuting heretics, it is strange they should be so blind and dull as not to hit on this most proper and obvious way of referring debates to the decision of him to whose office of universal pastor and judge it belonged: particularly, one would [may well] wonder at Vincentius Lirinensis, that he on set purpose, with great care, discoursing about the means of settling points of faith, and of overthrowing heresies, should not light upon this notable way, by having recourse to the pope's magisterial sentence, yea, that indeed he should exclude it; for he, "after most intent study and diligent inquiry, consulting the best and wisest men,"¹ could find but two ways of doing it. "I," says he, "always, and from almost every one, received this answer, That if either I or any other would find out the frauds and avoid the snares of upstart heretics, and continue sound and upright in the

διὰ τὴν καὶ πάλαι ἱσχυρὰν συνδρομὴν μὴ γὰρ ἴσμεν, ἥτις δύναται τὰς κινήσεις τῶν τοιούτων πατασσεῖλαι παταγίδων, &c.—*Soz.*, viii. 26.

* This is a specimen of the many blanks in the original manuscript, which the author had intended to fill up had he been spared to revise it for the press. We have attempted to complete the sentence from the connection.—*Ed.*

¹ *Sæpe igitur magno studio, et summa attentione perquirens a quamplurimis sanctitate et doctrina præstantibus viris, &c.*—P. 316 (in edit. *Balus.*)

true faith, he should guard and strengthen his faith, God helping him, by these two means,—namely, first, by the authority of the divine law, and then by the tradition of the catholic church.”¹ And again, “We have before said, that this has always been, and is still, the custom of catholics, that they prove their faith by these two ways,—first, by authority of the divine canon, then by the tradition of the universal church.”²

Is it not strange that he, especially being a western man, living in those parts where the pope had got much sway, and who expresses great reverence to the apostolic see, should omit that way of determining points which of all, according to the modern conceits about the pope, is most ready and most sure?

24. In like manner, Tertullian professes the catholics in his time to use such compendious methods of confuting heretics. “We,” says he, “when we would use despatch against heretics for the faith of the gospel, do commonly employ this compendious method, maintaining both the order of time, which anticipates the lateness of impostors, and the authority of the churches, which patronizes apostolical tradition.”³ But why did he skip over a more compendious way than any of these,—namely, standing to the judgment of the Roman bishop?⁴

25. It is true that both he and St Irenæus before him, disputing against the heretics of their times, who had introduced pernicious novelties of their own devising, when they allege the general consent of churches planted by the apostles, and propagated by continual successions of bishops from those whom the apostles ordained, in doctrines and practices opposite to those devices, as a good argument (and so, indeed, it then was, next to a demonstration) against them, produce the Roman church as a principal one among them, upon several obvious accounts;⁵ and this, indeed, argues the Roman church to have been then one competent witness, or credible retainer of tradition, as also were the other apostolical churches, to whose testimony they likewise appeal. But what is this to the Roman

¹ Hujusmodi semper responsum ab omnibus fere retuli, quod sive ego, sive quis alius vellet exurgentium hæreticorum fraudes deprehendere, laqueosque vitare, et in fide sana sanus atque integer permanere, duplici modo munire fidem suam Domino adjuvante deberet; primo scilicet divinæ legis auctoritate, tum deinde ecclesiæ catholicæ traditione.—P. 317.

² Diximus in superioribus hanc fuisse semper et esse hodie catholicorum consuetudinem ut fidem veram duobus his modis adprobent; primum divini canonis auctoritate, deinde ecclesiæ catholicæ traditione.—P. 364.

³ His fere compendiis utimur, quum de evangelii fide adversus hæreticos expeditur, defendentibus et temporum ordinem posteritati falsariorum præscribentem, et auctoritatem ecclesiarum traditioni apostolorum patrocinantem.—*Tertull. in Marc. iv. 5.*

⁴ Solemus hæreticis compendii gratia de posteritate præscribere.—*Tertull. contra Hermog., cap. i.*

⁵ The like discourse [argument] against heretics Clemens Alexandrinus uses.—*Strom. vii. p. 549.*

bishop's judicial power in such cases? Why do they not urge that in plain terms? They would certainly have done so if they had known it, and thought it of any validity.

Do but mark their words, involving the force of their argumentation. "We do again," says Irenæus, after allegation of Scripture, "appeal to that tradition which is from the apostles, which by successions of presbyters is preserved in the churches."¹ And, "That," says Tertullian, "will appear to have been delivered by the apostles, which has been kept as holy in the apostolical churches. Let us see what milk the Corinthians drew from Paul; how the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians read; what also the Romans, our nearer neighbours, say, to whom both Peter and Paul left the gospel sealed with their blood; we have also the churches nursed by John," &c." Again; "It is therefore manifest," says he, in his Prescriptions against Heretics, "that every doctrine which conspires with those apostolical churches, in which the faith originally was planted, is to be accounted true, as undoubtedly holding that which the churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God. But all other doctrine is to be prejudged false which savours contrary to the truth of the churches, and of the apostles, and of Christ, and of God."² Their argumentation, then, in short, is plainly this,—That the conspiring of the churches in doctrines contrary to those which the heretics vented, irrefragably signified those doctrines to be apostolical: which discourse [argument] no wise favours the Roman pretences, but, indeed, if we weigh it, is very prejudicial thereto; it thereby appearing that Christian doctors then, in the canvassing of points and assuring tradition, had no peculiar regard to the Roman church's testimony, no deference at all to the Roman bishop's authority, not otherwise, at least, than to the authority of one single bishop yielding attestation to tradition.

26. It is odd, that even old popes themselves, in elaborate tracts disputing against heretics,—as Pope Celestine against Nestorius and Pelagius, Pope Leo against Eutyches, &c.,—content themselves to urge testimonies of Scripture, and arguments grounded thereon; not alleging their own definitive authority, or using this parlous [shrewd,

¹ Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successores presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus, &c.—*Iren.* iii. 2.

² Constat id esse ab apostolis traditum quod apud ecclesias apostolicas fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonices, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent; quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt; habemus et Johannis alumnas ecclesias, &c.—*Adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

³ Constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspirat, veritati deputandum, id sene dubio tenentem quod ecclesiæ ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo suscepit; reliquam vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam, quæ sapiat contra veritatem ecclesiarum, et apostolorum, et Christi, et Dei.—*Tert. de Præscr.* xxi.

inimitable] argumentation, "I, the supreme doctor of the church, and judge of controversies, assert thus; and therefore you are obliged to yield your assent!"

27. It is matter of amazement, if the pope were such as they would have him to be, that, in so many bulky volumes of ancient fathers, living through many ages after Christ, in those vast treasures of learning and knowledge, wherein all sorts of truth are displayed, all sorts of duty are pressed, this momentous point of doctrine and practice should nowhere be expressed in clear and peremptory terms! I speak so, [I say, clear and peremptory terms;] for by wresting words, by impertinent application, by straining consequences, the most ridiculous positions imaginable may be deduced from their writings.

It is strange that somewhere or other, at least incidentally,—in their commentaries on the Scripture, wherein many places concerning the church and its hierarchy invite to speak of the pope; in their treatises about the priesthood, about the unity and peace of the church, about heresy and schism; in their epistles concerning ecclesiastical affairs; in their historical narrations about occurrences in the church; in their concertations [disputes] with heterodox adversaries,—they should not frequently touch it, they should not sometimes largely dwell upon it!

Is it not marvellous that Origen, St Hilary, St Cyril, St Chrysostom, St Jerome, St Augustine, in their commentaries and tractates upon those places of Scripture,—*Tu es Petrus, Pasce oves*,—on which they now build the papal authority, should be so dull and drowsy as not to say a word concerning the pope?

[Is it not strange] that St Augustine, in his so many elaborate tractates against the Donatists, in which he discourses so prolixly about the church, its unity, communion, discipline, should never insist upon the duty of obedience to the pope, or charge those schismatics with their rebellion against him, or allege his authority against them?

If we consider that the pope was bishop of the imperial city, the metropolis of the world;—that he thence was most eminent in rank, abounded in wealth, lived in great splendour and reputation, had many dependencies and great opportunities to gratify and relieve many of the clergy;—that of the fathers whose volumes we have, all well affected towards him, several were personally obliged to him for his support in their distress, as Athanasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret; or as to their patrons and benefactors, as St Jerome; divers could not but highly respect him, as patron of the cause wherein they were engaged, as Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, Gregory Nyssen, Ambrose, Augustine; some were his partisans in a com-

mon quarrel, as Cyril; divers of them lived in places and times wherein he had got much sway, as all the western bishops;—that he had then improved his authority much beyond the old limits;—that all the bishops of the western or Latin churches had a peculiar dependence on him, especially after that, by the advantage of his station, by favour of the court, by colour of the Sardican canons, by voluntary deferences and submissions, by several tricks, he had wound [insinuated] himself to meddle in most of their chief affairs;¹—that hence various bishops were tempted to admire, to court, to flatter him;—that various aspiring popes were apt to encourage the commendations of their authority, which they themselves were apt to magnify and inculcate;—considering, I say, such things, it is a wonder that, in so many voluminous discourses, so little should be said favouring this pretence,—so nothing that proves it,—so much that crosses it,—so much, indeed, as I hope to show, that quite overthrows it!

If it be asked, how we can prove this? I answer, besides [not to mention that] who [ever] carefully peruses those old books will easily see it, that we are beholden to our adversaries for proving it to us when they least intended us such a favour: for that no clear and cogent passages for proof of this pretence can be thence fetched is sufficiently evident from the very allegations which, after their most diligent raking in old books, they produce; the which are so few, and fall so very short of their purpose, that without much stretching they signify nothing.

28. It is monstrous [most strange] that, in the code of the catholic church, consisting of the decrees of so many synods, concerning ecclesiastical order and discipline, there should not be one canon directly declaring his authority, nor any mention made of him except thrice accidentally,—once upon occasion of declaring the authority of the Alexandrine bishop, the others upon occasion of assigning to the bishop of Constantinople the *second place of honour* and *equal privileges* with him.²

If it be objected that these discourses [arguments] are negative, and therefore of small force, I answer, that therefore they are most proper to assert such a negative proposition; for how can we otherwise better show a thing not to be, than by showing it to have no footstep where it is supposed to stand? How can we more clearly argue a matter of right to want proof, than by declaring it not to be extant in the laws grounding such right,—not taught by the masters

¹ Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησιᾶς ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ πρὶν τοῦ ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκείνου ἀποσταθῆναι. —SOCR. vii. 11. "The bishopric of Rome is like to that of Alexandria, having now long ago arrived to that height of power above and beyond the priesthood."

² Conc. Nic., can. vi.; Conc. Const., can. ii.; Conc. Chalc., can. xxviii.

who profess to instruct in such things,—not testified in records concerning the exercise of it? Such arguments, indeed, in such cases, are not merely negative, but rather privative, proving things not to be, because not affirmed where in reason they ought to be affirmed: standing, therefore, upon positive suppositions,*—that holy Scripture and general tradition are not imperfect and lame toward their design; that ancient writers were competently intelligent, faithful, diligent; that all of them could not conspire in perpetual silence about things of which they had often fair occasion and great reason to speak. In fine, such considerations, however they may be deluded by sophistical wits, will yet bear great sway, and often will amount near to the force of demonstration, with men of honest prudence. However, we shall proceed to other discourses [demonstrations] more direct and positive against the popish doctrine.

II. Secondly, We shall show that this pretence, upon several accounts, is contrary to the doctrine of holy Scripture.

1. This pretence thwarts the holy Scripture, by assigning to another the prerogatives and peculiar titles appropriated therein to our Lord.

The Scripture asserts him to be our only sovereign Lord and King. "To us," says it, "there is one Lord;" and, "One King shall be king over them," who "shall reign over the house of David [Jacob] for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end;" who is "the only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords;" the "one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy."¹

The Scripture speaks of one "Archpastor," and "great Shepherd of the sheep," exclusively to any other: for, "I will," said God in the prophet, "set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed the sheep;" and, "There," says our Lord himself, "shall be one fold, and one shepherd." Who that shall be he expresses, adding, "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep."² By Pope Boniface's good leave, *who* makes St Peter or himself this shepherd?³

The Scripture tells us that we have "one High Priest of our profession;" answerable to that "one" in the Jewish church, his type.—Heb. iii. 1, ix. 7, 24.

The Scripture informs us that there is but one supreme Doctor,

* That is, the argument, derived from the absence of all recognition of the papal authority in the documents referred to, is not only negative but positive, inasmuch as it proceeds on the suppositions afterwards mentioned, which may be assumed as settled and admitted truths,—such as, that holy Scripture and general tradition are not imperfect, &c.—Ed.

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6, xii. 5; Eph. iv. 5; Ezek. xxxvii. 22; Luke i. 83; 1 Tim. vi. 15; James iv. 12.

² 1 Pet. v. 4, ii. 25; Heb. xiii. 20; Ezek. xxxiv. 23; John x. 16, 11, 14.

³ Extrav. Com., lib. i. tit. 8, c. 1.

Guide, Father of Christians, prohibiting us to acknowledge any other for such: "Ye are all brethren: and call ye not any one father upon earth; for one is your Father, even he that is in heaven: neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master, even Christ," Matt. xxiii. 8, 9. Good Pope Gregory (not the seventh of that name) took this for a good argument; for, "What, therefore, dearest brother," said he to John of Constantinople, "wilt thou say in that terrible account of the Judge who is coming, thou who dost affect to be called not only Father, but General Father in the world?"¹

The Scripture represents the church as a "building," whereof Christ himself is the "chief Corner-stone;" as a "family," whereof he being the *Pater-familias*, all others are fellow-servants; as "one body," having "one Head," whom "God hath given to be head over all things to the church, which is his body."²

He is the *One Spouse* of the church (John iii. 29; Eph. v. 23); 2 Cor. xi. 2, *ὁ ἑὸς ἀνδρὶς*, ["One Husband:"] which title, one would think, he might leave peculiar to our Lord, there being no vice-husbands; yet hath he been bold even to claim that, as may be seen in the Constitutions of Pope Gregory X., in one of their general synods.³

It seems, therefore, a sacrilegious arrogance, derogating from our Lord's honour, for any man to assume or admit those titles of "Sovereign of the Church," "Head of the Church," "Our Lord," "Arch-pastor," "Highest Priest," "Chief Doctor," "Master," "Father," "Judge of Christians," upon what pretence or under what distinction soever. These "pompatic [pompous], foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane words," these "names of singularity, elation, vanity, blasphemy" (to borrow the epithets with which Pope Gregory I. brands the titles of *Universal Bishop* and *Œcumenical Patriarch*, not less modest in sound, and far more innocent in meaning, than those now ascribed to the pope), are therefore to be rejected; not only because they are injurious to all other pastors, and to the people of God's heritage, but because they encroach upon our only Lord, to whom they only belong. Much more to usurp the things which they naturally signify is a horrible invasion upon our Lord's prerogative.

Thus has that great pope taught us to argue, in words expressly condemning some, and consequently all of them, together with the things which they signify. "What," says he, writing to the bishop of Constantinople, who had admitted the title of Universal Bishop

¹ Quid ergo, frater charissime, in illo terribili examine venientis Judicis dicturus es, qui non solum pater, sed etiam generalis pater in mundo vocari appetis?—*Greg. M., Ep. iv. 88.*

² Eph. ii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 4; Heb. iii. 6; Matt. x. 25; Eph. iv. 4, ii. 16; Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 18; Eph. i. 22, iv. 15, v. 23; Col. i. 18; "One Head," Hos. i. 11.

³ Sext. Decret. lib. i. tit. 6, cap. 8; Baron., an. xxxiv. § 208. Vid. Greg. I., Epist. lib. iv., Ep. 32, 34, 36, 38, 39; lib. vi., Ep. 24, 28, 30, 31; lib. vii., Ep. 70.

or Patriarch, "what wilt thou say to Christ, the head of the universal church, in the account of the last judgment; thou who, by the appellation of *universal*, dost endeavour to subject all his members to thee? Whom, I pray, dost thou mean to imitate in so perverse a word, but him who, despising the legions of angels constituted in fellowship with him, endeavoured to burst upward to the top of pre-eminence, that he might seem to be subject to none, and to be alone over all? who also said, 'I will ascend into heaven, and will exalt my throne above the stars.' For what are thy brethren, all the bishops of the universal church, but the stars of heaven? to whom, while by this haughty word thou desirest to prefer thyself, and to trample on their name in comparison to thee, what dost thou say but, 'I will climb into heaven?'"¹

And again, in another epistle to the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, he taxes the same patriarch for "assuming to boast, so that he attempts to ascribe all things to himself, and studies, by the elation of pompous speech, to subject to himself all the members of Christ, which adhere to one sole head, namely, to Christ."²

Again; "I confidently say, that whoever calls himself Universal Bishop, or desires to be so called, does in his elation forerun Antichrist, because he pridefully sets himself before all others?"³

If these argumentations be sound, or signify any thing, what is the pretence of "universal sovereignty and pastorship" but a piece of *Luciferian arrogance*? Who can imagine that even this pope could approve, could assume, could exercise it? If he did, was he not monstrously senseless, and above measure impudent, to use such discourses, which so plainly, without altering a word, might be retorted upon him,—which are built upon suppositions that it is unlawful and wicked to assume superiority over the church, over all bishops, over all Christians? the which, indeed (seeing never pope

¹ Tu quid Christo universalis ecclesiæ capiti in extremi iudicii dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet coneris Universalis appellatione supponere? Quis rogo in hoc tam perverso vocabulo nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constitutis ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videretur? qui etiam dixit, "In cælum conscendam, super astra cœli exaltabo solium meum." . . . Quid enim fratres tui omnes universalis ecclesiæ episcopi, nisi astra cœli sunt? quibus dum cupis temetipsum vocabulo elationis præponere, eorumque nomen tui comparatione calcare, &c.—*Greg., Ep. iv. 38.*

² Jactantiam sumpsit ita ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, et omnia quæ soli uni capiti coherant, videlicet Christo, per elationem pompatici sermonis ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membra subjugare.—*Gr. M., Ep. iv. 36.* The same words we have in the epistle of Pope Pelagius, predecessor of St Gregory, to the bishop of Constantinople.—*P. Pelag., Ep. viii.*

³ Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. *Greg. I., lib. vi. Ep. 30.* Nec dispari superbia ad errorem ducitur; quia sicut perversus ille Deus videri vult super omnes homines; ita quisquis est, qui solus sacerdos appellari appetit, super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit.—*Ad Mauric. Aug.*

was of greater repute, or wrote in any case more solemnly and seriously), have given to the pretences of his successors so deadly a wound that no balm of sophistical interpretation can be able to heal it.

We see that, according to St Gregory M. [the Great], our Lord Christ is "the one only head of the church;"¹ to whom for company let us adjoin St Basil M. [the Great], that we may have both Greek and Latin for it, who says that, according to St Paul, "we are the body of Christ, and members one of another, because it is manifest that the one and truly sole head, which is Christ, binds and connects each to another for mutual concord."²

To decline these allegations of Scripture they have forged distinctions of several kinds of churches, and several sorts of heads; [of] which evasions I shall not particularly discourse, seeing it may suffice to observe, in general, that no such distinctions have any place or any ground in Scripture, nor can well consist with it, which simply represents the church as one kingdom, a "kingdom of heaven," a "kingdom not of this world" (John xviii. 36), all the subjects whereof have "their *πολιτευμα* in heaven," or are considered as members of a city there (Phil. iii. 20, Heb. xii. 22), so that it is vain to seek for a sovereign thereof in this world; which also, to the catholic church sojourning on earth, usually imparts the name and attributes properly appertaining to the church most universal, comprehensive of all Christians in heaven and upon earth, because that [on earth] is a visible representative of this [in heaven], and we, by joining in offices of piety with that, do communicate with this (Acts xx. 28; Matt. xvi. 18; 1 Cor. xii. 28, xv. 9; Gal. i. 13): whence that which is said of one, concerning the unity of its king, its head, its pastor, its priest, is to be understood of the other; especially considering that our Lord, according to his promise (Matt. xxviii. 20), is ever present with the church here, governing it by the efficacy of his Spirit and grace, so that no other corporeal or visible head of this spiritual body is needful.³

¹ Vid. P. Pelag., Ep. iiii.

² *Κρατεύσῃς ἑλκεύσῃ καὶ συνάπτουσιν ἑαυτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἅλλῃ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τῆς μιᾶς καὶ μίας ἐκκλησίας κεφαλῆς, ἧς ἐστι ὁ Χριστός.*—*Bas. M. de Jud. Div.*, tom. ii. p. 261. Totus Christus caput et corpus est; caput unigenitus Dei Filius, et corpus ejus ecclesie, sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una. Quicumque de ipso capite ab Scripturis sanctis dissentiant, etiamsi in omnibus locis inveniantur in quibus ecclesia designata est, non sunt in ecclesia, &c.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.*, cap. iv. Vid. contra *Pet. l.* iii. 42. "Whole Christ is the head and the body; the head, the only begotten Son of God, and his body the church, the bridegroom and the spouse, two in one flesh. Whoever disagree about the head itself from the holy Scriptures, though they are found in all places in which the church is designed, they are not in the church," &c. It was unhappily expressed by Bellarmine:—*Ecclesia secluso etiam Christo unum caput habere debet.*—*De Pont. R.* i. 9 § Ac ne forte. "The church, even Christ himself being set aside, ought to have one head."

³ Christus arbitrio et nutu ac præsentia sua et præpositos ipsos, et ecclesiam cum præpositis gubernat.—*Cypr., Ep.* lxix. "Christ, by his own arbitrament, and power, and presence, governs both the bishops themselves, and the church with the bishops."

It was, to be sure [surely], a visible headship which St Gregory so eagerly impugned and exclaimed against; for he could not apprehend the bishop of Constantinople so wild as to affect a jurisdiction over the church mystical or invisible.

2. Indeed, upon this very account, the Romish pretence does not well accord with holy Scripture, because it transforms the church into another kind of body than it was constituted by God, according to the representation of it in Scripture; for there it is represented as a spiritual and heavenly society, compacted by the bands of "one faith, one hope, one spirit" of charity.—John xviii. 36; Eph. iv. 4-6; 2 Cor. x. 4.¹ But this pretence turns it into a worldly frame, united by the same bands of interest and design,—managed in the same manner, by terror and allurement,—supported by the same props of force, of policy, of wealth, of reputation, and splendour,—as all other secular corporations are.

You may call it what you please; but it is evident, that in truth the papal monarchy is a temporal dominion, driving on worldly ends by worldly means, such as our Lord never meant to institute; so that the subjects thereof may, with far more reason than the people of Constantinople had, when their bishop, Nestorius, stopped some of their priests from contradicting him, say, "We have a king; a bishop we have not."² So that upon every pope we may charge that whereof Anthimus was accused, in the synod of Constantinople, under Mennas, "That he accounted the greatness and dignity of the priesthood to be, not a spiritual charge of souls, but as a kind of politic rule."³

This was that which, [on its] seeming to be affected by the bishop of Antioch, in encroachment upon the church of Cyprus, the fathers of the Ephesine synod endeavoured to nip, enacting a canon against all such invasions, "lest, under pretext of holy discipline, the pride of worldly authority should creep in."⁴ And what pride of that kind could they mean beyond that which the popes now claim and exercise? Now, I say, after that the papal empire has swollen to such a bulk; whereas [indeed] so long ago, when it was but in its bud and stripling age, it was observed of it, by a very honest historian, "that

¹ Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in se corpus efficeret.—*Greg. M., Ep. vii. 111.* "Our head, which is Christ, would therefore have us to be his members, that, by the conjunction of charity and faith, he might make us to be one body."

² Βασιλία ἴχομεν, ἰσίοισι τοῖς οὐκ ἴχομεν.—*Conc. Eph. Part., cap. xxx.*

³ Τὸ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς μέγιστος καὶ ἀξίωμα οὐ στυματευτὴν ψυχῶν ἰσιστασίαν εἶναι λογιζόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰς εἰνα πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν, &c.—*Conc. sub Men., Act. i. p. 9.*

⁴ Μηδὲ ἐν ἱερωσίᾳ προσχρήματι ἰευσίας νοσητικῆς τύπος περιεργάζεται.—*Can. Eph. i., can. 8.*

⁵ This was that which, about the same time, the fathers of the African synod requested P. Celestine to forbear: "— nec permitttere, ut fumosum mundi fastum Christi ecclesiæ inducere videamur."—*Conc. Afr. ad P. Celest. l.*

the Roman episcopacy had long since advanced into a high degree of power beyond the priesthood."¹

3. This pretence thwarts the Scripture by destroying that brotherly co-ordination and equality which our Lord appointed among the bishops and chief pastors of his church. He (as we before showed) prohibited all his apostles to assume any domination or authoritative superiority over one another; which command, together with others concerning the pastoral function, we may well suppose to reach their successors. So St Jerome supposed; collecting thence that all bishops by original institution are equals, or that no one, by our Lord's order, may challenge superiority over another. "Wherever," says he, "a bishop is, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same worth, and of the same priesthood. The force of wealth or lowness of poverty does not make a bishop higher or lower; but all are successors of the apostles."² Where does not he plainly deny the bishop of Eugubium to be inferior to him of Rome, as being no less a successor of the apostles than he? Does he not say these words in the way of proof that the authority of the Roman bishop or church was of no validity against the practice of other bishops and churches?³ (upon occasion of deacons there taking upon them more than in other places, as cardinal deacons do now); which excludes such distinctions as scholastical fancies have devised to shift off his testimony; the which [testimony] he uttered simply, never dreaming of such distinctions.

This consequence St Gregory supposed [took for granted] when he condemned the title of Universal Bishop; because it "implied an affectation of superiority" and dignity in one bishop above others, of "abasing the name of other bishops in comparison of his own," of extolling "himself above the rest of priests,"⁴ &c.

This the ancient popes remembered, when usually, in their compellation of any bishop, they styled them "brethren, colleagues, fellow-ministers, fellow-bishops;"⁵ not intending thereby compliment or mockery, but to declare their sense of the original equality among bishops, notwithstanding some differences in order and privileges

¹ Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως σὺν Ἀλεξανδρίῳ πάλιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστόλου πάλιν.—Socr. vii. 11.

² Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ sive Thanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem et sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit; cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt.—*Hier., Ep. lxxxv., ad Evagrium.*

³ Si auctoritas queritur, orbis major est urbe; Ubicunque, &c.

⁴ Illud appetunt unde omnibus digniores videantur.—*Gr., Ep. iv. 34.* Quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.—*Ep. vi. 38.* Super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit.—*Ibid.* Cupis episcoporum nomen tui comparatione calcare.—*Ep. iv. 38.* Cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris supponere.—*Ibid.*

⁵ Invigiletur ergo ut omnibus coepiscopis nostris et fratribus innotescat.—*P. Corn., apud Cypr., Ep. xlviii.*

which their see had obtained. And that this was the general sense of the fathers we shall afterward show.

Hence, when it was objected to them that they affected superiority, they sometimes disclaimed it: so did Pope Gelasius I., a zealous man for the honour of his see.¹

4. This pretence thwarts the holy Scripture, not only by trampling down the dignity of bishops (which, according to St Gregory, implies great pride and presumption), but as really infringing the rights granted by our Lord to his church and the governors of it.²

For to each church our Lord has imposed a duty, and imparted a power of maintaining divine truth, and so approving itself "a pillar and support of truth;"—of deciding controversies possible and proper to be decided with due temper, ultimately, without farther resort; for that he who will not obey or acquiesce in its decision is to be "as a heathen or publican;"—of censuring and rejecting offenders in doctrine or demeanour: "Those within," says St Paul to the church of Corinth, "do not ye judge? but them that are without God judgeth; wherefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person;"—of preserving order and decency, according to that rule prescribed to the church of Corinth, "Let all things be done decently and in order;"—of promoting edification;—of deciding causes.³

All which rights and privileges the Roman bishop bereaves the churches of, snatching them to himself, pretending that he is the sovereign doctor, judge, regulator of all churches; overruling and voiding [making void] all that is done by them, according to his pleasure.

The Scripture has enjoined and empowered all bishops to feed, guide, and rule their respective churches, as the "ministers, stewards, ambassadors, angels of God, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ," to whom God has committed the care of their people; so that they are responsible for their souls.⁴

All which rights and privileges of the episcopal office the pope has invaded, obstructs, cramps, frustrates, destroys; pretending, with-

¹ Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (sicut prædicas), quam cum fidelibus cunctis sanctum et Deo placitum habere consortium.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. ix. ad Euphem., Ep. CP.* "Here we do not so much desire to be advanced above others, as together with all the faithful to make up a consort holy and well-pleasing to God."

² — Vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur.—*Greg. vii. 80, p. 451.* "What is yielded to another more than reason requires is taken from you." *Πρῶγμα . . . τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπαιτῶμεν.*—*Syn. Eph. i., can. 8.* "A thing that intrenches upon the freedom of all others."

³ Rev. ii. et iii.; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Matt. xviii. 17, 'Ἐὰν δὲ παραμύνη, &c.; Οὐχὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ἀνίσταν; 1 Cor. v. 12; καὶ ἑαυτοῖς. Vid. 1 Cor. v. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 20; 1 Cor. xiv. 40; 1 Thess. v. 14; Rom. xiv. 19; 1 Cor. vi. 1.

⁴ Acts xx. 28; Heb. xiii. 17; 1 Pet. v. 2; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Tit. i. 7; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; Rev. ii., &c.; Eph. iv. 12; Heb. xiii. 17.

out any warrant, that their authority is derived from him; forcing them to exercise it no otherwise than as his subjects, and according to his pleasure.¹ But of this point more afterward.

5. This pretence thwarts the Scripture, by robbing all Christian people of the liberties and rights with which, by that divine charter, they are endowed, and which they are obliged to preserve inviolate.*

St Paul enjoins the Galatians to "stand fast in the liberty where-with Christ hath made us free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage," Gal. v. 1. There is, therefore, a liberty which we must maintain, and a power to which we must not submit;—and against whom can we have more ground to do this than against him who pretends to dogmatize; to define points of faith; to impose doctrines, new and strange enough, on our consciences, under a peremptory obligation of yielding assent to them; to prescribe laws, as divine and necessary to be observed, without warrant, as those dogmatists did against whom St Paul bids us maintain our liberty, Gal. v. 1; Col. ii. 16, 18; so that if he should declare "virtue to be vice, and white to be black, we must believe him," [as] some of his adherents have said, consistently enough with his pretences?† for—

Against such tyrannical invaders we are bound to maintain our liberty, according to that precept of St Paul; which if a pope might well allege against the proceedings of a general synod,‡ with much more reason may we thereby justify our non-submission to one man's exorbitant domination.

This is a power which the apostles themselves did not challenge to themselves; for, "We," says St Paul, "have not dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy," 2 Cor. i. 24.

They did not pretend that any Christian should absolutely believe them in cases wherein they had not revelation, general or special, from God; in such cases referring their opinion to the judgment and discretion of Christians—1 Cor. x. 15, vii. 12, 25, 40.

They say, "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other

¹ Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia.—*Vid. post.* Superbum nimis est et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere, atque ut unus crescat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus, &c.—*P. Leo. I., Ep. iv.* "It is too proud and unreasonable a thing, for one to stretch himself beyond his bounds, and, maugre all antiquity, to snatch away other men's rights; and that the dignity of one may be enhanced, to oppose the primacies of so many metropolitans."

² Sanctæ ecclesiæ universali injuriam facit.—*Greg. I., Ep. i. 24.* "It does wrong to the holy catholic church." *Plebis majestæ.*—*Cypr., Ep. iv. ad Corn. P., p. 117.*

³ The reference may be to Bellarmine, or to the Canons with their glossaries. Bellarmine certainly teaches that "it may be affirmed, in a good sense, that Christ gave to Peter the power of making sin to be no sin, and that which is no sin to be sin."—*De Rom. Pont., lib. iv. cap. 5.* And Boniface begins one of his decretals thus: "Licet Romanus pontifex qui jura omnia in scrinio pectoris sui censetur habere." "The Roman pontiff, who may be held to have all laws enclosed within the shrine of his own breast."—*En.*

⁴ P. Leo. I., *Ep. xxviii.*

gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed: If any man," &c., Gal. i. 8; which precept, with many others of the like purport (enjoining us to examine the truth, to adhere unto the received doctrine, to decline heterodoxies and novelties), signifies nothing, if every Christian has not allowed to him a judgment of discretion, but is tied blindly to follow the dictates of another.

St Augustine, I am sure, thought this liberty such, that, without betraying it, no man could be obliged to believe any thing not grounded upon canonical authority; for to a Donatist, his adversary, citing the authority of St Cyprian against him, he thus replies: "But now, seeing what you quote is not canonical, I must say, *with that liberty to which the Lord has called us*, of that man, whose praise I cannot reach, to whose great learning I do not compare my writings, whose genius I love, in whose language I delight, whose charity I admire, whose martyrdom I reverence, that I cannot agree with his opinion."¹

This liberty not only the ancients, but even divers popes, have acknowledged to belong to every Christian; as we shall hereafter show, when we shall prove that we may lawfully reject the pope, as a patron of error and iniquity.

6. It particularly thwarts Scripture, by wronging princes, in exempting a numerous sort of people from subjection to their laws and judicature, whereas, by God's ordination and express command, "every soul is subject" to them (Rom. xiii. 1), not excepting the popes themselves,—except, in the opinion of St Chrysostom, they be greater than any apostle; by pretending to govern the subjects of princes without their leave, to make laws without their permission or confirmation, to cite their subjects out of their territories, &c.: which are encroachments upon the rights of God's unquestionable ministers.

III. Farther; because our adversaries little regard any allegation of Scripture against them,—pretending themselves to be the only masters of its sense, or of common sense, judges and interpreters of it,—we allege against them that this pretence also crosses tradition and the common doctrine of the fathers; for,—

1. Common usage and practice is a good interpreter of right; and these show that no such right was known in the primitive church.

2. Indeed the state of the primitive church did not admit it.

3. The fathers supposed no order in the church, by original right or divine institution, superior to that of a bishop; whence they com-

¹ Nunc vero quoniam canonicum non est quod recitas, ea libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus, ejus viri, cujus laudem consequi non valeo, cujus multis literis scripta mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter sapuit non accipio.—*Aug. contr. Cresc. ii. 32.*

monly styled a bishop the highest priest, and episcopacy the top of ecclesiastical orders.¹

"The chief priest," says Tertullian, "that is, the bishop, has the right of giving baptism."²

"Although," says St Ambrose, "the presbyters also do it, yet the beginning of the ministry is from the highest priest."³

Optatus calls bishops "the tops and princes of all."⁴

"The divine order of bishops," says Dionysius, "is the first of divine orders; the same being also the extreme and last of them; for into it all the frame of our hierarchy is resolved and accomplished."⁵

This language is common even among popes themselves, complying with the speech then current; for, "Presbyters," says Pope Innocent I., "although they are priests, yet have they not the summit of high priesthood."⁶

"No man," says Pope Zosimus I., "against the precepts of the fathers, should presume to aspire to the highest priesthood of the church."⁷

"It is decreed," says Pope Leo. I., "that the chorepiscopi, or presbyters, who figure the sons of Aaron, shall not presume to snatch that which the princes of the priests, whom Moses and Aaron did typify, are commanded to do."⁸ Note, by the way, that seeing, according to this pope's mind, after St Jerome, Moses and Aaron in

¹ Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκόντες ἀκολουθίαν πραγμάτων τοῖς μὲν ἱερεῶσι τὰ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἐνίσταμεν, &c.—*Const. Apost.* viii. 46.

² Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus.—*Tert. de Bapt.*, cap. xvii.

³ Licet enim et presbyteri faciant, tamen exordium ministerii est a summo sacerdote.—*Ambr. de Sac.* iii. 1. Suscepisti gubernacula summi sacerdotii.—*Id.*, *Ep.* v.

⁴ Apices et principes omnium sacerdotes.—*Opt.* i. Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet.—*Hier. contr. Lucif.* iv. "The safety of the church depends upon the dignity of the high priest." Ego dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar.—*Id.*, *Ep.* xcix. *ad Asell.* In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est; hoc est, princeps sacerdotum, et propheta et evangelista, et cætera adimplenda officia ecclesiæ in ministerio fidelium.—*Ambr. in Eph.* iv. 11. "In the bishop there are all orders, because he is the first priest; that is, the prince of priests, and prophet, and evangelist, and all other offices of the church, to be fulfilled in the ministry of the faithful."

⁵ Ἡ Σία τῶν ἱερέων τὰς, &c., *supr.* Pontifex princeps sacerdotum est, quasi vis sequentium; ipse et summus sacerdos, ipse et pontifex maximus nuncupatur.—*Isid. Hisp.*, apud *Grat. Dist.* xxi. cap. 1.

⁶ Nam presbyteri, licet sint sacerdotes, pontificatus tamen apicem non habent.—*P. Innoc. I.*, *Ep.* i. *ad Decent.* — dum facile imponuntur manus, dum negligenter summus sacerdos eligitur.—*Id.*, *Ep.* xii. *ad Aurel.*

⁷ Ne quis contra patrum præcepta . . . ad summum ecclesiæ sacerdotium aspirare præsumeret.—*P. Zos. I.*, *Ep.* i. *ad Hesych.*

⁸ Ideoque id quod tantum facere principibus sacerdotum jussum est, quorum typum Moses et Aaron tenuerunt, omnino decretum est, ut chorepiscopi vel presbyteri, qui filiorum Aaron gestant figuram, arripere non præsumant.—*P. Leo*, *Ep.* lxxxviii. Pontificatus apicem non habent.—*Ibid.* *Vid. Ep.* lxxxiv. cap. 5; *S. Hier. ad Evagr.* Ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento, Quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi vindicant in ecclesia.—*Or.* xix. p. 809.

the Jewish policy represented bishops, there was none there to prefigure the pope.

In those days the bishop of Nazianzum, a petty town in Cappadocia, was a high priest; so Gregory calls his father.¹ And the bishop of a poor city in Africa [Augustine, bishop of Hippo] is styled "Sovereign Pontiff of Christ, most blessed Father, most blessed Pope;"² and the very Roman clergy call St Cyprian "Most blessed and most glorious Pope:"³ which titles the pope now so charily reserves and appropriates to himself.

But innumerable instances of this kind might be produced. I shall only, therefore, add two other passages, which seem very observable to the enforcement of this discourse.

St Jerome, reprehending the discipline of the Montanists, has these words: "With us the bishops hold the places of the apostles, with them a bishop is in the third place;—for they have for the first rank the patriarchs of Pepusa in Phrygia; for the second, those whom they call *cenones*. Thus are bishops thrust down into the third, that is, almost the last place; as if thence religion became all the more stately, if what is first with us be the last with them."⁴ Now, does not St Jerome here affirm that every bishop has the place of an apostle, and the first rank in the church? Does he not tax the advancement of any order above this? May not the popish hierarchy most fitly be compared to that of the Montanists, and is it not equally liable to the censure of St Jerome? Does it not place the Roman pope in the first place, and the cardinals in the second, detruding the bishops into a third place? Could the Pepusian patriarch, or his *cenones*, either more overtop in dignity or sway by power over bishops than do the Roman patriarch and his cardinals?

Again; St Cyprian tells Pope Cornelius that in episcopacy resides "the sublime and divine power of governing the church," it being "the sublime top of the priesthood."⁵ "He," says the blessed man concerning Pope Cornelius, "did not suddenly arrive to the episcopate; but being through all ecclesiastical offices promoted, and having in divine administrations often merited of the Lord, he did, by all the steps of religion, mount to the sublime top of priesthood."⁶ Where

¹ A bishop called *ἐρχανύς*.—*Apost. Const.* viii. 10, 12.

² Summus Christi pontifex Augustinus.—*Paulin.*, apud *Aug.*, *Ep.* xxxvi.; *Aug.*, *Ep.* xxxv. Beatissimo papæ Augustino.—*Ilieron.*, *Aug.* *Ep.* xi., xiii., xiv., &c.

³ Optamus te beatiss. et gloriosissime papa in Domino semper valere.—*Ep.* xxxi.

⁴ Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus tertius est; habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ patriarchas, secundos quos appellant *cenones*. Atque ita in tertium, id est, pene ultimum locum, episcopi devolvuntur; quasi exinde ambitiosior religio fiat, si quod apud nos primum est, apud illos novissimum sit.—*Hier. ad Marcellam*, *Ep.* liv.

⁵ — actum est de episcopatus vigore, et de ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac divina potestate.—*Cypr.*, *Ep.* lv. ad *P. Corneli.*

⁶ Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia pro-

it is visible that St Cyprian does not reckon the papacy, but the episcopacy of Cornelius, to be that top of priesthood, above which there was nothing eminent in the church, [and] unto which he, passing through the inferior degrees of the clergy, had attained.

In fine, it cannot well be conceived that the ancients would have constantly spoken in this manner, if they had allowed the papal office to be such as it now bears itself; which, indeed, is an order no less distant from episcopacy than the rank of a king differs from that of the meanest baron in his kingdom.

Neither is it prejudicial to this discourse, or to any preceding, that in the primitive church there were some distinctions and subordinations of bishops,—as of patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, common bishops;¹ for,—

These were, according to prudence, constituted by the church itself, for the more orderly and peaceable administration of things.

These did not import such a difference among the bishops that one should domineer over others, to the infringing of primitive fraternity or common liberty; but a precedence in the same rank, with some moderate advantages, for the common good.

These stood under authority of the church, and might be changed or corrected, as was found expedient, by common agreement.

By virtue of these the superiors of this kind could do nothing over their subordinates in an arbitrary manner, but according to the regulation of canons, established by consent in synods, by which their influence was amplified or curbed.²

When any of these began to domineer or exceed his limits, he was liable to account and correction; he was exclaimed against as tyrannical.³

When primates began to swell and encroach, good men declared their displeasure at it, and wished it removed; as is known particularly by the famous wish of Gregory Nazianzen: "O that there were not at all any presidency, nor any preference in place, and tyrannical prerogative!"⁴

But we are discoursing against a superiority of a different nature, which founds itself in the institution of Christ, imposes itself on the

motus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublimis fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit.—*Cypr., Ep. lii.*

¹ The Africans had a particular care that this primacy should not degenerate into tyranny.

² Conc. Ant., can. ix. Vid. Apost. Can. xxxiv; Conc. Carth., apud Cypr. Cod. Afr. xxxix.; Nestorius; Dioscorus.

³ So Isidor. Pelusiot., Ep. xx. 125, iv. 219. Οἷά τι τυραννίδας τὰς φιλαρχίας ἐκθύμους διαιδικούντας.—*Euseb. viii. 1.* So Eusebius complains of the bishops in his time.

⁴ 'Ος ἔριλον γὰρ μηδὲ ἡ πρωτορία, μηδὲ τις τόσων προτίμησις, καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία.—*Greg. Naz., Orat. xxviii.* So Socrates of the bishop, not only of Rome, but Alexandria.—*Lib. vii. cap. 11.* So St Chrysostom in 1 Tim. iii. 1, in Ep., *Orat. 11.*

church, is not alterable or governable by it, can endure no check or control, pretends to be endowed with an absolute power to act without or against the consent of the church, is limited by no certain bounds but its own pleasure, &c.

IV. Farther; this pretence may be impugned by many arguments springing from the nature and reason of things abstractedly considered, according to which the exercise of such an authority may appear impracticable, without much iniquity and great inconvenience, in prejudice to the rights of Christian states and people, to the interests of religion and piety, to the peace and welfare of mankind; whence it is to be rejected as a pest of Christendom.

1. Whereas all the world, in design and obligation, is Christian, (the "utmost parts of the earth" being granted in "possession" to our Lord, and his gospel extending "to every creature under heaven"¹), and may in effect become such, when God pleases, by acceptance of the gospel; whereas it may easily happen that the most distant places on the earth may embrace Christianity; whereas really Christian churches have been and are dispersed all about the world;—it is thence hugely [vastly] incommodious that all the church should depend upon an authority resident in one place, and be managed by one person. The church being such, is too immense, boundless, un-circumscribed, unwieldy a bulk to be guided by the inspection or managed by the influence of one such authority or person.

If the whole world were reduced under the government of one civil monarch, it would necessarily be ill governed, as to policy, to justice, to peace. The skirts, or remoter parts from the metropolis or centre of the government, would extremely suffer thereby; for they would feel little light or warmth from majesty shining at such a distance. They would live under small awe of that power which was so far out of sight; they must have very difficult recourse to it for redress of grievances and relief of oppressions,—for final decision of causes and composure of differences,—for correction of offences and dispensation of justice, upon good information, with tolerable expedition. It would be hard to preserve peace, or quell sedition and suppress insurrections that might arise in distant quarters.

What man could obtain the knowledge or experience needful skillfully and justly to give laws or administer judgment to so many nations, different in humour, in language, in customs? What mind of man, what industry, what leisure, could serve to sustain the burden of that care which is needful to wielding such an office?

"Cum tot sustineas, et tanta negotia solus."²

How and when should one man be able to receive all the addresses,

¹ Ps. ii. 8; Col. i. 23; Luke xxiv. 47; Matt. xxviii. 19.

² Hor., Ep. ii. 1.

to weigh all the cases, to make all the resolutions and despatches requisite for such a charge? If the burden of one small kingdom be so great that wise and good princes groan under its weight, what must that be of all mankind? To such an extent of government there must be allowed a majesty and power correspondent; the which cannot be committed to one hand without its degeneration into extreme tyranny. The words of Zosimus to this purpose are observable, who says that the Romans, by admitting Augustus Cæsar to the government, did very perilously; for, "If he should choose to manage the government rightly and justly, he would not be capable of applying himself to all things as were fit, not being able to succour those who lie at greater distance; nor could he find so many magistrates as would not be ashamed to defeat the opinion conceived of them; nor could he suit them to the differences of so many manners. Or if, transgressing the bounds of royalty, he should warp to tyranny, disturbing the magistracies, overlooking misdemeanours, bartering right for money, holding the subjects for slaves, such as most emperors, or rather near all, have been, few excepted: then it is quite certain that the brutish authority of the prince would be a public calamity;—for then flatterers, being by him dignified with gifts and honours, invade the greatest commands; and those who are modest and quiet, not affecting the same life with them, are consequently displeased, not enjoying the same advantages, so that from hence cities are filled with seditions and troubles; and the civil and military employments being delivered up to avaricious persons, both render a peaceable life sad and grievous to men of better disposition and enfeeble the resolution of soldiers in war."¹

Hence St Augustine was of opinion that "it were happy for mankind if all kingdoms were small, enjoying a peaceful neighbourhood."²

It is commonly observed by historians, that "Rome growing in bigness, laboured therewith,"³ and was not able to support itself, many distempers and disorders springing up in so vast a body, which

¹ *Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἰσχυρὸς, &c.*—Zos. *Hist.* i. p. 4, *Steph.*

² *Felicioribus sic rebus humanis, omnia regna parva essent, concordii vicinitate lætania.*—*Aug. de Civ. D.* iv. 15. "Ἐστὶ τι καὶ πλείους μεγέθους μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάστων, ζώων, φυτῶν, ὑγμάτων· καὶ γὰρ ταύτων ἵσασται οὕτι λίαν μικρὸν, οὕτι παρὰ μέγεθος ὑπερέαλλοι ἔξω τῇ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν.—*Arist. Pol.* vii. 4. "There is a certain measure of greatness fit for cities and commonwealths, as well as for all other things, living creatures, plants, instruments; for every one of these has its proper virtue and faculty, when it is neither very little nor yet exceeds in bigness." *Τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἵσταται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερέαλλοντος πλῆθους, ἢ τις κήρυξ μὴ σταντόριος;*—*Ibid.* "For who would be a captain of an excessive huge multitude?" &c.

³ *Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.*—*Hor., Ep.* xvi. — *quæ ab exiguis initiis creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua.*—*Liv.* i. *Ac nescio an satius fuerit populo Romano Sicilia et Africa contentos fuisse, aut his etiam ipsis carere dominant in Italia sua, quam eo magnitudinis crescere, ut viribus suis conficeretur.*—*Flor.* iii. 12.

threw it into continual pangs, and at length brought it to ruin; for, "Then," says St Augustine, concerning the times of Pompey, "Rome had subdued Africa, it had subdued Greece; and widely ruling over other parts, as not being able to bear itself, broke down, as it were, with its own weight."¹

Hence that wise prince, Augustus Cæsar, himself forbore to enlarge the Roman dominion, and in his testament advised the senate to do the like.²

To the like inconveniences, and much greater in its kind (temporal things being more easily ordered than spiritual, and having secular authority, great advantages of power and wealth, to aid itself), must the church be obnoxious if it were subjected to the government of one sovereign, to whom the maintenance of faith, the protection of discipline, the determination of controversies, the revision of judgments, the discussion and final decision of causes upon appeal, the suppression of disorders and factions, the inspection over all governors, the correction of misdemeanours, the constitution, relaxation, and abolition of laws, the resolution of all matters concerning religion and the public state, in all countries, must be referred.

Τίς πρὸς ταῦτα ἰκανός; [Who is sufficient for these things?] What shoulders can bear such a charge without perpetual miracle? And yet we do not find that the pope has any promise of miraculous assistance, nor in his demeanour appears any mark thereof! What mind would not the care of so many affairs utterly distract and overwhelm? who could find time to cast a glance on each of so numberless particulars? What sagacity of wit, what variety of learning, what penetrancy of judgment, what strength of memory, what indefatigable vigour of industry, what abundance of experience, would suffice for enabling one man to weigh exactly all the controversies of faith and cases of discipline perpetually starting up in so many regions?³

What reach of skill and ability would serve for accommodation of

¹ Tunc jam Roma subjugaverat Africam, subjugaverat Græciam, lateque etiam aliis partibus imperans tanquam seipsum ferre non valens, se sua quodammodo magnitudine fregerat.—*Aug. de Civ. D.* xviii. 46; *Tac. Hist.* ii. p. 476.

² Γινώμην τι αὐτοῖς ἴδωκε τοῖς τι παρῶσιν ἀρτισθῆναι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἰσὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἱκανῶσαι ἰδὲναι δυνάμεσθαι· τι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἱσθεσθαι ἴφην· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔπος αἶπει· οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε· παρὼν γοῦν αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι, οὐκ ἠδίλησε.—*Dion.* lib. lvi.; *Tac. Ann.* i. "He advised them to be content with what they had, and by no means to endeavour the enlargement of their empire; 'For,' said he, 'it will be hardly kept.' And this he himself observed, not in word only, but in deed; for when he might have got more from the barbarous nations, yet he would not."

*Ipsa nocet moles, utinam remeare liceret
Ad veteres fines, et mœnia pauperis Anci, &c.*

Claud. de bello Gildon.

³ The synod of Basil well describes the duty of a pope; but it is infinitely hard to practise it in any measure.—*Conc. Bas.*, sess. xxiii. p. 64, &c.

laws to the different humours and fashions of so many nations? Shall a decrepit old man, in the decay of his age, parts, vigour, such as popes usually are, undertake this? May we not say to him, as Jethro did to Moses, *Ultra vires tuas est negotium*;—"The thing thou doest is not good; thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this people that is with thee; for this thing is too heavy for thee: thou art not able to perform it thyself alone," Exod. xviii. 17, 18.

If the care of a small diocese has made the most able and industrious bishops, who had a conscience and sense of their duty, to groan under its weight, how insupportable must such a charge be!

The care of his own particular church, if he would act the part of a bishop indeed, would sufficiently take up the pope; especially in some times, when, as Pope Alexander says, *Ut intestina nostræ specialis ecclesiæ negotia vix possemus ventilare, nedum longinqua ad plenum extricare*;—"Scarcely can we sift the internal affairs of our own particular church, much less fully unravel those at a distance."¹

If it be said that St Paul testifies of himself that he had "a care of all the churches" incumbent on him (2 Cor. xi. 28), I answer, that he (and other apostles had the like), questionless, had a pious *solicitude* for the welfare of all Christians, especially of the churches which he had founded, being vigilant for occasions to edify them. But what is this to bearing the charge of a standing government over all the churches diffused through the world? That care of a few churches then was burdensome to him: what is the charge of so many now to one seldom endowed with such apostolical graces and gifts as St Paul was?

How weak must the influence of such an authority be upon the circumferential parts of its œcumenical sphere!

How must the outward branches of the churches faint and fade for want of sap from the root of discipline, which must be conveyed through so many obstructions to such a distance!

How discomposed must things be in each country for want of seasonable resolution, hanging in suspense till information travel to Rome, and determination come back thence!²

How difficult, how impossible will it be for him there to receive faithful information or competent testimony, whereupon to ground just decisions of causes!

¹ P. Alex. II., Epist. ad Ger. Rhem. Bin., p. 284.

² Tanta me occupationum onera depriment, ut ad superna animus nullatenus erigatur, &c.—*Greg. I.*, lib. i., *Ep.* 7, 25, 5. "Such a weight of employment presses me down, that my mind can by no means be raised to things above." Si administratio illius temporis mare fuit, quid de præsentis papatu dicendum erit?—*Calv. Inst.* iv. cap. vii. 22. "If the ordering of affairs in those times was a boundless sea, what shall we say of the present papacy?" [Calvin refers, in these words, to Gregory's complaint, that he was "so tossed by the tempests of a tumultuous life that he might say, 'I am come into the depths of the sea.'"—Ed.]

How [easily] will it be in the power, thence, of any malicious and cunning person to raise trouble against innocent persons! for any [one of such] like persons to decline the due correction laid on him, by transferring the cause from home to such a distance!

How much cost, how much trouble, how much hazard, must parties concerned be at to fetch light and justice thence!

Put case: [suppose] a heresy, a schism, a doubt or debate of great moment should arise in China, how should the *Gentleman in Italy* proceed to confute that heresy, to quash that schism, to satisfy that doubt, to determine that cause? how long must it be ere he can have notice thereof! to how many cross accidents of weather and way must the transmitting of information be subject! how difficult will it prove to get a clear and sure knowledge concerning the state of things!

How hard will it be to get the opposite parties to appear, so as to confront testimonies and probations requisite to a fair and just decision! how shall witnesses of infirm sex or age ramble so far? how easily will some of them prepossess and abuse him with false suggestions and misrepresentations of the case! how slippery, therefore, will the result be, and how prone he to award a wrongful sentence!¹

How tedious, how expensive, how troublesome, how vexatious, how hazardous, must this course be to all parties!² Certainly, causes must needs proceed slowly and depend long; and, in the end, the resolution of them must be very uncertain.³

What temptation will it be for any one (how justly soever corrected by his immediate superiors) to complain, hoping thereby to escape, to disguise the truth! &c.; who, being condemned, will not appeal to one at a distance, hoping by false suggestions to delude him?

This necessarily will destroy all discipline, and induce impunity or frustration of justice.⁴

Certainly much more convenient and equal it would be, that there should be near at hand a sovereign power, fully capable expeditely and seasonably to compose differences, to decide causes, to resolve doubts, to settle things, without more stir and trouble.

Very equal [just] it is that laws should rather be framed, interpreted, and executed, in every country, with accommodation to the

¹ Nunquid mirandum est de tam longinquis terris episcopos tuos tibi narrare impune quod volunt?—*Aug. contra Cresc.*, iii. 84. "What marvel if the bishops from so remote countries tell you what they please without check or control?"

² De luengas vias luengas mentiras.—*Hisp. Prov.* ["From long ways long lies;"—a Spanish proverb, generally meant to signify that travellers have a privilege of lying.—Ed.]

³ Syn. Bas., sess. xxxi. p. 86.

⁴ Vid. Bern., Ep. clxxviii. de Consid.

tempers of the people, to the circumstances of things, to the civil state there, by persons acquainted with those particulars, than by strangers ignorant of them, and apt to mistake about them.

How often will the pope be imposed upon! as he was in the case of Basilides, of whom St Cyprian says, "Going to Rome, he deceived our colleague Stephen, being placed at distance, and ignorant of the fact, and concealed truth, aspiring to be unjustly restored to the bishopric, from which he was justly removed;"¹ as he was in the case of Marcellus, who gulled Pope Julius by fair professions, as St Basil often complains;² as he was in aiding that versatile and troublesome bishop, Eustathius of Sebaste, to the recovery of his bishopric;³ as he was in rejecting "the man of God, and most admirable bishop, Meletius,"⁴ and admitting scandalous reports about him, which the same saint often resents, blaming sometimes the fallacious misinformation, sometimes the wilful presumption, negligence, pride of the Roman church in the case;⁵ as he was in the case of Pelagius and Celestius, who cajoled Pope Zosimus to acquit them, to condemn Eros and Lazarus their accusers, to reprove the African bishops for prosecuting them.⁶

How many proceedings should we have like to that of Pope Zosimus I. concerning that scandalous priest, Apiarius, whom, [after] being for various crimes excommunicated by his bishop, that pope admitted to communion, and undertook to patronize, but was baffled in his enterprise.⁷

This has been the sense of the Fathers in the case.

St Cyprian, therefore, says, that "it was a general statute among

¹ Romam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum, et gestæ rei, ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit; ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum, de quo fuerat juste depositus.—*Cypr., Ep. lxvii.*

² Ἐκείνα ποιοῦσι νῦν, ὡς πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκελλῶν, πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικῶσάντας, &c.—*Basil., Ep. x.*

³ *Bas., Ep. lxxiii., lxxiv.*

⁴ Τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ Μελετίου . . . τὸν θανασιώσαντες ἰσχύοντες τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰουλιανῆς Μελετίου, &c.—*Basil., Ep. cccxlix.*

⁵ Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι παντὶ ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ δοκῶντες εἰδέναι φιλονεικῶντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντες αὐτοῖς ἔκρηγονται.—*Id.* "Some are altogether ignorant of what is here done; others, that think they know them, declare them unto us more contentiously than truly." Ἐλύψαι ἡμᾶς λίγων τοῖς Ἀριουμανίταις συγκαταρβμύσθαι τοὺς Διοφιλεσάτους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν Μελετίου καὶ Εὐθείου.—*Ep. cccxi. ad Pet. Alex.* "He grieved us when he said that our godly brethren, Meletius and Eusebius, were reckoned among the Arians." Ποία βνήμια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὁρῆος, οἱ τότοι ἀληθεῖς οὗτοι ἴσασιν, οὗτοι μαθῶν ἀνίσχονται.—*Bas., Ep. x.* "What help can we have from the pride of the Africans, who neither know the truth nor endure to learn it?"

⁶ *P. Zos. I., Ep. iii. iv.*

⁷ Deinde quod inter tantam hominum multitudinem adeo pauci sunt episcopi, et amplæ singulorum parochiæ, ut in subjectis plebibus curam episcopalis officii nullatenus exequi, aut rite administrare valcant.—*P. Greg. VII., Ep. ii. 73.* "And then because in so great a multitude of people there are so few bishops, and every one's diocese very large, that they are in no wise able to execute or rightly perform the charge of the episcopal office among the people over whom they are set."

the bishops, and that it was both equal and just, that every one's cause should be heard where the crime was committed; and that each pastor had a portion of the flock allotted to him, which he should rule and govern, being to render unto the Lord an account of his doings.¹

St Chrysostom thought it improper that "one out of Egypt should administer justice to persons in Thrace." And why not, as well as one out of Italy?

The African synod thought "the Nicene fathers had provided most prudently and most justly, that all affairs should be finally determined where they arose."²

They thought "a transmarine judgment could not be firm," because "the necessary persons for testimony, for the infirmity of sex or age, or for many other infirmities, could not be brought thither."⁴

Pope Leo himself saw how dilatory this course would be, and that distance of place "causes the examination of truth to become over dilatory."⁵

Pope Liberius, for such reasons, requested Constantius that Athanasius' cause should be tried at Alexandria, where, says he, "he that is accused and the accusers are, and the defenders of them; and so we may, upon examination had, agree in our sentence about them."⁶

Therefore, divers ancient canons of synods prohibited that any causes should be removed out of the bounds of provinces or dioceses; as elsewhere we show.⁷

2. Such an authority as this pretence claims must necessarily, if

¹ Cypr., Ep. lv. p. 116.

² Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπέλθοιεν ἢ τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ διπάζειν.—Chrys., Ep. cii., ad P. Innoc. I. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο πράττειται τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ ἔξω γίνονται τοῖς βουλευμένοις, εἰς ἄλλοις ἀπάναις παροίσις ἐν τοσούτοις διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὐδ' ἂν ἰδίῳις, ἵνα οἱ πάντα οἰχέσεται, &c. "For if this custom prevail, and if any that will may go to other men's dioceses at so great a distance, and eject whom any man pleases, know that all will go to wreck," &c.

³ Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos suis metropolitans apertissime commiserunt; prudentissime enim justissimeque viderunt (provide-runt) quascunque negotia in suis locis, ubi orsa sunt, finienda.—Ep. Conc. Afric. ad P. Celest. I., in fine Cod. Afric., vel apud Dion. Exig.

⁴ Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum judicium ratum erit, ad quod testium necessariorum personarum vel propter sexus, vel propter senectutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis impedimentis adduci non poterunt.—*Ibid.*

⁵ Ne ergo (quod inter longinquas regiones accidere solet) in nimias dilationes tendere veritatis examine, &c.—P. Leo I., Ep. xxxiv.

⁶ Τότε ἰαί τῇ Ἀλεξανδρίῳ οἱ πάντες ἀπαντήσαντες ἴδωσι ὁ ἰσχυροῦς καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροῦντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ ἀντιπαύμενος αὐτῶν, ἱετέρας τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν συμπαραμειχυσόμεν.—Theod. ii. 16.

⁷ Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilem vexationem abusus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotissimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari ac evocari consueverunt, &c.—*Vid. Conc. Bas.*, sess. xxxi. p. 86. "But hitherto very many intolerably vexatious abuses have prevailed, while too often men have been used to be cited and called out even from the remotest parts to the court of Rome, and sometimes for slight and trivial business and occasions."

not withheld by continual miracle, throw the church into sad bondage. All the world must become slaves to one city; its wealth must be derived thither, its quiet must depend on it: for it, not being restrained within any bounds of place or time, having no check upon it of equal or co-ordinate power, standing upon divine institutions, and therefore immutably settled, must of its own nature become absolute and unlimited.¹

Let it be, however, of right limited by divine laws or human canons, yet will it be continually encroaching and stretching its power, until it grows enormous and boundless. It will not endure to be pinched by any restraint. It will draw to itself the collation of all preferments,² &c.

It will assume all things to itself, trampling down all opposite claims of right and liberty; so that neither pastor nor people shall enjoy or do any thing otherwise than in dependence on it and at its pleasure.

It will be always forging new prerogatives, and interpreting all things in favour of them, and enacting sanctions to establish them, which none must presume to contest.³

It will draw to itself the disposal of all places, the exaction of goods. All princes must become his ministers, and executors of his decrees.⁴

It will mount above all law and rule, not only challenging to be uncontrollable and unaccountable, but not enduring any reproof of its proceedings or contradiction of its dictates. A blind faith must be yielded to all its assertions, as infallibly true; and a blind obedience to all its decrees, as unquestionably holy. Whosoever shall any wise cross it, in word or deed, shall certainly be discountenanced, condemned, ejected from the church;⁵ so that the most absolute tyranny that can be imagined will ensue. All the world has groaned and heavily complained of their exactions, particularly our poor nation; it would raise indignation in any man to read the complaints.⁶

¹ Vid. Hist. Conc. Trid., p. 61. Privilegia istius sedis perpetua sunt, divinitus radicata atque plantata; impingi possunt, transferri non possunt; trahi possunt, evelli non possunt.—*P. Nic. I. ad Mich. Imp.* "The privileges of this see are perpetual, rooted and founded upon divine authority; they may be dashed against, they cannot be transplanted; they may be dragged at, they cannot be plucked up."

² Vid. Conc. Bas., sess. xxxi. p. 87.

³ Licet apostolica prerogativa possimus de qualibet ecclesia clericum ordinare.—*P. Steph.*, apud *Grat. Caus.* ix. qu. iii. cap. 20. "Though by our apostolical prerogative we may ordain a clergyman of any church."

⁴ Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 60. So they pretend. Conc. Later. iv., sub Innoc. III.

⁵ Sitque alienus a divinis et pontificalibus officiis, qui noluit præceptis apostolicis obtemperare.—*Greg. IV., Dist. xix. cap. 5.* "And let him have nothing at all to do with divine and pontifical offices who would not obey apostolical precepts." Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subijci potestati.—*Bonif. VIII., Extrav. Com. i. 8, 1.* "But there must be a sword under a sword, and temporal authority subject to spiritual."

⁶ Vide *Mat. Paria*.

This is consequent on such a pretence, according to the very nature of things; and so in experience it has happened.¹ For,—

It is evident that the papacy has devoured all the privileges and rights of all orders in the church, either granted by God or established in the ancient canons.²

The royalties of Peter are become immense; and, consistently to his practice, the pope allows men to tell him to his face that “all power in heaven and in earth is given unto him.”

It belongs to him “to judge of the whole church.”³

He has “a plenitude,” as he calls it, “of power,”⁴ by which he can infringe any law, or do any thing that he pleases.

It is the tenor of his bulls, “that whoever rashly dares to thwart his will shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and” (as if that were not enough) “of St Peter and St Paul” also.

“No man must presume to tax his faults, or to judge of his judgment.”⁵

“It is idolatry to disobey his commands,”⁶—against their own sovereign lord.

There are who dare in plain terms call him omnipotent, and who ascribe “infinite” power to him. And that he is infallible is the most common and plausible opinion; so that at Rome the contrary “is erroneous, and within an inch of being heretical.”⁷

We are now told that “if the pope should err, by enjoining vices or forbidding virtues, the church should be bound to believe vices to be good and virtues evil, unless it would sin against conscience.”⁸

The greatest princes must stoop to his will, otherwise he has power to cashier and depose them.

Now, what greater inconvenience, what more horrible iniquity

¹ — che sia piu officio di pontefici aggiungere con l' armi, et col sangue de Christiani, &c.—*Guic.* xi. p. 858.

² Quid hodie erant episcopi, nisi umbra quædam? quid plus eis restabat quam baculus et mitra? &c.—*An. Sylv. de Gestis Syn. Bas.* lib. i. “What were bishops now but a kind of shadows? what had they left more than a staff and a mitre?” &c.

³ Conc. Lat. v. sess. xi. p. 129. De omni ecclesia jus habet judicandi.—*P. Gelas. Grat. Caus.* ix. q. 3, cap. 18.

⁴ Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.—*Greg. Decret.*, lib. iii. tit. 8, cap. 4.

⁵ Hujus culpas isthio redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus.—*Grat. Dist.* xl. cap. 6 (Si papa). Neque cuiquam licere de ejus judicare judicio.—*Caus.* ix. qu. 3, cap. 10.

⁶ Cum enim obedire apostolicæ sedi superbe contemnunt, scelus idololatriæ, teste Samuele, incurrunt.—*Greg. VII., Ep.* iv. 2. Nulli fas est vel velle, vel posse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta.—*Greg. IV., apud Grat. Dist.* xix. cap. 5. “No man may nor can transgress the commands of the apostolic see.” — ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est.—*Ibid.*, cap. 4; *P. Steph.* “— Whatever he decrees, whatever he ordains, must always and inviolably be observed by all.”

⁷ Erronea et hæresi proxima.—*Bell. de Pont.* iv. 2.

⁸ Si autem papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare.—*Bell. de Pont.* iv. 5. [See note, p. 164.—*Ed.*]

can there be, than that all God's people, that "free people," who are "called to freedom," should be subject to so intolerable a yoke and miserable a slavery?—Gal. v. 1, 13; 1 Pet. ii. 16.

That tyranny soon had crept into the Roman church Socrates tells us.¹

They have rendered true that definition of Scioppius: "The church is a stall, or herd, or multitude of beasts or asses."²

"They bridle us, they harness us, they spur us, they lay yokes and laws upon us."³

The greatest tyranny that ever was invented in the world is the pretence of infallibility: for Dionysius and Phalaris left the mind free, pretending only to dispose of body and goods according to their will; but the pope, not content to make us do and say what he pleases, will have us also to think so, denouncing his imprecations and spiritual menaces if we do not.

3. Such an authority will inevitably produce a depravation of Christian doctrine, by distorting it in accommodation of it to the promoting its designs and interests. It will blend Christianity with worldly notions and policies.

It certainly will introduce new doctrines, and interpret the old ones so as may serve to the advancement of the power, reputation, pomp, wealth, and pleasure of those who manage it, and of their dependants.

That which is called *καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*, [to corrupt the word of God,] 2 Cor. ii. 17, to *make a trade of religion*, will be the great work of the teachers of the church. It will turn all divines into mercenary, slavish, designing flatterers.⁴

This we see come to pass, Christianity, by the papal influence, being from its original simplicity transformed into quite another thing than it was; from a divine philosophy, designed to improve the reason, to moderate the passions, to correct the manners of men, to prepare men for conversation with God and angels, modelled to a system of politic devices, of notions, of precepts, of rites, serving to exalt and enrich the pope, with his court and adherents, clients and vassals.

What doctrine of Christian theology, as it is interpreted by their schools, has not a direct aspect, or does not squint that way? espe-

¹ Papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum ecclesiarum, ita quod inferiores prælati sunt pro nihilo.—*Card. Zab. de Sch. Innoc. VII.*, p. 560. "The pope has invaded all the rights of inferior churches, so that all inferior prelates are nothing set by."

² Ecclesia est mandra sive grex aut multitudo jumentorum sive asinorum.—*Ecclel.*, cap. xlvii.

³ Illi nos frænant, nos lore alligant, nos stimulant, nobis jugum et onus imponunt.—*Ibid.*

⁴ 1 Tim. vi. 5, *Νομιζόντων κερματὸν εἶναι τὴν ἐνδοξίαν*. "Supposing that gain is godliness." *Ἐν προφάνει κλεινότης*, 1 Thess. ii. 5. "A cloak of covetousness." *Κεχρία*, Eph. iv. 14. "The sleight of men."

cially according to the opinions passant and in vogue among them.

To pass over those concerning the pope,—his universal pastorship, judgeship in controversies, power to call councils, presidency in them, superiority over them, right to confirm or annul them; his infallibility; his double sword and dominion, direct or indirect, over princes;¹ his dispensing in laws, in oaths, in vows, in matrimonial cases, with all other the monstrous prerogatives which the sound doctors of Rome, with encouragement of that chair, teach,—

What does the doctrine concerning the exempting of the clergy from secular jurisdiction and immunity of their goods from taxes signify, but their entire dependence on the pope, and their being closely tied to his interests?

What is the exemption of monastical places from the jurisdiction of bishops but listing so many soldiers and advocates to defend and advance the papal empire?

What means the doctrine concerning that middle region of souls, or cloister of purgatory, of which the pope holds the keys, opening and shutting it at his pleasure, by dispensation of pardons and indulgences, but that he must be master of the people's condition and of their purse?

What means the treasure of merits and supererogatory works, of which he is the steward, but a way of driving a trade, and drawing money from simple people to his treasury?

Whither does the entangling of folk in perpetual vows tend, but to assure them in a slavish dependence on their interestseternally, without evasion or remedy, except by favourable dispensation from the pope?

Why is the *opus operatum* in sacraments taught to confer grace, but to breed a high opinion of the priest and all he does?

Whence did the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation, urged with so furious zeal, issue, but from design to magnify the credit of those who, by saying of a few words, can make our God and Saviour; and withal, to exercise a notable instance of their power over men, in making them to renounce their reason and senses?

Whither tends the doctrine concerning the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, but to engage men to leave in their wills good sums to offer in their behalf?

Why is the cup withheld from the laity, but to lay it low by so notable a distinction, in the principal mystery of our religion, from the priesthood?

Why is saying private mass, or celebrating the communion in solitude, allowed, but because priests are paid for it and live by it?

¹ *Pasce, id est, regio more impera. Ecce duos gladios. Oravi ne deficeret. "Feed," i. e., rule as a king. "Behold two swords." "I have prayed that thou fail not."*

At what does the doctrine concerning the necessity of auricular confession aim, but that thereby the priests may have a mighty awe on the consciences of all people, may dive into their secrets, may manage their lives as they please?

And what does a like necessary particular absolution intend, but to set the priest in a lofty state of authority above the people, as a judge of their condition and dispenser of their salvation?

Why do they equal ecclesiastical traditions with Scripture, but that on the pretence of them they may obtrude whatever doctrines, [any doctrines whatever] advantageous to their designs?

What drift has the doctrine concerning the infallibility of churches or councils, but that, when opportunity invites, he may call a company of bishops together to establish what he likes, which ever after must pass for certain truth, to be contradicted by none; so enslaving the minds of all men to his dictates, which always suit to his interest.

What does the prohibition of holy Scripture drive at, but a monopoly of knowledge to themselves, or a detaining of people in ignorance of truth and duty; so that they must be forced to rely on them for direction, must believe all they say, and blindly submit to their dictates, being disabled to detect their errors or contest their opinions?

Why must the sacraments be celebrated, and the public devotions exercised, in an unknown tongue, but that the priests may seem to have a peculiar interest in them and ability for them?

Why must the priesthood be so indispensably forbidden marriage, but that it may be wholly untacked from the state, and rest addicted to him and governable by him,—that the persons and wealth of priests may be purely at his devotion?

To what end is the clogging religion by multiplication of ceremonies and formalities, but to amuse the people, and maintain in them a blind reverence toward the interpreters of the dark mysteries couched in them;¹ and by seeming to encourage an exterior show of piety, or form of godliness, to gain reputation and advantage, whereby they might oppress the interior virtue and reality of it, as the Scribes and Pharisees did, although with less [base] designs?

Why is the veneration of images and relics, the credence of miracles and legends, the undertaking of pilgrimages and voyages to Rome, and other places more holy than ordinary, sprinklings of holy water, consecrations of baubles, with innumerable foppish knacks and trinkets, so cherished, but to keep the people in a slavish credulity and dotage, apt to be led by them whither they please, by any sleeveless pretence, and in the meanwhile to pick various gains from them by such trade?

¹ Vid. Sleid., p. 678.

What do all such things mean, but obscuring the native simplicity of Christianity, whereas it, being represented intelligible to all men, would derogate from that high admiration which these men pretend to from their peculiar and profound wisdom? And what would men spend for these toys, if they understood they might be good Christians and get to heaven without them?

What does all that pomp of religion serve for, but for ostentation of the dignity of those who administer it? It may be pretended for the honour of religion, but it really conduces to the glory of the priesthood, who shine in those pageantries.

Why is monkery (although so very different from that which was in the ancient times) so cried up as a superlative state of perfection, but that it fills all places with swarms of lusty people, who are vowed servants to him, and have little else to do but to advance that authority by which they subsist in that dronish way of life?

In fine, perusing the controversies of Bellarmine, or any other champion of Romanism, do but consider the nature and scope of each doctrine maintained by them, and you may easily discern that scarce any of them but tends to advance the interest of the pope or of his sworn vassals:

Whereas, indeed, our Lord had never any such design, to set up a sort of men in such distance above their brethren, to perk over them, and suck them of their goods by tricks. It only charged people to allow their pastors a competent maintenance for a sober life, with a moderate respect, as was needful for the common benefit of God's people, whom they were, with humility and meekness, to instruct and guide in the plain and simple way of piety.

This is a grievous inconvenience, there being nothing wherein the church is more concerned than in the preservation of its doctrine pure and incorrupt from the leaven of hurtful errors, influential on practice.

4. The errors in doctrine and miscarriages in practice which this authority, in favour to itself, would introduce, would be established immovably, to the irrecoverable oppression of truth and piety, any reformation becoming impossible while it stands, or so far as it shall be able to oppose and obstruct it.

While particular churches retain their liberty, and pastors their original co-ordination in any measure, if any church or bishop shall offer to broach any novel doctrine or practice of bad import, the others may endeavour to stop the settlement or progress of them; each church, at least, may keep itself sound from contagion.

But when all churches and bishops are reduced into subjection to one head, supported by the guards of his authority, who will dare to contest, or be able to withstand, what he shall say or do? It will

then be deemed high presumption, contumacy, rebellion, to dissent from his determinations, how false soever, or tax the practices countenanced by him, however irregular and culpable.

He will assume to himself the privilege not to be crossed in any thing; and soon will claim *infallibility, the mother of incorrigibility*.

No error can be so palpable which that authority will not protect and shroud from confutation; no practices so enormous which it will not palliate and guard from reproof.

There will be legions of mercenary tongues to speak, and stipendiary pens to write, in defence of its doctrines and practices; so that whoever will undertake to oppose it shall be voted down and overwhelmed with noise, and shall incur all the discouragement and persecution imaginable. So poor truth will become utterly defenceless, wretched virtue destitute of succour or patronage.

This is so in speculation, and we see it confirmed by experience; for when, from the influence of this power, as Pope Adrian VI. ingenuously confessed, an apparent degeneracy in doctrine, in discipline, in practice, had seized on Christendom, all the world feeling it, and crying out loudly for reformation, yet how stiff a repugnance the adherents to this interest made thereto! with what industry and craft popes endeavoured to decline all means of remedy!¹

What will not this party do rather than acknowledge themselves mistaken or liable to error? what palliations, what shifts, do not they use? what evidence of light do they not outface?

5. The same will induce a general corruption of manners.

For the chief clergy, partaking of its growth and protected by its interest, reciprocally supporting it and being sheltered by it from any curb or control, will swell into great pride and haughtiness; will be tempted to scrape and hoard up wealth, by rapine, extortion, simony; will come to enjoy ease and sloth; will be immersed in sensuality and luxury; and will, consequently, neglect their charge.

The inferiors will become enamoured and ambitious of dignity, and will use all means and arts to attain it.

Thence emulation, discord, sycophantry [sycophancy], will spring.

Thence all ecclesiastical offices will become venal, to be purchased by bribes, flattery, favour,² &c.

The higher ranks will become fastuous, supercilious, and domineering. The lower will basely crouch, cog [wheedle], &c. See the description of them in S. Bernard. in Cant. Serm. xxxiii., Guicciard. in Suppl.

What, then, must the people be, the guides being such?

¹ Sleid., lib. iv. p. 82, lib. xii. p. 322; Hist. Conc. Trid., p. 24. Vid. Riv. in Castig. Nol., p. 525. Centum gravamina.

² Vid. ipsum Greg. VII., Ep. i. 42, ii. 45.

Were such guides like to edify the people by their doctrine? Were they not like to damnify them by their example?

That thus it has happened experience shows, and history abundantly testifies.¹ This was observed by a pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus. By St Basil [it was also observed, who speaks of their] *ὄψους θυριᾶς* [supercilious pride].

What mischief this, what scandal to religion, what detriment to the church, what ruin of souls it produces, is visible.

The descriptions of Rome and of that church by Mantuan, in a lively manner represent the great degeneracy and corruptions of it.

6. This authority, as it would induce corruption of manners, so it would perpetuate it, and render the state of things incorrigible.

For this head of the church, and the supporters of his authority, will often need reformation, but never will endure it.

That will happen of any pope which the fathers of Basil complained of in Pope Eugenius.² "He could never be brought during all this long time, by any advice or exhortation, seriously to set upon any amendment of errors, or correction of the most gross abuses, in the holy church of God."

If the pope would, as Pope Adrian VI., yet he will not be able to reform, the interests of his dependants crossing it.³

If there has happened a good pope who desired to reform, yet he has been ridiculous when he endeavoured it, and found it impossible to reform even a few particulars in his own house, the incorrigible Roman court.

The nature and pretended foundation of this spiritual authority encourages it with insuperable obstinacy to withstand all reformation; for whereas, if any temporal power grows intolerable, God's providence, by wars and revolutions of state, may dispense a redress, they have prevented this, by supposing that in this case God has tied his own hands, this authority being immovably fixed in the same hands, from which no revolution can take it: whence from its exorbitances there can be no rescue or relief.

7. This authority will spoil him in whom it is seated, corrupting his mind and manners, rendering him a scandal to religion and a pernicious instrument of wickedness, by the influence of his example.⁴

¹ Alv. Pelag. in Riv. Castig. N., cap. viii. Vid. Bern. Convers. S. Paul, Serm. i. p. 87.

² — Nulla unquam monitione, nulla exhortatione induci jam largo tempore potuit, ut aliquam errorum emendationem Christo placentem, aut notissimorum abusuum correctionem in ecclesia sancta Dei efficere satageret.—*Conc. Bas.*, sess. xxiii. p. 76, sess. xxxi. p. 89.

³ Vid. *Conc. Trid.*, p. 22.

⁴ It will certainly render him a tyrant, according to the definition of Aristotle, *Pol.* iv. 10:—"Cui plus licet quam par est, plus vult quam licet." Unde sicut languescens capite, reliquum postea corpus morbus invadat.—*Conc. Bas.*, sess. xxiii. p. 64. "Whence it comes to pass, that if the head be sick, the rest of the body afterward grows diseased." Vid. *Conc. Bas.*, p. 87; *Conc. Const.*, p. 1110.

To this an uncontrollable power, bridled with no restraint, and impunity, naturally tends; and [to this], accordingly, has it been [often brought in practice].

How many notorious reprobates, monsters of wickedness, have been in that see!¹

If we survey the lives of popes, written by historians most indifferent, or (as most have been) partial in favour to them, we shall find at first good ones, martyrs, confessors, saints; but after this exorbitant power had grown, how few good ones! how many extremely bad! The first popes before Constantine were holy men; the next were tolerable, while the papacy kept within bounds of modesty; but when they, having shaken off their master, and renounced allegiance to the emperor (*i. e.*, after Gregory II.), few tolerable; generally they were either rake-hells, or intolerably arrogant, insolent, turbulent, and ravenous.

Bellarmino and Baronius bob off [evade] this, by telling us that hence the providence of God is most apparent.²

But do they call this preserving the church,—the permission of it to continue so long in such a condition, under the prevalence of such mischiefs? When has God deserted any people, if not when such impiety (more than pagan) reigns in it?³

But what, in the meantime, became of those souls which by this means were ruined? what amends for the vast damage which religion sustained, for the introducing so pernicious customs, hardly to be extirpated?

To what a pass of shameless wickedness must things have come, when such men as Alexander VI., having visibly such an impure brood, should be placed in this chair!

Even after the Reformation began to curb their impudence, and render them more wary, yet had they the face to set Paul III. there.

How unfit must such men be to be the guides of all Christendom, to breathe oracles of truth, to enact laws of sanctity!

¹ Vid. Dist. xl. cap. 6 (*hujus culpas, etsi*). Vid. Alv. Pelag., apud Riv. Cath. Orth., p. 141, Baron. Pope Marcellus II. doubted whether a pope could be saved.—*Thuan.*, lib. xv. p. 566. From John VIII. to Leo. IX., what a rabble of rake-hells and sots sat in that chair!—*Machiavel, Hist.*, lib. xvi. p. 1271. *Baron.*, ann. 912, § 8.

² Baron., ann. 897, § 5. It was said of Vespasian, "*Solus imperantium melior*," so apt is power to corrupt men. *Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.*—*Tac. Hist.* i. p. 461.

³ How vain [ridiculous] is that which Pope Gregory VII. cites out of Pope Symmachus:—*B. Petrus perennem meritum dotem cum hereditate innocentie misit ad posteros.*—*Greg. VII., Ep.* viii. 21. "St Peter transmitted to his descendants a perennial dowry of merits, along with the heritage of innocence." It was one of the Dictates of this pope:—*Quod Romanus pontifex, si canonice fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus.* "That the Roman pontiff, if canonically elected, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of blessed Peter."

How improper were those vessels of Satan to be organs of that "holy spirit of discipline, which will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in!"—Wisd. i. 5. [Apocrypha.]

It will engage the pope to make the ecclesiastical authority an engine of advancing the temporal concerns of his own relations, his sons, his nephews.

What, indeed, is the popedom now, but a ladder for a family to mount unto great estate?¹

What is it but introducing an old man into a place, by advantage whereof a family must make hay while the sun shines?²

8. This pretence, upon divers obvious accounts, is apt to create great mischief in the world, to the disturbance of civil societies, and destruction or debilitation of temporal authority, which is certainly God's ordinance, and necessary to the well-being of mankind; so that supposing it, we may in vain "pray for kings, and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty," 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

For suppose the two powers, spiritual and temporal, to be co-ordinate, and independent each of other, then must all Christians be put into that perplexed state of repugnant and incompatible obligations, concerning which our Lord says, "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other," Matt. vi. 24.

They will often draw several ways, and clash in their designs, in their laws, in their decisions; one willing and commanding that which the other dislikes and prohibits.

It will be impossible by any certain bounds to distinguish their jurisdiction, so as to prevent contest between them;³ all temporal matters being in some respect spiritual (as being referrible to spiritual ends, and in some manner allied to religion), and all spiritual things becoming temporal as they conduce to the secular peace and prosperity of states. There is nothing which each of these powers will not hook within the verge of its cognizance and jurisdiction: each will claim a right to meddle in all things; one pretending thereby to further the good of the church, the other to secure the interest of the state. And what end or remedy can there be of the differences hence arising, there being no third power to arbitrate or moderate between them?

¹ Vid. Guicciard. Machiav. Hist. Fl., p. 19; Conc. Bas., p. 65.

² — Cum non ob religionem et Dei cultum, appetere pontificatum nostri sacerdotes videantur, sed ut fratrum, vel nepotum, vel familiarum ingluviem et avaritiam expleant.—*Plat. in Joh. XVI.*, p. 298. "Whereas our priests seem to desire the popedom, not for religion and the worship of God, but that they may fill the ravening appetite and covetousness of their brothers, or nephews, or familiars."

³ Bell. v. 6, p. 1415.

Each will prosecute its cause by its advantages,—the one by instruments of temporal power, the other by spiritual arms of censures and curses.

And in what a case must the poor people then be! how distracted in their consciences, how divided in their affections, how discordant in their practices! according as each pretence has influence upon them, by its different arguments or peculiar advantages.

How can any man satisfy himself in performing or refusing obedience to either? How many, by the intricacy of the point and contrary pulling, will be withdrawn from yielding due compliance on the one hand or the other!

What shall a man do, while one, in case of disobedience to his commands, brandishes a sword, the other thunders out a curse against him? one threatens death, the other excision from the church; both denounce damnation.

What animosities and contentions, what discomposures and confusions, must this constitution of things breed in every place! and how can “a kingdom so divided in itself stand,” or not “come into desolation?” Matt. xii. 25.

Such an advantage infallibly will make popes affect to invade the temporal power.

It was the reason which Pope Paschal alleged against Henry IV., because he did *ecclesiæ regnum auferre*,—[“take the kingdom from the church.”]¹

It is, indeed, impossible that a co-ordination of these powers should subsist; for each will be continually encroaching on the other,—each, for its own defence and support, will continually be struggling and clambering to get above the other. There will never be any quiet till one come to subside and truckle under the other, whereby the sovereignty of the one or the other will be destroyed. Each of them soon will come to claim a supremacy in all causes, and the power of both swords; and one side will carry it.

It is, indeed, necessary that, men for a time continuing possessed with a reverence to the ecclesiastical authority, as independent and uncontrollable, it should at last overthrow the temporal, by reason of its great advantages above it; for—

The spiritual power pretends an establishment purely divine, which cannot by any accidents undergo any change, diminution, or translation, to which temporal dominions are subject. Its power, therefore, being perpetual, irreversible, depending immediately of God, can hardly be checked, can never be conquered.²

¹ P. Pasch. II., Ep. vii.

² Vid. Mach. Hist. Flor., p. 18. Impeti possunt humanis præsumptionibus quæ divino sunt iudicio constituta, vinci autem quorumlibet potestate non possunt.—P. Gel., Ep. viii.; Feliz P., Ep. i., p. 697.

It fights with tongues and pens; which are the most perilous weapons.

It can never be disarmed, fighting with weapons that cannot be taken away or deprived of their edge and vigour.

It works by most powerful considerations upon the consciences and affections of men,—upon pain of damnation, promising heaven and threatening hell, which upon some men have an infinite sway, upon all men a considerable influence; and thereby will be too hard for those who only can grant temporal rewards or inflict temporal punishments. It is surely a notable advantage that the pope has above all princes, that he commands not only as a prince but as a guide; so that whereas we are not otherwise bound to obey the commands of princes than as they appear concordant with God's law, we must observe his commands absolutely, as being therefore lawful, because he commands them,—that involving his assertion of their lawfulness,—to which, without farther inquiry or scruple, we must submit our understanding, his words sufficiently authorizing his commands for just. We are not only obliged to obey his commands, but to embrace his doctrines.

It has continual opportunities of conversing with men, and thereby can insinuate and suggest the obligation to obey it with greatest advantage,—in secrecy, in the tenderest seasons.

It claims a power to have its instruction admitted with assent; and will it not instruct them for its own advantage? All its assertions must be believed; is not this an infinite advantage?

By such advantages the spiritual power, if admitted for such as it pretends, will swallow and devour the temporal; which will be an extreme mischief to the world.

The very pretence immediately crops and curtails the natural right of princes, by exempting great numbers of persons, the participants and dependants of this hierarchy, from subjection to them, by withdrawing causes from their jurisdiction, by commanding in their territories, and drawing people out of them to their judicatories, by having influence on their opinion, by draining them of wealth, &c.¹

To this discourse experience abundantly yields its attestation; for how often have the popes thwarted princes in the exercise of their power, challenging their laws and administrations as prejudicial to religion, as contrary to ecclesiastical liberty!²

¹ Non enim volumus aut propter principum potentiam ecclesiasticam minui dignitatem, aut pro ecclesiastica dignitate principum potentiam mutilari.—*P. Pasch. II., Ep. xxviii., xxix.* "For we will not that either the ecclesiastical dignity should be diminished by reason of the prince's power, or that the prince's power should be curtailed for the ecclesiastical dignity."

² In vain did St Bernard (*De Consid. i.*), cry, *Quid fines alienos invaditis? quid falcem vestram in alienam messam extenditis?* "Why do you invade other men's territories? why thrust you your sickle into other men's harvest?"

Bodin observes, that if any prince were a heretic (that is, if the pope could pick occasion to call him so), or a tyrant (that is, in his opinion), or any wise scandalous, the pope would excommunicate him, and would not receive him to favour but upon his acknowledging himself a feudatory to the pope: so he drew in most kingdoms to depend on him.¹

How often have they excommunicated them, and interdicted their people from entertaining communion with them!

How many commotions, conspiracies, rebellions, and insurrections against princes, have they raised in several countries!²

How have they inveigled people from their allegiance! How many massacres and assassinations have they caused! How have they depressed and vilified the temporal power!

Have they not assumed to themselves superiority over all princes? The emperor himself, the chief of Christian princes, they called their vassal, exacting an oath from him, whereof you have a form in the canon law, and a declaration of Pope Clement V. that it is an oath of fealty.³

Have they not challenged propriety in both swords? *Ecceduo gladii!*

How many princes have they pretended to depose and dispossess of their authority?⁴

Consider the pragmatistical sanctions, provisos, compositions, concordats, &c., which princes have been forced to make against them, or with them, to secure their interest.

Many good princes have been forced to oppose them; as Henry II. of England, King Louis XII. of France, that just prince, *pater patriæ*, [who said] *Perdam Babylonis nomen*.^{5*}

How often have they used this as a pretence of raising and fomenting wars, confiding in their spiritual arms, interdicting princes that would not comply with their designs, for advancing the interests not only of their see, but of their private families?⁶

¹ Bod. l. 9. Vid. Tort. T., p. 216; Greg. VII., Ep. i. 7, cxiii. 13, 63.

² *Arietes furiosos*, "furious rams."—*Bell.* v. 7. Vid. Plat. de Bonif. VIII., p. 467; Jul. 2. Non sine suspitione, quod illorum temporum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potius atque nutrent.—*Episc. Modrus. in Conc. Lat. V.*, sess. vi. p. 72. "Not without suspicion that the popes of those times, who ought to have extinguished wars, and put an end to dissensions, did rather raise them up and cherish them."—See *Greg. VII.*, Ep. iv. 2, viii. 21.

³ Vid. Conc. Lugd., p. 851.

⁴ Auctoritate apostolica de fratrum nostrorum consilio declaramus illa juramenta predicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere.—*Clement.*, lib. ii. tit. 9, cap. unicum. "We declare out of our apostolical authority, by the advice of our brethren, that the foresaid oaths of fealty ought to be, and be so esteemed."

⁵ Thuan., lib. i.

* Incensed at the warlike pontiff Julius II., Louis XII. declared war against him, and ordered a medal to be struck bearing the above inscription, *Perdam Babylonis nomen*,—"I will destroy the name of Babylon."—*Ed.*

⁶ Abutente Christianorum pastore Christianorum principum viribus, ut privatæ ambitioni, et suorum libidini inserviret.—*Thuan.*, lib. i. p. 42. "The pastor of Christians abusing the power of Christian princes, that he might gratify his private ambition, and the will and lust of his friends."

Bodin observes that Pope Nicholas I. was the first who excommunicated princes. Platina mentions some before him: but it is remarkable that although Pope Leo I. (a high-spirited pope, *fortissimus Leo*, as Liberatus calls him) was highly provoked against Theodosius junior; Pope Gelasius, and divers of his predecessors and followers;* Pope Gregory II. against Leo; Vigilius against Justinian, &c.,—yet none of them presumed to excommunicate the emperors.

All these dealings are the natural result of this pretence, and, supposing it well grounded, are capable of a plausible justification; for is it not fit, seeing one must yield, that temporal should yield to spiritual?

Indeed, granting the papal supremacy in spirituals, I conceive the high-flying zealots of the Roman church, who subject all temporal powers to them, have great reason on their side; for co-ordinate power cannot subsist, and it would be only an eternal seminary of perpetual discords.

The quarrel cannot otherwise be well composed than by wholly disclaiming the fictitious and usurped power of the pope; for—

Two such powers, so inconsistent and cross to each other, so apt to interfere, and consequently to breed everlasting mischiefs to mankind between them, could not be instituted by God.

He would not appoint two different vicegerents in his kingdom at the same time.¹

But it is plain that he has instituted the civil power, and endowed it with a sword,—that princes are his lieutenants:²

That in the ancient times the popes did not claim such authority, but avowed themselves subject to princes.

9. Consequently this pretence is apt to engage Christian princes against Christianity; for they will not endure to be crossed, to be depressed, to be trampled on.³

This popes often have complained of, not considering it was their own insolence that caused it.

10. Whereas now Christendom is split into many parcels, subject to divers civil sovereignties, it is expedient that, correspondently, there should be distinct ecclesiastical governments, independent of each other, which may comply with the respective civil authorities in promoting the good and peace both of church and state.⁴

* The sentence is elliptical; but the meaning may be, that Pope Gelasius I., as well as others, though provoked against the emperors, never excommunicated them. Gelasius held the complete independence of the temporal and spiritual powers. *Bower's Hist. of the Popes*, ii. 226.—Ed.

¹ Tort. T. [Tortura Tortoris], p. 210.

² P. Anast. calls the Emperor Anast. *Vicarium*.—*Ep.* p. 670. [That is, Pope Anastasius (II.) calls the Emperor Anastasius, *Vicar* (or God's vicegerent.) He addressed this letter, "Bishop Anastasius, to my most glorious and most clement son, Anastasius Augustus."—Ed.]

³ *Eccl. Leod.*, p. 522.

⁴ *Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum; unde etiam ecclesiasticarum parochiarum fines in plerisque provinciis mutari expedit et transferri.*—*P. Pasch. II., Ep. xix.*

It is fit that every prince should in all things govern all his subjects, and none should be exempted from subordination to his authority: as philosophers and physicians of the body, so priests and physicians of the soul;* not in exercising their function, but in taking care that they exercise it duly, for the honour of God, and in consistence with public good, otherwise many grievous inconveniences must ensue.

It is of perilous consequence, that foreigners should have authoritative influence upon the subjects of any prince, or have power to intermeddle in affairs.

Princes have a natural right to determine with whom their subjects shall have intercourse; which is inconsistent with a right of foreigners to govern or judge them in any case without their leave.

Every prince is obliged to employ the power intrusted to him to the furtherance of God's service and encouragement of all good works, as a supreme power, without being liable to obstruction from any other power.

It would irritate† his power if another should be beyond his coercion.

It is observable that the pope, by intermeddling in the affairs of kingdoms, did so wind himself into them as to get a pretence to be master of each, princes being his vassals and feudatories.¹

11. Such an authority is needless and useless, it not serving the ends which it pretends, and they being better compassed without it.

It pretends to maintain truth; but, indeed, it is more apt to oppress it.

Truth is rather, as St Cyprian wisely observes, preserved by the multitude of bishops, whereof some will be ready to relieve it when assaulted by others.

Truth cannot be supported merely by human authority; especially that authority is to be suspected which pretends dominion over our minds. What controversy, being doubtful in itself, will not after his decision continue doubtful? His sentence may be eluded by interpretation, as well as other testimonies or authorities.

* That is, priests, who are the physicians of the soul, should not be exempted from the jurisdiction of the prince, any more than philosophers or physicians of the body.—Ed.

† Irritate,—that is, render null and void; an obsolete use of the word, derived from the Latin, *irritum reddere*.—Ed.

¹ Vid. Bod. de Rep. i. 9, p. 195. Car les princes Chrétiens avoient presque tous opinion, que le pape étoit absolument seigneur souverain de tous les royaumes de la Chrétienté. ["For Christian princes had almost all the opinion, that the pope was then absolutely sovereign lord of all the kingdoms of Christendom."]—Bod., *ibid.* p. 196. *Tort. Tort.*, p. 216, &c.; *Greg. VII.*, Ep. i., vii., ii., xiii.; *Alex. II.*, Ep. viii. 'Ἡ τοσαύτη διαφωνία καὶ μάχη τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεσθαι, ἵνα τοῦ τῆς μὲν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν I. X. διδασκαλίας ἀφισταμένοι, λογισμοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἔργα ἰδίους ἐκδικεῖντες ἐξ αὐθεντίας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχιν ἂν ἱκανῶς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἢ ἄρχισθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου βουλευμένοι.—*Bas. de Jud. Dei.* tom. ii. p. 259. "So great a dissonance and jarring there is among men in the church, while every one swerves from the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and asserts certain conceits and rules of his own by his own authority, and had rather rule contrary to the Lord than be ruled by the Lord."

The opinion of a man's great wisdom or skill may be the ground of assent, in defect of other more cogent arguments; but authority of name or dignity is not proper to convince a man's understanding. Men obey but do not believe princes more than others, if not more learned than others.

It pretends to maintain order; but how? By introducing slavery, by destroying all rights, by multiplying disorders, by hindering order to be quietly administered in each country.

It pretends to be the only means of unity and concord in opinion, by determining controversies; which its advocates affirm necessary.¹

But how can that be necessary which never was *de facto*, not even in the Roman church?

Has the pope effected this? Do all his followers agree in all points? Do they agree about his authority? Do not they differ and dispute about infinity of questions? Are all the points frivolous about which their divines and schoolmen dispute? Why did not the council of Trent itself, without more ado, and keeping such a disputing, refer all to his oracular decision?

Necessary points may and will, by all honest people, be known and determined without him, by the clear testimony of Scripture, by consent of fathers, by general tradition;² and other points need not to be determined.

That he may be capable of that office, he must be believed appointed by God thereto; which is a question itself to be decided without him, to satisfaction. His power is apt no otherwise to knock down controversies than by depressing truth,—not suffering any truth to be asserted which does not favour its interests.

Concord was maintained and controversies decided without them [him] in the ancient church; in synods, wherein he was not the sole judge, nor had observable influence.

The fathers did not think such authority needful, otherwise they would have made more use of it.

A more ready way to define controversies, is for every one not to prescribe to others³ or to persecute; for then men would more calmly see the truth, and consent.

It pretends to maintain peace and unity; but nothing has raised more fierce dissensions or so many bloody wars in Christendom as it.

It is apt, by tyrannical administration, to become intolerable, and so to break the ecclesiastical state,—to raise schisms and troubles.

It is like to extinguish genuine charity, which is free and uncom-pelled.

¹ *Necesse est ut omnes fideles idem sentiant.*—*Bell.* i. 9. "It is necessary that all the faithful should be of the same opinion."

² *ἡνωμένη ἡ οὐσία γράφει.*—*Ath.*

³ *Nemini præscribentes.*

- All the peace and charity which it endures is by force and compulsion, not out of choice and good affection.

V. The ancients asserted to each bishop a free, absolute, independent authority, subject to none, directed by none, accountable to none on earth, in the administration of affairs properly concerning his particular church.

This is most evident in St Cyprian's writings, out of which it will not be amiss to set down some passages manifesting the sense and practice of the church in his time, to the satisfaction of any ingenuous mind:—

"The bond of concord abiding, and the solemn oath* of the catholic church continuing indivisible, every bishop disposes and directs his own acts, having to render an account of his purpose to the Lord."¹ This he writes when he was pleading the cause of Pope Cornelius against Novatian, but then, it seems, not dreaming of his supremacy over others.

"But we know that some will not lay down what once they have imbibed, nor will easily change their mind, but, the bond of peace and concord with their colleagues being preserved, will retain some peculiar things, which have once been used by them; in which matter neither do we force any nor lay down any law; seeing every prelate has, in the administration of his church, the free power of his will, having to render unto the Lord an account of his acting."² This he says writing to Pope Stephanus, and in a friendly manner, "out of common respect and single love"³ (not out of servile obeisance), acquainting him what he and his brethren in a synod, "by common consent and authority,"⁴ had established concerning the degradation of clergymen who had been ordained by heretics or had lapsed into schism.

"For seeing it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise equal and just, that each man's cause should be there heard where the crime is committed, and to each pastor a portion of the flock is assigned,

* By *individuo sacramento* Cyprian intends, we think, not "the sacrament or doctrine undivided," as rendered in the other editions, but the *oath* taken by bishops; which he holds to be indivisible, or incapable of being shared in point of responsibility with another.—Ed.

¹ Manente concordie vinculo, et perseverante catholice ecclesie individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.—*Cypr., Ep. lii., ad Antonianum.*

² Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter collegas, pacis et concordie vinculo quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere; qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus; cum habeat in ecclesie administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque prepositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxii., ad Stephanum.*

³ Hæc ad conscientiam tuam, frater charissime, et pro honore communi et pro simplici dilectione pertulimus, &c.

⁴ Consensu et auctoritate communi.

which each should rule and govern, being to render an account to his Lord, those, indeed, over whom we preside ought not to ramble about."¹ This says he in his epistle to Pope Cornelius, upon occasion of some factious clergymen addressing themselves to him with factious suggestions, to gain his countenance.

"These things," says St Cyprian, "I have briefly written, according to our meanness, dear brother; prescribing to none, and by no means predetermining that every bishop should not do what he thinks good, he having the free power of his will."²

"In which matter our moderation and modesty do not dictate to any one, nor say that every one may not judge as he thinks, and act as he judges;"³ "prescribing to none, in the way of deciding that every bishop may not resolve what he thinks good, he being to render an account to the Lord,"⁴ &c.

"It remains," says the same, "that each of us utter his opinion about this matter, judging no man, nor removing any man, if he dissent, from the right of communion: for neither does any of us constitute himself bishop of bishops, nor, by tyrannical terror, drive his colleagues to a necessity of obeying; as every bishop has, upon account of his liberty and authority, his own free choice, and is no less exempted from being judged by another than he is incapable to judge another. But let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, and who alone, has power both to prefer us to the government of his church and to judge of our acting."⁵ These words St Cyprian spoke as prolocutor of the great synod of bishops at Carthage; and what words could be more express or more full in assertion of the episcopal liberties and rights, against almost every branch of Romish pretences?

He disavows the practice of one bishop excluding another from

¹ Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus præsumus, non circumcursare, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lv., ad Cornelium.*

² Hæc tibi breviter pro nostra mediocritate rescripsimus, frater charissime; nemini præscribentes, aut præjudicantes, quo minus unusquisque episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxiii., ad Jubaianum.*

³ Qua in parte nemini verecundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque quod putat sentiat, et quod senserit faciat.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxvi., ad Magnum.*

⁴ Nemini præscribentes, quo minus statuatur quod putat unusquisque præpositus, actus sui rationem Domino redditurus; secundum quod apostolus, &c.—*Ibid.*

⁵ Superest ut de hac re singuli quid sentiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes; neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domino nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione et de actu nostro judicandi.—*Cypr. in præf. Conc. Carthag.*

communion for dissent in opinion about disputable points; he rejects the pretence that any man can have to be a bishop of bishops, or superior to all his brethren; he condemns the imposing opinions upon bishops, and constraining them to obedience; he disclaims any power in one bishop to judge another; he asserts to each bishop a full liberty and power to manage his own concerns according to his discretion; he affirms every bishop to receive his power only from Christ, and to be liable only to his judgment.

We may observe that St Augustine, in his reflections upon the passages in that synod,¹ approves, yea, admires that preface, passing high commendations on the smartest passages of it which assert common liberty, professing his own conformity in practice to them. "In this consultation," says he, "is shown a pacific soul, overflowing with charity;" and, "We have, therefore, a free choice of inquiry granted to us by that most mild and most truthful speech of Cyprian himself;"² and, "Now the proud and tumid minds of heretics dare to extol themselves against the holy humility of this speech"—"than which what can be more gentle, more humble?"³

Would St Augustine have swallowed these sayings, could he have so much applauded them, if he had known a just power then extant and radiant in the world, which they impeach and subvert? No, I trow. He did not know nor so much as dream of any such, although the pope was under his nose while he was discussing that point; and he could hardly talk so much of St Cyprian without thinking of Pope Stephen.

However, let any man of sense honestly read and weigh those passages, considering who wrote them, to whom he wrote them, upon what occasions he wrote them, when he wrote them; that he was a great primate of the church, a most holy, most prudent, most humble and meek person; that he addressed divers of them to bishops of Rome; that many of them were touching the concerns of popes; that he wrote them in times of persecution and distress, which produce the most sober and serious thoughts;—then let him, if he can, conceive that all Christian bishops were then held subject to the pope, or owned such a power due to him as he now claims.

We may add a contemporary testimony of the Roman clergy, addressing to St Cyprian these words: "Although a mind conscious of integrity, supported by the vigour of evangelical discipline, and having in heavenly doctrines become a true self-witness, is

¹ Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat., lib. ii. 3, &c.

² Habemus ergo quærendi liberum arbitrium ipsius Cypriani nobis mitissimo et veracissimo sermone concessum.—*Lib.* iii. cap. 3.

³ Nunc si se audent superbæ et tumidæ cervicæ hæreticorum adversus sanctam humilitatem hujus sententiæ extollant.—*Lib.* ii. cap. 3. Quid mansuetius, quid humilior?—*Lib.* iii. cap. 3.

wont to be content with God for its only judge, and not to desire the praises nor to dread the accusations of another, yet they are worthy of double praise who, when they know they owe their consciences to God only as judge, yet desire also their actions to be approved by their brethren themselves. This it is no wonder that you, brother Cyprian, should do, who, according to your modesty and native thoughtfulness, would have us not so much judges as partakers of your counsels,"¹ &c. Then it seems the college of cardinals, not so high in the instep as they are now, took St Cyprian to be free, and not accountable for his actions to any other judge but God.

That this notion of liberty continued a good time after in the church, we may see by that canon of the Antiochene synod, "ordaining that every bishop have power of his own bishopric, govern it according to the best of his care and discretion, and provide for all the country belonging to his city, so as to ordain priests and deacons, and dispose things aright."²

The monks of Constantinople, in the synod of Chalcedon, said thus: "We are sons of the church and have one father, after God, our archbishop."³ They forgot their sovereign father the pope.

The like notion may seem to have been then in England, when the church of Canterbury was called "The common mother of all, under the disposition of its spouse, Jesus Christ."⁴

VI. The ancients held all bishops, as to their office, originally, according to divine institution, or abstracting from human sanctions framed to preserve order and peace, to be equal:⁵ for that all are successors of the apostles,—all derive their commission and power in the same tenor from God,—all of them are "ambassadors, stewards, vicars of Christ," intrusted with the same divine ministries of instructing, dispensing the sacraments, ruling and exercising discipline; to which functions and privileges the least bishop has right, and to greater the biggest cannot pretend.

¹ *Quonquam bene sibi conscius animus, et evangelicæ disciplinæ vigore subnixus, et verus sibi in decretis cœlestibus testis effectus, soleat solo Deo judice esse contentus, nec alterius aut laudes petere, aut accusationes pertimescere; tamen geminata sunt laude condigni, qui cum conscientiam sciant Deo soli debere se judici, actus tamen suos desiderant etiam ab ipsis suis fratribus comprobari. Quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum est, qui pro tua verecundia, et ingenita industria consiliorum tuorum nos non tam judices voluisti, quam participes inveniri, &c.—Cler. Rom. ad Cyprr., Ep. xxxi.*

² *Ἐκαστος γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος ἐξουσίαν ἔχει τῆς αὐτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἐπιτάλῃσαν ὑπακούων, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ποιῆσαι πάσης τῆς χάριτος τῆς ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου πόλιν, ὡς καὶ χριστοῦ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ πλείους ἱερεῖς διαλαμπρόντων.—Syn. Ant., Can. ix.*

³ *Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ εἶνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱσμεν, καὶ ἵνα πατέρα μετὰ τὸν Θεόν, τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἔχομεν.—Syn. Chalc., Act. i. p. 114.*

⁴ *Omnium nostrum mater communis, sub sponsi sui Jesu Christi dispositione.—Ger. vas. Dorob. p. 1668, apud Twissd., p. 72.*

⁵ *Vid. Ep. P. Celest. I., in Conc. Eph. Act. ii. p. 324.*

One bishop might exceed another in splendour, in wealth, in reputation, in extent of jurisdiction, as one king may surpass another in amplitude of territory; but as all kings, so all bishops are equal in office and essentials of power, derived from God. Hence they applied to them that in the psalm: "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth."¹

This was St Jerome's doctrine, in these famous words: "Wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thania, he is of the same worth and of the same priesthood. The force of wealth or lowness of poverty does not render a bishop higher or lower; for all of them are successors of the apostles."² To evade which plain assertion they have forged distinctions whereof St Jerome surely never thought, he speaking simply concerning bishops as they stood by divine institution, not according to human models, which gave some advantages over others.

That this notion continued long in the church, we may see by the eulogies of bishops in later synods; for instance, that in the synod of Compeigne: "It is proper that all Christians should know what kind of office is that of bishops; who, it is plain, are the vicars of Christ, and keep the keys of the kingdom of heaven."³

And that of the synod of Melun: "Unworthy as we are, yet all of us are the vicars of Christ, and successors of his apostles."⁴

In contemplation of which verity, St Gregory Nazianzen, observing the declension from it introduced in his times by the ambition of some prelates, vented that famous exclamation, "O that there were no presidency at all, nor any preference in place, and tyrannical prerogatives!"⁵ which earnest wish he surely did not mean to level against the ordinance of God, but against that which lately began to be intruded by men. And what would the good man have wished, if he had been aware of those pretences about which we discourse, which then only began to bud and peep up in the world?

1. Common practice is a good interpreter of common sentiments in any case; and it therefore shows that in the primitive church the pope was not deemed to have a right of universal sovereignty: for if such a thing had been instituted by God, or established by the apostles, the pope certainly, with evident clearness, would have ap-

¹ Baron. an. 57, § 30, Ps. xlv. 16.

² Ubique fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c.—*Hieron. ad Evagr., Ep. lxxxv.*

³ Omnibus in Christiana religione constitutis scire convenit quale sit ministerium episcoporum, quos constat esse vicarios Christi, et clavigeros regni cœlorum, &c.—*Syn. Compend. ann. Dom. 833, apud Bin., tom. vi. p. 361.*

⁴ Nos omnes licet indigni Christi tamen vicarii, et apostolorum ipsius successores.—*Syn. Meldens. ann. Dom. 845, apud Bin. tom. vi. p. 402.*

⁵ 'Οτι ὀφίλιν γὰρ μὴδὲ ἂν προεδρία, μὴδὲ τις τῶσπευ προτίμιας, καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία, &c.—*Greg. Naz., Orat. xxviii.*

peared to have possessed it, and would have sometimes, I might say frequently, yea continually, have exercised it in the first ages; which that he did not at all we shall make, I hope, very manifest, by reflecting on the chief passages occurring then, whereof, indeed, there is scarce any one which, duly weighed, does not serve to overthrow the Roman pretence. But that matter I reserve to another place, and shall propound other considerations, declaring the sense of the fathers; only I shall add, that indeed,—

2. The state of the most primitive church did not well admit such an universal sovereignty; for that consisted of small bodies incoherently situated, and scattered about in very distant places, and consequently unfit to be modelled into one political society, or to be governed by one head, especially considering their condition, under persecution and poverty. What convenient resort for direction or justice could a few distressed Christians in Egypt, Ethiopia, Parthia, India, Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, and other parts have to Rome? What trouble, what burden had it been, to seek instruction, succour, decision of cases thence! Had they been obliged or required to do so, what offences, what clamours would it have raised, seeing that afterward, when Christendom was connected and compacted together, when the state of Christians was flourishing and prosperous, when passages were open, and the best of opportunities of correspondence were afforded, yet the setting out of these pretences caused great oppositions and stirs; seeing the exercise of this authority, when it had obtained most vigour, produced so many grievances, so many complaints, so many courses to check and curb it, in countries feeling the inconveniences and mischiefs springing from it!

The want of the like in the first ages is a good argument that the cause of them had not yet sprung up. Christendom could not have been so still [quiet] if there had been then so meddlesome a body in it as the pope now is.

The Roman clergy, in their epistle to St Cyprian, told him that, “because of the difficulty of things and times, they could not constitute a bishop who might moderate things”¹ immediately belonging to them, in their own precincts. How much more, in that state of things, would a bishop there be fit [unfit] to moderate things over all the world, when, as Rigaltius truly notes, “the church being then oppressed with various vexations, the communication of provinces between themselves was difficult and infrequent!”²

¹ Nobis, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est episcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultatem constitutus, qui omnia ista moderatur, &c.—*Cl. Rom. ad Cypr., Ep. xxxi.*

² Variis tunc ecclesia vexationibus oppressa, difficilis et infrequens erat provinciarum inter sese communicatio.—*Rigalt. in Cypr., Ep. lxvii.*

Wherefore, Bellarmine himself confesses that in those times, before the Nicene synod, "the authority of the pope was not a little hindered; so that, because of continual persecutions, he could not freely exercise it."¹

The church, therefore, could so long subsist without the use of such authority, by the vigilance of governors over their flocks, and the friendly correspondence of neighbour churches; and, if he would let it alone, it might do so still.

That could be no divine institution which had no vigour in the first and best times, but an innovation raised by ambition.

VII. The ancients, when occasion required, maintained their equality of office and authority, particularly in respect to the Roman bishops; not only interpretatively by practice, but directly and formally, in express terms, asserting it.

Thus, when Felicissimus and his complices, being rejected by St Cyprian, applied themselves to Pope Cornelius for his communion and countenance, St Cyprian affirmed that to be an irregular and unjust course, subjoining, "Only to a few desperate and wicked persons, the authority of the bishops constituted in Africa, who have already judged of them, seems less;"²—that is, inferior to any other authority, particularly to that of Rome, unto which they had recourse. What other meaning could he have? Does not his argument require this meaning?

Another instance is that of the fathers of the Antiochene synod,³ being ninety-seven bishops; which St Hilary calls "a synod of saints assembled;"⁴ the decrees whereof the catholic church admitted into its code, and the canons whereof popes have called "venerable."⁵ These, in their epistle to Pope Julius, complaining of his demeanour in the case of Athanasius, flatly asserted to themselves an equality with him. "They did not," as Sozomen recites out of their epistle, "think it equal that they should be deemed inferiors, because they had not so large and numerous a church."⁶

That pope himself testifies the same in his epistle to them, extant in the second Apology of Athanasius. "If," says he, "ye truly conceive the honour of bishops to be equal and the same; and ye do not, as ye write, judge of bishops according to the magnitude of

¹ Verum enim est impeditam fuisse eo tempore non parum pontificis auctoritatem . . . propter persecutiones continuas non potuisse Romanos pontifices libere exercere eam, quam a Christo acceperant auctoritatem, &c.—*Bell. de R. P.* ii. 17.

² Nisi si paucis desperatis et perditis minor esse videtur auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt, &c.

³ Fides quam exposuerunt qui affuerunt episcopi 97, &c.—*Hilar. de Synodiis.*, p. 367.

⁴ Congregatam sanctorum synodum.—*Hilar.*, *ibid.*

⁵ Venerabiles Antiocheni canones.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. ix.* p. 519.

⁶ Οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο τὰ διευτερεῖα φέρει ἡξίου, ὅτι μὴ μεγάλῳ, ἢ πλάθῳ ἰσχυρίας πλεονεκτηῖται.—*Soz.* iii. 8.

cities;”¹—which assertion of theirs, so flatly thwarting papal supremacy, he does not at all confute, yea, not so much as contradict, and therefore reasonably may be interpreted to yield consent thereto, (the rule, *Qui tacet consentiri videtur*, “He that holds his peace seems to consent,” never holding better than in this case,) when his copyhold was so nearly touched; indeed, he had been very blamable to waive such an occasion of defending so important a truth, or in letting so pestilent an error pass without correction or reproof.

After the pope had climbed higher than at that time, upon the ladders of dissension and disorder in the church, yet he was reproved by Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, for preferring himself before his brethren; as we may collect from these words of a zealous pope, “We desire not to be placed above others, as you say, so much as to have fellowship holy and well-pleasing to God with all the faithful.”²

That Pope Gregory I. did not hold himself superior to other bishops, many sayings of his infer; for in this he places the fault of the bishop of Constantinople, which he so often and so severely reprehends, that he “preferred himself before, and extolled himself above, other bishops.”³

And would he directly assume that to himself which he charges on another, although only following his position by consequence?

And when Eulogius, the bishop of Alexandria, had complimentally said, *Sicut jussistis*, “As thou hast commanded,” he thus expresses his resentment, “That word *command*, I beseech you, let me not hear it again; because I know who I am, and who you are. By place ye are my brethren; in goodness, fathers. I did not, therefore, command; but what seemed profitable I suggested to you.”⁴

That many such instances may not be alleged out of antiquity, the reason is because the ancient popes did not understand this power to belong to them, and therefore gave no occasion for bishops to maintain their honour; or were more just, prudent, and modest, than to take so much upon them, as their successors did, upon frivolous pretences.

¹ Εἰ δὲν ἀληθὲς ἴσῃ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγῶνι τιμὴν τῶν ιερέων, καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῦ μεγάλου τῶν πόλεων, ὡς γράφεται, κρίναι τοὺς ιερέους.—*P. Jul. I.*, apud *Athan. in Apol. ii.* p. 744.

² Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (sicut prædicas) quam cum fidelibus cunctis sanctum et Deo placitum habere consortium.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. i., ad Euphemium.*

³ — In elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.—*P. Greg. I., Ep. vi.* 30. Super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit.—*Id.* Christi sibi student membra judicare.—*Id.*, *Ep. iv.* 36. Solus omnibus præesse.—*Id.*, *Ep. iv.* 38. — quibus (episcopis) cupis temetipsum vocabulo elationis præponere.—*Id.*, *ibid.*

⁴ Quod verbum jussionis peto a meo auditu removeri. Quia scio quis sum, qui estis. Loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres. Non ergo jussi, sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi, &c.—*Greg. I., Ep. vii.* 30, *ad Eulog. Alex.*

VIII. The style used by the primitive bishops in their applications to the Roman bishop signifies that they did not apprehend him their sovereign, but their equal.

"Brother," "colleague," "fellow-bishop," are the terms which St Cyprian uses in speaking about the Roman bishops, his contemporaries, Fabianus, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephanus, and in his epistles to the three last of them;¹ nor does he ever use any other, importing higher respect due to them, as indeed his practice demonstrates he did not apprehend any other due, or that he took them for his superiors in office. "Know now, brother," was the compellation of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, to Pope Stephanus.² The synod of Antioch, which rejected Paulus Samosatenus, inscribes its epistle to "Dionysius" (then bishop of Rome) "and Maximus, and all our fellow-ministers through the world."³

The old synod of Arles directs their epistle "to Seignior Sylvester, their brother." Athanasius says, "These things may suffice, which have been written by our beloved and fellow-minister, Damasus, bishop of great Rome."⁴ Marcellus inscribed to Pope Julius, to his "Most blessed fellow-minister."⁵ So Cyril spoke of Pope Celestine I., "Our brother and fellow-minister, the bishop of Rome."⁶ So St Basil and his fellow-bishops of the east inscribed their epistle, "To the beloved of God, and our most holy brethren and fellow-ministers, the unanimous bishops through Italy and France."⁷ In this style the fathers of Sardica salute Pope Julius; those of Constantinople, Pope Damasus; those of Ephesus, Pope Celestine I.,⁸ "Our brother and fellow-minister, Celestine;"⁹ those of Carthage, Pope Celestine I., in the very same terms wherein St Augustine salutes Maximinus, a Donatist bishop, "Seignior, my beloved and most honoured brother."¹⁰ The oriental bishops, Eustathius, Theophilus, and Silvanus, inscribed their remonstrance to Pope Liberius, "To seignior, our brother and fellow-minister, Liberius."¹¹ So John of Antioch to Nestorius writes, "To

¹ Cyprr., Ep. 4, 41, 58, 67, 68, 45, 49, &c.

² "Ἰεὺ νῦν ἀδελφί, &c.—Euseb. vii. 5.

³ Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν.—Euseb. vii. 80.

⁴ Ἰκανὰ μὲν τὰ γραφέντα παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαπῶντος καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ Δαμάσου.—Athan., Ep. ad Afr., p. 931.

⁵ Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ συλλειτουργῷ ἡμῶν Ἰουλίῳ.—Marcell. ad P. Jul., Epiph. Hær. lxxii.

⁶ Ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ ἡμῶν τοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτου, &c.—Cyril. ad Nest. in Syn. Eph., p. 207.

⁷ Τοῖς φιλοτιμωμένοις καὶ ἐσιωπῶν ἀδελφοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Γαλιαν ἡμετέρους πρεσβύτους.—Bas., Ep. lxi. x.; Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 761, 756.

⁸ Theod. v. 9.

⁹ Τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ ἡμῶν Κελιστίνῳ.—Syn. Eph., p. 217. Domino dilectissimo et honoratissimo fratri, &c.—Conc. Afr.

¹⁰ Domino dilectissimo et honorabili fratri Maximino.—Aug., Ep. cciii.

¹¹ Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ συλλειτουργῷ Ἀβερῳ Εὐστάθιῳ, Θεοφίλῳ, Σιλβανῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρουσιν, &c.—Socr. iv. 12.

my master.”¹ The synod of Illyricum call Elpidius, “Our seignior and fellow-minister.”²

In which instances, and some others of later date, we may observe that the word *κύριος*, or “dominus,” was then, as it is now, barely a term of civility, being then usually given to any person of quality, or to whom they would express common respect; so that St Chrysostom in his epistles commonly gives it, not only to meaner bishops, but even to priests: “My most honoured master.”³ “Now, therefore, having with me my most honoured seignior and most reverend presbyter,”⁴ &c. “My most honoured master, Asyncritus the presbyter.”⁵ And St Augustine thus salutes even Donatist bishops, reflecting thereon thus: “Since, therefore, by charity I serve you in this office of writing letters to you, I do not improperly call you master, for the sake of our one true Master, who enjoined on us these duties.”⁶

Pope Celestine himself saluted the Ephesine fathers, *κύριοι, ἀδελφοί*, “masters, brethren.”⁷ Even in the sixth council, Thomas, bishop of Constantinople, inscribed according to the old style to Pope Vitalianus, his “brother and fellow-minister.”⁸

The French bishops had good reason to expostulate with Pope Nicholas I., “You may know that we are not, as you boast and brag, your clerks; whom, if pride would suffer, you ought to acknowledge for your brethren and fellow-bishops.”⁹

Such are the terms and titles which primitive integrity, when it meant to speak most kindly and respectfully, allowed to the pope, being the same which all bishops gave to one another (as may be seen in all solemn addresses and reports concerning them); which is an argument sufficiently plain that bishops in those times did not take themselves to be the pope’s subjects, or his inferiors in office, but his fellows and mates, co-ordinate in rank.

Were not these improper terms for an ordinary gentleman or nobleman to accost his prince in? yet hardly is there such a distance between any prince and his peers as there is between a modern pope and other bishops.

It would now be taken for a great arrogance and sauciness, for an underling bishop to address to the pope in such language, or to speak

¹ Τῷ δισπότη μου.—*Conc. Eph. ccii.*

² Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργόν.—*Theod. iv. 9.*

³ Δισπότη μου τιμῶμαι.—*Chrys., Ep. xxvi.*

⁴ Νῦν γὰρ ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ κυρίου μου τιμιωτάτου καὶ ὑλαβιστάτου πρεσβυτέρου.—*Id., ibid.*

⁵ Δισπότη μου τιμιωτάτου Ἀσύκριτον τὸν πρεσβύτερον.—*Ep. 68, 71, 75, 77, 84, 91, &c.*

⁶ Cum ergo vel hoc ipso officio literarum per charitatem tibi serviam, non absurde te dominum voco, propter unum et verum Dominum nostrum qui nobis ista præcepit.—*Aug., Ep. ciii.*

⁷ P. Celest. I. Ep. ad Syn. Eph., Act. ii. p. 324.

⁸ Conc. vi., Act. xiii. p. 224.

⁹ Scias nos non tuos esse, ut te jactas et extollis, clericos, quos ut fratres et coepiscopos recognoscere, si elatio permetteret, debueras.—*An. Franc. Pùh., an. 858.*

of him in that manner; which is a sign that the world is altered in its notion of him, and that he bears a higher conceit of himself than his primitive ancestors did. Now nothing but *Beatissimus Pater*, "Most blessed Father," and *Dominus noster Papa*, "Our Lord the Pope," in the highest sense, will satisfy him.

Now a pope in a general synod, in a solemn oration, could be told to his face that "the most holy senate" of cardinals had chosen "a brother into a father, a colleague into a lord."¹ Verily so it is now, but not so anciently.

In the same ancient times the style of the Roman bishops writing to other bishops was the same, he calling them "brethren and fellow-ministers."

So Cornelius wrote to Fabius of Antioch, "Beloved brother."² So he called all other bishops: "Be it known to all our fellow-bishops and brethren."³ So Julius to the oriental bishops, "To our beloved brethren."⁴ So Liberius to the Macedonian bishops, "To our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers;"⁵ and to the oriental bishops, "To our brethren and fellow-bishops."⁶ So Damasus to the bishops of Illyricum.⁷ So Leo himself frequently in his epistles. So Pope Celestine calls John of Antioch, "Most honoured brother;"⁸ to Cyril, and to Nestorius himself, "Beloved brother;"⁹ to the fathers of Ephesus, "Seigniors, brethren."¹⁰ Pope Gelasius to the bishops of Dardania, "Your brotherhood." St Gregory to Cyriacus, "Our brother and fellow-priest, Cyriacus."¹¹

If it be said the popes wrote so then out of condescension, or humility and modesty, it may be replied, that if really there was such a difference as is now pretended, it may seem rather affectation, and indecency or mockery; for it would have more become the pope to maintain the majesty and authority of his place by appellations apt to cherish their reverence, than to colloque with them in terms void of reality, or signifying that equality which he did not mean.

But Bellarmine has found out one instance, which he makes much

¹ Vere divina providentia factum censendum est, quod te sacerrimus iste senatus, . . . fratrem, et ita dixerim filium in patrem, collegam in dominum—elegerint, assumpserint, adoraverint.—*Bak. Dekio. in Conc. Later. ad Leonem X., sess. viii. p. 85.*

² Ἀδελφὶ ἀγαπῶντι.—*Euseb. vi. 43.*

³ Omnibus coepiscopis nostris et fratribus innotescat.—*P. Corn., apud Cyr. Ep. xlviii.*

⁴ Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.—*Athan. p. 739.*

⁵ Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς.—*Socr. iv. 12.*

⁶ Fratribus et coepiscopis.—*Hil. Frag., p. 450.*

⁷ *Soc. vi. 28.*

⁸ Τιμώμεναι ἀδελφί.—*Conc. Eph., p. 196.*

⁹ Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ.—*P. 179, 183.*

¹⁰ Κύριοι, ἀδελφοί.—*Act. ii. p. 324.*

¹¹ Fraternalitas vestra.—*P. Gelas., Ep. xii.; Greg., Ep. vi. 24. Fratris et consacerdotis nostri Cyriaci, &c.*

of, of Pope Damasus, who writing, not, as he alleges, to the fathers of Constantinople, but to certain eastern bishops, calls them "Most honoured sons."¹ That whole epistle I fear to be [has been] foisted into Theodoret, for it comes in abruptly, and does not much become such a man: and if it be supposed genuine, I should suspect some corruption in the place; for why, if he wrote to bishops, should he use a style so unsuitable to those times, and so different from that of his predecessors and successors? Why should there be such a disparity between his own style now and at other times; for, writing to the bishops of Illyricum, he calls them "Beloved brethren."² Why, then, is he so inconsistent and partial as to yield these oriental bishops less respect? Wherefore, perhaps *υιοι* [sons] was thrust in for *ἀδελφοί* [brethren]; or perhaps the word *ἐπισκόποις* was intruded, and he wrote to laymen, "those who governed the east,"³ who well might be called "most honoured sons;"—otherwise the epithet does not seem well to suit. But a single example of arrogance or stateliness (or of what shall I call it?) is not to be set against so many modest and mannerly ones.

In fine; that this salutation does not always imply superiority, we may be assured by that inscription of Alexander bishop of Thessalonica, to Athanasius of Alexandria, "To my beloved son and like-minded yoke-fellow, Athanasius."⁴

IX. The ground of that eminence which the Roman bishop obtained in the church, so as in order to precede other bishops, shakes this pretence.

The church of Rome was, indeed, allowed to be "the principal church," as St Cyprian calls it;⁵ but why? Was it preferred by divine institution? No, surely; Christianity did not make laws of that nature, or constitute differences of places. Was it in regard to the succession of St Peter? No; that was a slim, upstart device, that did not hold in Antioch nor in other apostolical churches.

But it was for a more substantial reason,—the very same on which the dignity and pre-eminence of other churches was founded; that is, the dignity, magnitude, opulency, opportunity of that city in which the bishop of Rome presided, together with the consequent numerousness, quality, and wealth of his flock, which gave him many great advantages above other his fellow-bishops. It was, says Rigaltius, called by St Cyprian the principal church, "because constituted in the principal city."⁶

¹ Bell. ii. 14; Theod. v. 10; Vales. in Theod. ib. 'Τῶν τιμιότατων.

² Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.—Soz. vi. 23.

³ Τεῖς τὸν κόσμον ἰδύμενοι.

⁴ Ἀγαπητῷ υἱῷ καὶ ἰσοψύχῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἀθανασίῳ.—*Apud Athan., Apol. ii. p. 783.*

⁵ Ecclesia principalis.—*Cypr., Ep. lv.*

⁶ Ecclesia principalis, id est, in urbe principali constituta.—*Rigalt. in Cypr., Ep. lv.*

That church, in the very times of severest persecutions, "by the providence of God," as Pope Cornelius said in his epistle to Fabius, "had a rich and plentiful number, with a most great and innumerable people;"¹ so that he reckons forty-four presbyters, seven deacons (in imitation of the number in the Acts), seven sub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi, fifty-two others of the inferior clergy, and above fifteen hundred alms-people.

To that church there must needs have been a great resort of Christians going to the seat of the empire in pursuit of business, as in proportion there was to each other metropolis, according to that canon of the Antiochene synod, which ordered that "the bishop of each metropolis should take care of the whole province, because all that had business resorted to the metropolis."²

That church was most able to yield help and succour to them who needed it; and accordingly used to do it, according to that of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, in his epistle to bishop Soter of Rome. "This," says he, "is your custom from the beginning, in divers ways to do good to the brethren, and to send supplies to many churches in every city; so refreshing the poverty of those who want."³

Whence it is no wonder that the head of that church got most reputation, and the privilege of precedence without competition.

"To this church," said Irenæus, "it is necessary that every church (that is, the faithful who are all about) should resort, because of its more powerful principality."⁴ What is meant by that "resort" will be easy to him who considers how men here are wont to go up to London, drawn thither by interests of trade, law, &c. What he understood by "more powerful principality" (*Δυνατωτέραν ἀρχήν*, I conjecture he said), the words themselves signify, which exactly agree to the power and grandeur of the imperial city, but do not well suit to the authority of a church, especially then, when no church appeared to have either principality or puissance. And that sense may clearly be evinced by the context, in which it appears that St Irenæus does not allege the judicial authority of the Roman church, but its credible testimony; which thereby became more considerable, because Christians commonly had occasions of recourse to it.

¹ Διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας πλούσιός τε καὶ πληθὺν ἀριθμὸς μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀταρβήτου λαοῦ.—*Euseb.* vi. 43. Et quanquam sciam, frater, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis florentissimo illic clero tecum presidenti, et sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi, legere te semper literas nostras, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lv. ad Corn.*

² Καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδixισθαι πάσης τῆς ἰσαρχίας. Διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συντρίχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πρᾶγματα ἔχοντας.—*Syn. Ant., can. ix.*

³ Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἴδις ἵστί τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως ἐνέργειαν, ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν ἰδίδια τίμωται, ὅτι μὲν τὴν τῶν διομίστων πᾶσαν ἀναψύχοντες, &c.—*Dionys. Corinth., apud Euseb. iv. 23.*

⁴ Ad hanc ecclesiam, propter potentiorē principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt ubique fideles.—*Iren. iii. 8.*

Such a reason of precedence St Cyprian gives in another case: "Because," says he, "Rome for its magnitude ought to precede Carthage."¹

For this reason a pagan historian observed, the Roman bishop "had a greater authority" (that is, a greater interest and reputation) "than other bishops."²

This reason Theodoret assigns in his epistle to Pope Leo, in which he highly compliments and cajoles him: "For this city," says he, "is the greatest and the most splendid, and presiding over the world, and overflowing with people; and which, moreover, has produced the empire now governing,"³ &c.

This is the sole ground upon which the greatest of all ancient synods, that of Chalcedon, affirmed the papal eminency to be founded; for, "On the throne," say they, "of ancient Rome, because that was the royal city, the fathers reasonably conferred the privileges."⁴ The fountain of papal eminence was, in their judgment, not any divine institution, not the authority of St Peter deriving itself to his successors, but the concession of the fathers; who were moved to grant it upon account that Rome was the imperial city.

To the same purpose the Empress Placidia, in her epistle to Theodosius in behalf of Pope Leo, says, "It becomes us to preserve to this city, which is mistress of all lands, a reverence in all things."⁵

This reason had, indeed, in it much of equity, of decency, of conveniency. It was equal [equitable], that he should have the preference, and more than common respect, who was thence enabled and engaged to do most service to religion. It was decent, that, out of conformity to the state, and in respect to the imperial court and senate, the pastor of that place should be graced with repute. It was convenient, that he, who resided in the centre of all business, and had the greatest influence upon affairs, who was the emperor's chief counsellor for direction, and instrument for execution of ecclesiastical affairs, should not be put behind others.

Hence the fathers of the second general synod advanced the bishop of Constantinople "to the next privileges of honour after the bishop of Rome, because it was new Rome,"⁶ and a seat of the empire.

¹ Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere.—*Cypri., Ep. xlix.*

² Auctoritate qua potiores æternæ urbis episcopi.—*Amm. Marcell., lib. xv. p. 47.*

³ Ἡ γὰρ αὕτη πασῶν μεγίστη, καὶ λαμπροτάτη, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης προκαθήμενη, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κυμαίνουσα· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ οὖν κρατοῦσαν ἡγεμονίας ἐξέλασσεσι.—*Theod., Ep. cxliii.*

⁴ Τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πριεσβυτέρης Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλείου πόλιν καθεῖσθαι οἱ πατέρες εὐλόγως ἀποδιδόμενοι τὰ πριεσβύια.—*Syn. Chalced., Act. xvi. can. 28.*

⁵ Πρίναι ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις δισποιοῖα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γιῶν, ἵν' αὖτε ἐν εἰδῶς παραφυλάξαι.—*Placid. in Syn. Chalced., p. 27.*

⁶ Τὸν μόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλειος ἱερίαν τὴν πόλιν τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἱερίαν διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νύαν Ῥώμην, &c.—*Syn. Const., can. iii.*

And the fathers of Chalcedon assigned "equal privileges to the most holy see of new Rome; with good reason," say they, "judging that the city which was honoured with the royalty and senate, and which," otherwise, "enjoyed equal privileges with the ancient royal Rome, should likewise in ecclesiastical affairs be magnified like it, being second after it."¹

Indeed, upon this score, the church of Constantinople is said to have aspired to the supreme principality, when it had the advantage over old Rome, the empire being extinguished there, and some time was styled "The head of all churches."²

It is also natural, and can hardly be otherwise, but that the bishop of a chief city, finding himself to exceed in wealth, in power, in advantages of friendships, dependencies, &c., should affect to raise himself above the level; it is an ambition that easily will seize on the most moderate and otherwise religious minds. Pope Leo objected it to Anatolius, and Pope Gregory to John, from his austere life called "The Faster."

Upon the like account it was that the bishops of other cities mounted to a pre-eminence, "metropolitan, primatial, patriarchal."

Thence it was that the bishop of Alexandria, before Constantine's time, acquired the honour of second place to Rome, because that city, being head of a most rich and populous nation, in magnitude and opulency, as Gregory Nazianzen says, "approached next to Rome, so as hardly to yield the next place to it."³

Upon that account, also, Antioch got the next place, as being the

¹ Τὰ ἴσα πρεβεία ἰσώνομεν τῇ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἀγιωτάτῃ ἑρῆνῃ, εὐλόγως πρίναυτι τὴν βασιλεῖαν καὶ συγκλήτῃ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἰσῶν ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείαν τῇ πρεσβυτέρῃ βασιλείᾳ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἰσ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἰσίωνι μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, διουτίραν μὲν ἰσίωνι ὑπάρχουσιν.—*Syn. Chal.*, can. xxviii.

² Sacrosanctam quoque hujus religiosissimæ civitatis ecclesiam, et matrem nostræ pietatis, et Christianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium, et ejusdem regis urbis sanctissimam sedem, &c.—*Imp. Leo. Cod.*, lib. i. tit. 2, § 16. "The holy church of this most religious city, the mother of our devotion, and of all orthodox Christians, and the most holy see of that imperial city." Bonifacius III. a Phoca imperatore obtinuit, magna tamen contentione, ut sedes B. Petri apostoli, quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum, ita et diceretur, et haberetur ab omnibus; quem quidem locum ecclesia Constantinopolitana sibi vendicare conabatur; faventibus interdum principibus, affirmantibusque eo loci primam sedem esse debere, ubi imperii caput esset.—*Plat. in Bonif. III.*, p. 161. "Boniface III., though with a great deal of stir, obtained of the Emperor Phocas that the see of St Peter the apostle, which is the head of all churches, should be so called and accounted by all; which dignity the church of Constantinople indeed endeavoured to assert to itself, princes some time favouring them, and affirming that there the chief see ought to be, where the head of the empire was." Phocas rogante papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat.—*Anastas. in Bonif. III.*; *Idem Sabellius, Blondus, Lætus*, &c., tradunt. "Phocas, at the entreaty of Pope Boniface, appointed that the Roman see should be the head of all churches, because the church of Constantinople wrote herself the chief of all churches."

³ Τριεὶ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, οἱ μὲν τὴν πρώτην εὐρίαν, ἡ μὲν τοῦτο παραχωρῶντες.—*Greg. Naz., Orat.* xxvii. Ἡ Ἀλεξανδρίαν μεγαλίωσας.—*Evagr.* ii. 4, et passim.

most large, flourishing, commanding city of the east; "which," as Josephus says, "for magnitude and for other advantages, had, without controversy, the third place in all the world subject to the Romans;"¹ and which St Chrysostom calls "the head of all cities seated in the east."²

St Basil seems to call the church thereof the principal in the world; for, "What," says he, "can be more opportune to the churches over the world than the church of Antioch? which, if it should happen to be reduced to concord, nothing would hinder but that, as a sound head, it would supply health to the whole body."³

Upon the same account the bishop of Carthage obtained the privilege to be standing primate of his province (although other primacies there were not fixed to places, but followed seniority), and a kind of patriarch over all the African provinces.

Hence Casarea, as exceeding in temporal advantages, and being the political metropolis of Palestine, overtopped Jerusalem, that most ancient, noble, and venerable city, the source of our religion.

It was, indeed, the general rule and practice, to conform the privileges of ecclesiastical dignity in a proportion convenient to those of the secular government, as the synod of Antioch in express terms ordained, the ninth canon of which runs thus: "The bishops in every province ought to know that the bishop presiding in the metropolis undertakes the care of all the province, because all that have business meet together in the metropolis; whence it has been ordained that he should precede in honour, and that the bishops should do nothing extraordinary without him, according to a more ancient canon holding from our fathers,"⁴—that is, according to the thirty-fourth canon of the apostles.

It is true that the fathers sometimes mention the church of Rome as being founded by the two great apostles, or the succession of the Roman bishop to them in pastoral charge, as a special ornament of that church, and a congruous ground of respect to that bishop, whereby they "honoured the memory of St Peter;"⁵ but even some of

¹ Ἡ μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῆς Συρίας, μεγίστης Ἰουδα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὑδαμανίας τρίτη ἀδελφεία ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίους οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον.—*Joseph. de Bello Jud.* iii. 2.

² Πόλις αὕτη μεγάλη, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν τοιαύτην ἡγεμονίαν ἡ ἀσφαγή.—*Chrys.*, Ἀνθρ. β'.

³ Τί δ' αὖ γίνονται ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἀντοχίας καμειώτεροι; ἢ εἰσέλθῃ πρὸς ἡμῶντας ἰσχυροὶ, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυν, ὥστε πικρὰν ἡμέραν, παντὶ τῷ σώματι ἰσχυροῦν τὴν ὑγίαν.—*Bas.*, *Ep.* xlviii., *ad Athanas.*

⁴ Τοὺς ἐν ἐκείτῃ ἰσαρχίᾳ ἱερατικούς εἰδὼσι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προϊστάμενον ἱερέα, (καὶ) τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδίδωσθαι πάσης τῆς ἰσαρχίας· διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει εὐσεβεῖν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔχοντας· ἵνα ἴδωσι καὶ τῇ τιμῇ ἀπολαύσασθαι αὐτὸν, μηδὲν τι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερατικούς ἔχειν αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαιότατον κανόνα ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἡμῶν κατὰ.—*Syn. Ant.*, can. ix.; *Syn. Chal.* xvii.

⁵ Sedis apostolicæ primatum S. Petri meritum (qui princeps est episcopolis coronæ), Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacræ etiam synodi firmavit autoritas.—*Valentin. Nov.* xxiv., in *fn. Cod. Theod.*

those who acknowledge this did not avow it as a sufficient ground of pre-eminence,—none admitted it for an argument of authoritative superiority.

St Cyprian called the Roman see “The chair of St Peter,” and “The principal church;” yet he disclaimed any authority of the Roman bishop above his brethren.¹

Firmilian took notice that Pope Stephanus “gloried in the place of his bishopric, and contended that he held the succession of Peter;”² yet did not he think himself thereby obliged to submit to his authority or follow his judgment, but sharply reprehended him as a favourer of heretics, an author of schisms, and one who had cut himself off from the communion of his brethren.

The fathers of the Antiochene synod “confessed that in writings all willingly honoured the Roman church, as having been from the beginning the school of the apostles and the metropolis of religion, although yet from the east the instructors of the Christian doctrine went and resided there; but from hence they desired not to be deemed inferiors, because they did not exceed in the greatness and numerousness of their church.”³ They allowed some regard, though faintly and with reservation, to the Roman church upon account of their apostolical foundation; they implied a stronger ground of pre-eminence from the grandeur of that city: yet did not they therefore grant themselves to be inferiors, at least as to any substantial privilege, importing authority.

If by divine right, upon account of his succession to St Peter, he had such pre-eminence, why are the other causes reckoned, as if they could add any thing to God’s institution, or as if that needed human confirmation? The pretence to that surely was weak, which needed corroboration, and to be propped by worldly considerations.

Indeed, whereas the apostles founded many churches, exercising apostolical authority over them (eminently containing the episcopal), why, in conscience, should one claim privileges on that score rather than or above the rest?

Why should the see of Antioch, “that most ancient and truly apostolical church,”⁴ where the Christian name began, where St

¹ Cypr., Ep. lv. 52.

² Atque ego in hac parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit, &c. Stephanus qui per successionem cathedram Petri habere se prædicat, &c.—*Firmil. apud Cypr., Ep. lxxv.*

³ Φίμιν μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἀμολόγησαν, ὡς ἀποστόλων φροντιστήριον, καὶ ἐκείνης μνηστήριον ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεννημένην· εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς αὐτῇ οἱ τοῦ δόγματος ἐξηγηταί· οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο διὰ τὰ διουσιμὰ φίμιν ἡξίουν, ὅτι μὴ μαγίδι ἢ πλῆθι ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν.—*Soz. iii. 8.*

⁴ Τῆς πρωτεύουσας καὶ ὅπως ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c.—*Ep. Synod. Const. Theodoret. Hist. l. 5, cap. 9, p. 211.* Quæ quantumlibet a Petro ante Alexandrinam fuerat insti-

Peter at first, as they say, sat bishop for seven years, be postponed to Alexandria?

Especially, why should the church of Jerusalem, "the seat of our Lord himself, the mother of all churches,"¹ the fountain of Christian doctrine, the first consistory of the apostles, ennobled by so many glorious performances; by the life, preaching, miracles, death, burial, resurrection, ascension of our Saviour; by the first preaching of the apostles, the effusion of the Holy Spirit, the conversion of so many people, and constitution of the first church, and celebration of the first synod;²—upon these considerations, [why should it] not obtain pre-eminence to other churches, but in honour be cast behind divers others, and as to power be subjected to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Palestine?

The true reason of this even Baronius himself saw and acknowledged; "for," says he, "that the ancients observed no other rule in instituting the ecclesiastical sees than the division of provinces, and the prerogative before established by the Romans, there are very many examples."³

Of which examples that of Rome is the most obvious and notable; and what he so generally asserts may be so applied thereto, as to void all other grounds of its pre-eminence.

X. The truth is, all ecclesiastical presidencies and subordinations, or dependencies of some bishops on others in administration of spiritual affairs, were introduced merely by human ordinance, and established by law or custom, upon prudential accounts, according to the exigency of things. Hence the prerogatives of other sees proceeded; and hereto whatever dignity, privilege, or authority the pope with equity might at any time claim is to be imputed.

To clear which point we will search the matter nearer the quick, propounding some observations concerning the ancient forms of discipline, and considering what interest the pope had therein.

At first each church was settled apart under its own bishop and presbyters, so as independently and separately to manage its own concerns; each was *αὐτοκέφαλος* and *αὐτόνομος*, "governed by its own head, and had its own laws." Every bishop, as a prince in his own church, acted freely, according to his will and discretion, with the advice of his ecclesiastical senate, and with the consent of his

tuta, tamen quoniam præfectura Alexandrina Augustalis dicta . . . longe præstabat Syriæ præfecturæ, &c.—*Baron.*, ann. 39, § 10.

¹ Epiph. Synod. Constant. *ibid.* Τῆς δὲ γὰρ μητρὸς ἀπαρτὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὺμοις.

² Optat. l. 6, p. 169; Hier., Ep. lxi.; Conc. Nic., can. vii.

³ Majores enim in instituendis sedibus ecclesiarum non aliam iniisse rationem, quam secundum divisionem provinciarum, et prærogativas a Romanos antea stabilitas, quam plurima sunt exempla.—*Id. ibid.*

people,¹ whom he used to consult, without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, farther than his obligation to uphold the verity of Christian profession, and to maintain fraternal communion, in charity and peace, with neighbouring churches, required; in which regard, if he were notably peccant, he was liable to be disclaimed by them as no good Christian, and rejected from communion, together with his church, if it adhered to him in his misdemeanours. This may be collected from the remainders of state [traces of the ancient state] in the times of St Cyprian.

But because little, disjointed, and incoherent bodies were, like dust, apt to be dissipated by every wind of external assault or intestine faction, and peaceable union could hardly be retained without some ligature of discipline, and churches could not mutually support and defend each other without some method of intercourse and rule of confederacy engaging them; therefore, for many good purposes (for upholding and advancing the common interests of Christianity, for protection and support of each church from inbred disorders and dissensions, for preserving the integrity of the faith, for securing the concord of divers churches, for providing fit pastors to each church, and correcting such as were scandalously bad or unfaithful²), it was soon found needful that divers churches should be combined and linked together in some regular form of discipline;³ that if any church wanted a bishop, the neighbour bishops might step in to approve and ordain a fit one;⁴ that if any bishop notoriously swerved from the

¹ Cypr., Ep. 52, 55, 72, 73, 76. Omnis hic actus populo erat insinuandus.—*P. Corn.*, apud *Cypr.*, Ep. xlv. "All this business was to have been imparted to the people." Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, et omnium nostrum commune consilium, ea quæ agenda sunt disponere.—*Cypr.*, Ep. xl, *P'leli. Univ.* "To order what was to be done according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all." Et limanda plenius ratio non solum cum collegis meis, sed et cum plebe ipsa universa.—*Id.*, Ep. xxviii. "And the reason is more thoroughly to be examined, not only with my colleagues, but with the whole people." Præjudicare ego et soli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo.—*Ep.* xviii. "I dare not, therefore, prejudge nor assume to myself alone a matter which is common to all."

² Particularly in the dispensation of church goods.—*Conc. Ant.*, can. xxv.

³ Hoc enim et verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium nostrum convenit ut episcopi plures in unum convenientes, præsentis et stantium plebe (quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo honor habendus est), disponere omnia consilii communis religionis possimus.—*Cypr.*, Ep. xiv. "For it becomes the modesty, the discipline, and the manner of our living, that many bishops meeting together, the people being also present (to whom respect ought to be had for their faith and fear), we may order all things with the common advice." — quoniam non paucorum, nec ecclesiæ unius aut unius provincie, sed totius orbis hæc causa est, &c.—*Cypr.*, Ep. xiv. "— because this is the concern, not of a few men, or of one church, or one province, but of the whole world." Idcirco copiosum corpus est sacerdotum . . . ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, &c.—*Id.*, Ep. lxxvi. "Therefore the clergy is a large body . . . that if any one of our own society should vent an heresy, and attempt to rend and waste the flock of Christ, the rest might come in to their help."

⁴ Nov. cxxxvii. cap. 4, cxxiii. cap. 10.

Christian rule, the others might interpose to correct or void him;¹ that if any error or schism peeped up in any church, the joint concurrence of divers bishops might avail to stop its progress and to quench it, by convenient means of instruction, reprehension, and censure; that if any church were oppressed by persecution, by indigency, by faction, the others might be engaged to afford effectual succour and relief. For such ends it was needful that bishops in certain precincts should convene, with intent to deliberate and resolve about the best expedients to compass them; and that the manner of such proceeding, to avoid uncertain distraction, confusion, arbitrariness, dissatisfaction, and mutinous opposition, should be settled in an ordinary course, according to rules known and allowed by all.²

In defining such precincts it was most natural, most easy, most commodious, to follow the divisions of territory or jurisdiction already established in the civil state, that the spiritual administrations, being in such circumstances aptly conformed to the secular, might go on more smoothly and expeditely, the wheels of one not clashing with the other; according to the judgment of the two great synods, that of Chalcedon and the Trullane, which ordained, that "if by royal authority any city be, or should hereafter be, re-established, the order of the churches shall be according to the civil and public form."³

Whereas, therefore, in each nation or province subject to one political jurisdiction there was a metropolis, or head city, to which the greatest resort was for dispensation of justice, and despatch of principal affairs emergent in that province, it was most convenient that also the determination of ecclesiastical matters should be affixed thereto; especially considering that usually those places were opportunely seated,—that many persons, upon other occasions, met there,—that the churches in those cities exceeded the rest in number, in opulency, in ability and opportunity to promote the common interest in all kinds of advantages.⁴

Moreover, because in all societies and confederacies of men for ordering public affairs, for the setting things in motion, for effectual despatch, for preventing endless dissensions and confusions, both in resolving upon and executing things, it is needful that one person should be authorized to preside among the rest, unto whom the power and care should be intrusted to convoke assemblies in fit season, to propose matters for consultation, to moderate the debates and proceedings, to declare the result, and to see that what is agreed upon

¹ Vid. Can. Apost. xxxviii. al. 30, de Synodis.

² Οικονομίας ἐκκλησιαστικαί.—*Syn. Const.* can. ii.

³ Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν βασιλικῇ ἰκονίᾳ ἐκινήσῃ πῶς, ἢ αὐτῇς καινότην, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παρακίων ἢ τάξιν ἀκολουθίῃ.—*Conc. Chalced.* can. xvii., et *Conc. Trull.* [in Trullo, at Constantinople, 692,] can. xxxviii.

⁴ P. Anacl. Dist. xcix. cap. 1; P. Greg. VII., Ep. vi. 35.

may be duly executed, such a charge then naturally would devolve itself upon the prelate of the metropolis, as being supposed constantly present on the place,—as being at home in his own seat of presidency, and receiving the rest under his wing,—as incontestably surpassing others in all advantages, answerable to the secular advantages of his city; for that it was unseemly and hard, if he at home should be postponed in dignity to others repairing thither: for that, also, commonly he was in a manner the spiritual father of the rest (religion being first planted in great cities, and thence propagated to others); so that the reverence and dependence of colonies to the mother city was due from other churches to his see.¹

Wherefore, by consent of all churches, grounded on such obvious reason of things, the presidency in each province was assigned to the bishop of the metropolis, who was called the “first bishop,” the “metropolitan;” in some places the “primate,” the “archbishop,” the “patriarch,” the “pope” of the province. The Apostolical Canons call him the “first bishop,”² which shows the antiquity of this institution. The African synods appointed that name to him as most modest, and calling him primate in that sense.³ Other ancient synods style him the “metropolitane,” and to the metropolitans of the principal cities they gave the title of “archbishop.” The bishops of Rome and Alexandria peculiarly were called “popes,” although that name was sometimes deferred to [conferred upon] any other bishop.

During this state of things the whole church consisted of so many provinces, being *αὐτοκράτορες*, independent on each other in ecclesiastical administration,—each reserving to itself the constitution of bishops, the convocation of synods, the enacting of canons, the decision of causes, the definition of questions,—yet so that each province held peaceful and amicable correspondence with others, upon the like terms as before each *παροικία*, or episcopal precinct, held intercourse with its neighbours.

And whoever, in any province, did not comply with or submit to the orders and determinations resolved upon in those assemblies was deemed a schismatical, contentious, and contumacious person,⁴ with good reason; because he thwarted a discipline plainly conducive to

¹ Ad hoc divina dispensationis provisio gradus et diversos constituit ordines in se distinctos, ut dum reverentiam minores potioribus exhiberent, et potiores minoribus diligentiam impenderent, una concordia fieret a diversitate contentio et recte officiorum gereretur administratio singulorum.—*Joh. VIII., Ep. xc.* “To this end divine Providence has appointed degrees and diverse orders, distinct from one another, that while the less reverence the greater, and the greater take care of the less, from this diversity there might arise one frame of concord, and all offices be duly administered.”

² Primas provincie.—*Cod. Afr. can. xix.*

³ Τὸς ἰσιμύτους ἐκάστου ἱεροῦ εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον.—*Can. Apost. xxvii.* “The bishops of each nation ought to know who is chief among them.”

⁴ *Cod. Afr., can. xxxix.; Dist. xcix. cap. 8.*

⁵ Παράταξις.—*Syn. Nic., can. xviii.*

public good; because, declining such judgments, he plainly showed that he would admit none, there not being any fairer way of determining things than by common advice and agreement of pastors; because he in effect refused all good terms of communion and peace.

Thus, I conceive, the metropolitanical governance was introduced, by human prudence following considerations of public necessity or utility. There are, indeed, some who think it was instituted by the apostles, but their arguments do not seem convincing; and such a constitution does not, as I take it, well suit to the state of their times, and the course they took in founding churches.

Into such a channel, through all parts of Christendom (though with some petty differences in the methods and measures of acting), had ecclesiastical administrations fallen of themselves, plain community of reason and imitation insensibly propagating that course; and therein it ran for a good time, before it was by general consent and solemn sanction established.

The whole church then was a body consisting of several confederations of bishops, acting in behalf of their churches under their respective metropolitans, who managed the common affairs in each province; convoking synods at stated times and upon emergent occasions; in them deciding causes and controversies incident, relating to faith or practice;¹ framing rules serviceable to common edification and decent uniformity in God's service; quashing heresies and schisms; declaring truths impugned or questioned; [and] maintaining the harmony of communion and concord with other provinces, adjacent or remote.²

Such was the state of the church to which the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions refer, answerable to the times in which they were framed, and which we may discern in the practice of ancient synods.

Such it continued when the great synod of Nice was celebrated;³ which by its authority, presumed to represent the authority of all bishops in the world, who were summoned thereto, and backed by the imperial authority and power, confirmed those orders, as they found them standing by more general custom and received rules in most provinces,⁴ reducing them into more uniform practice; so that what before stood upon reason, customary usage, particular consent, by so august sanction became universal law, and obtained so great veneration as by some to be conceived everlastingly and immutably obligatory, according to those maxims of Pope Leo.

¹ Διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διαλύσεις, &c.—*Syn. Apt.*, can. xx.

² Can. Apost. xxxviii.; Tertull. de Jej., cap. xiii.; Syn. Nic., can. v.

³ Παλαιός τι ὡς ἔστι διερμὸς κυράτῃ, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατρίων ἔρος, &c.—*Syn. Constant. Theod.* v. 9.

⁴ Ὅτι τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ἰμοίως φυλάττεσθαι.—*Can.* xx.

It is here farther observable, that whereas divers provinces held communion and intercourse, so that upon occasion they, by their formed [formal] letters, rendered to one another an account of their proceedings, being of great moment, especially of those which concerned the general state of Christianity and common faith,—calling, when need was, for assistance one of another, to resolve points of faith, or to settle order and peace,—there was, in so doing, a special respect given to the metropolitans of great cities: and to prevent dissensions, which naturally ambition prompts men to, grounded upon degrees of respect, an order was fixed among them, according to which, in subscriptions of letters, in accidental congresses, and the like occasions, some should precede others, that distinction being chiefly and commonly grounded on the greatness, splendour, opulency of cities, or following the secular dignity of them; whence Rome had the “first” place, Alexandria the “second,” Antioch the “third,” Jerusalem the “fourth,” &c.

Afterward, Constantine having introduced a new partition of the empire, whereby divers provinces were combined together into one territory, under the regiment [regimen] of a vicar, or a lieutenant of a *præfectus-prætorio*, which territory was called a “diocese,”¹ the ecclesiastical state was adapted in conformity thereto, new ecclesiastical systems and a new sort of spiritual heads thence springing up; so that in each diocese, consisting of divers provinces, an ecclesiastical exarch,² otherwise sometimes called a “primate,” sometimes a “diocesan,”³ sometimes a patriarch,⁴ was constituted, answerable to the civil exarch of a diocese, who, by such constitution, obtained a like authority over the metropolitans of provinces as they had in their province over the bishops of cities;⁵ so that it appertained to them to call together the synods of the whole diocese, to preside in them, and in them to despatch the principal affairs concerning that precinct, to ordain metropolitans, to confirm the ordinations of bishops, [and] to decide causes and controversies between bishops, upon appeal from provincial synods.

Some conceive the synod of Nice established it; but that can hardly well be, for that synod was held about the time of that division (after that Constantine was settled in a peaceful enjoyment of the empire), and scarce could take notice of so fresh a change in the

¹ Zos., lib. ii. p. 68; Sextus Rufus, Brev.

² Ἐπισκοπότης τῶν ἐξάρχων μου.—*Syn. Chalc.*, Act. x. p. 888.

³ Διοικητής.—*Epist. Orient. ad Rufum* in *Syn. Eph.*, p. 896; *Dist.* xcix. cap. 1, 2.

⁴ Οἱ ἰσχύοντες πατριάρχαι διοικήσει καὶ ἀνάσει.—*Syn. Chalc.*, Act. ii. p. 211. Bphesti δίδουσι πατριάρχην.—*Evag.* iii. 6.

⁵ Τινὲς μὲν ἐξάρχους τῶν διοικήσεων τοὺς πατριάρχους φασί.—*Zon.*, ad xxviii.; *Can. Chalc. Novell.* cxlxxvii. cap. 5, et cxliiii. cap. 10; *P. Greg. I.*, Ep. xi. 56. Ordo episcoporum quadripartitus est, id est, in patriarchia, archiepiscopis, metropolitans, atque episcopis.—*Ibid. Dist.* xxi. cap. 1. Dionysius Ex. translates ἑξάρχον, primatem, in *Syn. Chalc.*, can. ix. 17.

state. It does not pretend to innovate, but professes in its sanctions specially to regard "ancient custom, saving to the churches their privileges" of which they were possessed;¹ it only mentions provinces, and represents the metropolitans in them as the chief governors ecclesiastical then being; it constitutes a peremptory decision of weighty causes in provincial synods,—which is inconsistent with the diocesan authority; it takes no notice of Constantinople, the principal diocese in the east, as seat of the empire.² And the synod of Antioch, insisting [treading] in the footsteps of the Nicene, touches only metropolitans (can. xix.); and the synod of Laodicea only supposes that order. In fine, that synod is not recorded by any old historian to have framed such an alteration; which, indeed, was so considerable that Eusebius, who was present there, could not well have passed it over in silence.

Of this opinion was the synod of Carthage, in their epistle to Pope Celestine I., who understood no jurisdiction but that of metropolitans to be constituted in the Nicene synod.

Some think the fathers of the second general synod introduced it, seeing it expedient that ecclesiastical administrations should correspond to the political: for they innovated somewhat in the form of government; they expressly use the new word "diocese," according to the civil sense, as distinct from a province; they distinctly name the particular dioceses of the oriental empire, as they stood in the civil establishment; they prescribe to the bishops in each diocese to act unitedly there, not skipping over the bounds of it; they order a kind of appeal to the synods of the diocese, prohibiting other appeals. The historians expressly report of them, that they "distinguished and distributed dioceses," that they "constituted patriarchs," that they prohibited that any of one diocese should intrude upon another.³

¹ "Ὅτι οὗτοι ὁ κανὼν, οὗτοι ἡ συνήθεια παρίδωκεν, &c.—*Can. xviii.* Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴθι κηρύττειν.—*Can. vi.* Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κηρύσσεται καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους, &c.—*Can. vii.* Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιόχειον, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἱεραρχίαις τὰ πρὸς τὴν εὐχέλεια εὐχέλονται ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.—*Ibid.*

² Τοὺς ἱερωτάτους κληρονομοῦν τῶν μητροπολιτικῶν, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καθίστασθαι, &c.—*Syn. Laod.*, can. xii. "The bishops should be constituted by the judgment of the metropolitans and the neighbouring bishops."

³ Εἰ δὲ συμβαίῃ ἀδυνατῆσαι τοὺς ἱεραρχίους πρὸς διόρθωσιν ὑποκειμένων ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας, τότε αὐτοὺς προσίναμι μίλῃσιν συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκκλησιῶν ἡμετέρας ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης συγκαλεσθῆναι, &c.—*Syn. Const.*, can. vi. "But if it so happen that the bishops of any province cannot rectify those things which are laid to the charge of a bishop, they shall then go to a greater synod of the bishops of that diocese, met together for that purpose." The fathers of Constantinople, in their synodic epistle, distinguish the province and diocese of Antioch:—Οἱ τε τῆς ἱεραρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες, &c.—*Theod.* v. 9. Καὶ πατριάρχας κατίσταναι διαινεσθῆναι τὰς ἱεραρχίας.—*Socr.* v. 8. Ἐν ἰακύνθῳ γὰρ τῇ βασιλευσύνῃ πόλει συνελθόντες οἱ μακάριοι πατέρες συμφώνως τοῖς ἐν τῇ Νίκαιᾳ συναθροισθεῖσι τὰς διοικήσεις διέκριναν, καὶ ἰαύστη διοίκησιν τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπέμειναν, ἀντικρὺς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὰς διοικήσεις ἐν τῇ μὴ ἰστίῃ.—*Theod.*, *Ep.* lxxvi., *ad Flavianum*. "For," says Theodoret, "the blessed fathers meeting together in the imperial city, distinguished dioceses, agreeably to what the Nicene fathers had

But if we shall attentively search and scan passages, we may perhaps find reason to judge that this form crept in soon after the synod of Nice, without any solemn appointment, by spontaneous assumption and submission, accommodating things to the political course; the great bishops, who, by the amplification of their cities in power, wealth, and concourse of people, were advanced in reputation and interest, assuming such authority to themselves, and the lesser bishops easily complying. And of this we have some arguments.¹ Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, being deposed and extruded by Acacius, metropolitan of Palestine, "appealed to a greater judicatory,"² being the first, as Socrates notes, who ever used that course; because it seems there was no greater in being till about that time, which was some years before the synod of Constantinople, in which there is mention "of a greater synod of the diocese."

There was a convention of the bishops of the Pontic diocese at Tyana (distinguished from the Asian bishops), of which Eusebius of Cæsarea is reckoned in the first place as president, in the time of Valens.³

Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, is said by the synod of Chalcedon to have presided in the synod of Constantinople.⁴

A good argument is drawn from the very canon of the synod of Constantinople itself,⁵ which speaks concerning "bishops over dioceses," as already constituted or extant; not instituting that order of bishops, but supposing it, and, together with an implicit confirmation, regulating practice according to it, by prohibiting bishops to leap over the bounds of their diocese, so as to meddle in the affairs of other dioceses, and by ordering "appeals to the synod of a diocese."

Of authority gained by such assumption and concession, without law, there might be produced divers instances.

As, particularly, that the see of Constantinople assumed to itself ordination, and other acts of jurisdiction, in three dioceses, before any such power was granted to it by any synodical decree, which to have done divers instances show, some of which are alleged in the synod of Chalcedon;⁶ as St Chrysostom, of whom it is there said, "That going into Asia he deposed fifteen bishops, and consecrated others in their room."⁷

done, and allotted to every diocese what belonged to it; on the contrary, charging that no one of one diocese should encroach upon another."

¹ Theod. ii. 26; Soz. iv. 25.

² Βιβλίον τοῖς καθολοῦσι διαπεμφθέντος μιλζον ἱπικαλίσατο δικαστήριον . . . τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ τῇ σύνθεσι ἐκκλησιαστικῇ καὶνὸν Κύριλλος ἰωσίησιν, &c.—Socr. ii. 40.

³ Soz. vi. 12.

⁴ Τῶν δὲ Νεκταρίου ἐν Γρηγορίῳ ἡγιμεναι ἤρατο.—(In prosphonetico ad Imper.)

⁵ Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἱερισκόντες, &c.—Can. ii. Προσίνασι μιλζοσι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἱερισκόντων, &c.—Can. vi.

⁶ Syn. Chalc., Act. xvi. p. 463.

⁷ Ἰωάννης διαπάσιν ἱερισκόντες καθόλου, ἀπειλὸν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ ἰχυροτόησιν ἑλλοις ἀπὸ αὐτῶν.—Syn. Chalc., Act. xi. p. 411.

He also deposed Gerontius, bishop of Nicomedia, belonging to the diocese of Pontus.¹

Whence the fathers of Chalcedon averred, "That they had in a synod confirmed the ancient custom which the holy church of God in Constantinople had, to ordain metropolitans in the Asian, Pontic, and Thracian dioceses."²

Which custom, consistent with reason, and becoming the dignity of the empire, and grateful to the court, that great synod established, although the Roman church, out of jealousy, contested and protested against it.³

But the most pertinent instances are those of the Roman, Alexandrine, and Antiochene churches, having by degrees assumed to themselves such power over divers provinces; in imitation of which churches, the other diocesan bishops may well be thought to have enlarged their jurisdiction.

This form of government is intimated in the synod of Ephesus by these words, in which dioceses and provinces are distinguished: "And the same shall be observed in all dioceses and all provinces everywhere."⁴

However, that this form of discipline was perfectly settled in the times of the fourth general synod is evident by two notable canons thereof, wherein it is decreed that "If any bishop have a controversy with his metropolitan of his province, he shall resort to and be judged by the exarch of the diocese, or by the see of Constantinople."⁵

This was a great privilege conferred on the bishop of Constantinople, which perhaps grounded (to be sure it made way for) the plea of that bishop to the title of "Œcumenical Patriarch," or "Universal Bishop," which Pope Gregory so exagitated [flourished]; and, indeed, it sounds so fairly toward it, that the pope has nothing comparable to it to allege in favour of his pretences, this being the decree of the greatest synod that ever was held among the ancients, where all the patriarchs concurred in making these decrees, which Pope Gregory revered as *one of the gospels*. If any ancient synod ever constituted any thing like to *universal* monarchy it was this, in which a final determination of greatest causes was granted to the see of Constantinople, without any exception or reservation,—I mean

¹ Soz. viii. 6.

² Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ πρᾶτῃσαν ἴθις ὅτι ἐσχεν ἡ Κωνσταντινουπόλις τῶν ἁγίων Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς τὸ χειροτονεῖν μητροπολίτας τῶν διοικήσεων τῆς τε Ἀσιατικῆς, καὶ Ποντικῆς, καὶ Θρακικῆς καὶ νῦν κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσασθαι ψῆφον.—*Syn. Chalc. in Ep. ad P. Leonem.*

³ *Syn. Chalc., Act. xvi. p. 462.*

⁴ Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται.—*Syn. Eph., can. viii.* [There is mention of dioceses in Strabo.]

⁵ Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοῖ, καταλαμβανόμενος ἢ τὸν ἐπαρχὸν τῆς διοικήσεως, ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευσῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Σύνον, καὶ ἐκ' αὐτῶν διακρίσθω.—*Syn. Chalc., can. xix., xvii.*

as to semblance and the sound of words: for as to the true sense, I indeed conceive that the canon only related to causes emergent in the eastern parts; and probably it only respected the three dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, which were immediately subjected to his patriarchal jurisdiction.

Pope Nicholas I. very jocularly [ludicrously] expounds this canon, affirming that by the primate of the diocese is understood the pope (*diocese* being put by a notable figure for *dioceses*), and that an appeal is to be made to the bishop of Constantinople only by permission, in case the party will be content therewith.¹

We may note, that some provincial churches were, by ancient custom, exempted from dependence on any primacy or patriarchate.

Such an one the Cyprian church was adjudged to be in the Ephesine synod, in which the privileges of such churches were confirmed against the invasion of greater churches, and to that purpose this general law enacted:—"Let the same be observed in all dioceses and provinces everywhere, that none of the bishops, beloved of God, invade another province which did not formerly belong to him or his predecessors; and if any one have invaded one, and violently seized it, that he restore it."²

Such a church was that of Britain anciently, before Austin introduced the papal authority here against that canon, as by divers learned pens has been showed.

Such was the church of Africa, as by their canons against transmarine appeals and about all other matters appears.

It is supposed by some³ that discipline was screwed yet one peg higher, by setting up the order of patriarchs higher than primates or diocesan exarchs; but I find no ground of this supposal except in one case,—that is, of the bishop of Constantinople being set above the bishops of Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Heraclea, which were the primates of the three dioceses.

It is a notable fib which Pope Nicholas II. tells, as Gratian cites him, "That the church of Rome instituted all patriarchal supremacies, all metropolitan primacies, episcopal sees, all ecclesiastical orders and dignities whatsoever."⁴

¹ Quem autem primate[m] dioceseos S. synodus dixerit, præter apostoli primi vicarium, nullus penitus intelligitur, &c. "None can understand whom the holy synod should call primate of a diocese, except the vicar of the prime apostle." Tantundem valde dixisse primate[m] dioceseos, quantum si perhibuisset dioceseon.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. viii. p. 507.* "To say the primate of a diocese is as much as to say of dioceses."

² Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχτέοντα, ὅστω μηδὲν τῶν διοικιστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἐπίρας οὐκ εἶναι ἄλλοθεν καὶ ἐπαρχίαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὅφ' ἐκεῖνός τιμωρεῖται, βιασάμενος τούτου ἀποδοῦναι, &c.—*Conc. Eph., can. viii.*

³ *Ibid.*, Dist. ii. cap. 1.

⁴ Omnes sive patriarchas cujusalibet apices, sive metropoleon primatus, aut episcopa-

Now, things standing thus in Christendom, we may, concerning the interest of the Roman bishop in reference to them, observe,—

1. In all these transactions about modelling the spiritual discipline, there was no canon [that] established any peculiar jurisdiction to the bishop of Rome; only the

2. Synod of Nice supposed that he, by custom, enjoyed some authority within certain precincts of the west, like that which it confirmed to the bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, and the countries adjacent thereto.

3. The synods of Constantinople allowed him “honorary privileges,” or precedence before all other bishops, assigning the next place after him to the bishop of Constantinople.¹

4. In other privileges the synod of Chalcedon equalled the see of Constantinople to the Roman.²

5. The canons of the two first and fourth general synods, ordering all affairs to be despatched and causes to be determined in metropolitan or diocesan synods, exclude the Roman bishop from meddling in those concerns.

6. The popes (out of a humour natural to them, to like nothing but what they did themselves, and which served their interests) did not relish those canons, although enacted by synods which themselves admitted for œcumenical:—“That subscription of some bishops, made above sixty years since, as you boast, does no whit favour your persuasion; a subscription never transmitted to the knowledge of the apostolic see by your predecessors, which, from its very beginning being weak, and long since ruinous, you endeavour now too late and unprofitably to revive.”³

So does Pope Leo I. treat the second great synod, writing to Anatolius; and Gregory, speaking of the same, says, “That the Roman church has not the acts of that synod, nor received its canons.”⁴

7. Wherefore, in the west they obtained no effect, so as to establish diocesan primacies there.

The bishops of cities, which were heads of dioceses, either did not know of these canons (which is probable, because Rome smothered the notice of them, or were hindered from using them), the pope

tuum cathedras, vel ecclesiarum cujuslibet ordinis dignitates instituit Romana ecclesia.—*P. Nic. II., Dist. xxii. cap. 1.*

¹ *Πρωσία τιμή.*—*Can. iii.* Τὰ ἀρχιεπισκοπικὰ καὶ ἐκείνων τιμή.

² *Syn. Chal., Act. xvi.* Ἦσαν πρωσία.

³ Persuasioni enim tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur quorundam episcoporum ante sexaginta, ut jactas, annos facta subscriptio, nunquamque a prædecessoribus tuis ad apostolicæ sedis transmissa notitiâ, cui ab initio sui caducæ, dudumque collapsæ særa nunc et inutilia subjicere fomenta voluisti, &c.—*P. Leo, Ep. liii. ad Anatol.* Vid. *Ep. liv. lv. lxi.*

⁴ Romano autem ecclesia eosdem canones vel gesta synodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accepit.—*Greg. M., Ep. vi. 31, ad Eulog. Alex.*

having so winded himself in, and got such hold among them as he would not let go.¹

8. It indeed turned to a great advantage of the pope, in carrying on his encroachments and enlarging his worldly interests, that the western churches did not, as the eastern, conform themselves to the political frame in embracing diocesan primacies, which would have engaged and enabled them better to protect the liberties of their churches from papal invasions.²

9. For hence, for want of a better, the pope claimed to himself a patriarchal authority over the western churches; pretending a right of calling synods, of meddling in ordinations, of determining causes by appeal to him, of dictating laws and rules to them, against the old rights of metropolitans and the later constitutions for primacies.

Of this we have an instance in St Gregory, where he, alleging an imperial constitution, importing that in case a clergyman should appeal from his metropolitan, "the cause should be referred to the archbishop and patriarch of that diocese, who, judging according to the canons and laws, should give an end thereto," consequently assumes an appeal from a bishop to himself, adjoining, "If against these things it be said that the bishop had neither metropolitan nor patriarch, it is to be said that this cause was to be heard and decided by the apostolical see, which is the head of all churches."³

10. Having got such advantage, and, as to extent, stretched his authority beyond the bounds of "his suburbicarian precincts,"⁴ he also intended [extended] it in quality far beyond the privileges by any ecclesiastical law granted to patriarchs, or claimed or exercised by any other patriarch; till at length, by degrees, he had advanced it to an exorbitant omnipotency, and thereby utterly enslaved the western churches.

The ancient order allowed a patriarch or primate to call a synod of the bishops in his diocese, and with them to determine ecclesiastical affairs by majority of suffrages; but he does not do so, but, setting himself down in his chair, with a few of his courtiers about him, makes decrees and dictates, to which he pretends all must submit.

The ancient order allowed a patriarch to ordain metropolitans duly

¹ N. B.—A Roman synod, anno 878, consisting of Italian bishops, gave the pope such a privilege as the synod of Constantinople did to the bishop of that see. (*Marc. de Primat.* p. 108, *ex App. Cod. Theodos.* Vide *Baron.*) But there is difference between a general synod and an Italian synod; and what [right] had an Italian synod to prescribe to all the provinces of the Roman empire, or rather of the west? *P. Greg. I., Ep. vii. viii.*

² Balusius thinks that Hilarius of Arles pretended and offered at this primatical power, apud *Marc.* v. 32; but Pope Leo mainly checked and quashed his attempt.

³ *Contra hæc si dictum fuerit, quia nec metropolitam habuit nec patriarcham; dicendum est quia a sede apostolica, quæ omnium ecclesiarum caput est, causa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat.*—*Greg. I., Ep. xi. 56.*

⁴ *Rufin., Hist. i. 6.*

elected in their dioceses, leaving bishops to be ordained by the metropolitans in their provincial synods; but he will meddle in the ordination of every bishop, suffering none to be constituted without his confirmation, for which he must soundly pay.

The ancient order allowed a patriarch, with the advice and consent of his synod, to make canons for the well-ordering of his diocese; but he sends about his decretal letters, composed by an infallible secretary, which he pretends must have the force of laws equal to the highest decrees of the whole church.

The ancient order supposed bishops, by their ordination, sufficiently obliged to render unto their patriarch due observance, according to the canons, he being liable to be judged in a synod for the transgression of his duty; but he forces all bishops to take the most slavish oaths of obedience to him that can be imagined.

The ancient order appointed that bishops accused for offences should be judged in their provinces, or, upon appeal from them, in patriarchal synods; but he receives appeals at the first hand, and determines them in his court, without calling such a synod in an age for any such purpose.

The ancient patriarchs ordered all things, as became good subjects, with leave and under submission to the emperor, who, as he pleased, interposed his confirmation of their sanctions; but this man pretends to decree what he pleases without the leave and against the will of princes.

Wherefore he is not a patriarch of the western churches, for that he acts according to no patriarchal rule, but a certain kind of sovereign lord, or a tyrannical oppressor of them.

11. In all the transactions for modelling the church, there never was allowed to the pope any dominion over his fellow-patriarchs, or those great primates who had assumed that name to themselves; among whom, indeed, for the dignity of his city, he had obtained a priority of honour or place, but never had any power over them settled by a title of law, or by clear and uncontested practice.¹

Insomuch, that if any of them had erred in faith or offended in practice, it was requisite to call a general synod to judge them; as in the cases of Athanasius, of Gregory Nazianzen and Maximus, of Theophilus and St Chrysostom, of Nestorius and of Dioscorus, is evident.

12. Indeed, all the oriental churches kept themselves pretty free from his encroachments, although, when he had swollen so big in the west, he sometimes took occasion to attempt on their liberty; which they sometimes warily declined, sometimes stoutly opposed.

But as to the main, those flourishing churches constantly main-

¹ *Isid. in Dist. xxi. cap. 1.*

tained a distinct administration from the western churches, under their own patriarchs and synods, not suffering him to interlope in prejudice to their liberty.¹

They, without his leave or notice, called and celebrated synods; of which all the first great synods are instances. Their ordinations were not confirmed or touched by him; appeals were not, with public regard or allowance, thence made to him in causes great or little, but they decided them among themselves. They quashed heresies springing up among them; as the second general synod the Macedonians, Theophilus, the Origenists, &c. Little in any case had his worship to do with them, or they with him, beyond what was needful to maintain general communion and correspondence with him; which they commonly, as piety obliged, were willing to do.

And sometimes, when a pert pope, upon some incidental advantage of differences risen among them, would be more busy than they deemed convenient in tampering with their affairs, they rapped his fingers. So Victor, so Stephanus, so Julius and Liberius of old, felt to their smart; so afterwards Damasus and other popes in the case of Flavianus, Innocent in the case of St Chrysostom, Felix and his successors in the case of Acacius, found little regard had to their interposals.

So things proceeded, till at length a final rupture was made between them, and they would not suffer him at all to meddle with their affairs.

Before I proceed any farther, I shall briefly draw some corollaries from this historical account which I have given of the original and growth of metropolitical, primatical, and patriarchal jurisdiction:—

1. Patriarchs are a human institution.
2. As they were erected by the power and prudence of men, so they may be dissolved by the same.
3. They were erected by the leave and confirmation of princes, and by the same they may be dejected, if great reason appear.
4. The patriarchate of the pope beyond his own province or diocese does not subsist upon any canon of a general synod.
5. He can, therefore, claim no such power, otherwise than upon his invasion or assumption.
6. The primates and metropolitans of the western church cannot be supposed otherwise than by force, or out of fear, to have submitted to such an authority as he usurps.
7. It is not really a patriarchal power, like to that which was granted by the canons and princes, but another sort of power, which the pope exercises.
8. The most rightful patriarch, holding false doctrine, or imposing

¹ Vid. de Marc., lib. vii. cap. 4, 5.

unjust laws, or tyrannically abusing his power, may and ought to be rejected from communion.

9. Such a patriarch is to be judged by a free synod, if it may be had.

10. If such a synod cannot be had by consent of princes, each church may free itself from the mischiefs induced by his perverse doctrine or practice.

11. No ecclesiastical power can interpose in the management of any affairs within the territory of any prince, without his concession.

12. By the laws of God, and according to ancient practice, princes may model the bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, erect bishoprics, enlarge, diminish, or transfer them, as they please.

13. Wherefore, each prince, having supreme power in his own dominions, and equal to what the emperor had in his, may exclude any foreign prelate from jurisdiction in his territories.

14. It is expedient, for peace and public good, that he should do thus.

15. Such prelate, according to the rules of Christianity, ought to be content with his doing so.

16. Any prelate exercising power in the dominion of any prince is "eatenus" [so far] his subject; as the popes and all bishops were to the Roman emperors.

17. Those joints of ecclesiastical discipline established in the Roman empire, by the confirmation of emperors, were, as to necessary continuance, dissolved by the dissolution of the Roman empire.

18. The power of the pope in the territories of any prince subsisted by his authority and favour.

19. By the same reason as princes have curbed the exorbitancy of papal power in some cases, of entertaining legates, making appeals, disposing of benefices, &c., by the same they might exclude it.

20. The practice of Christianity does not depend upon the subsistence of such a form, instituted by man.*

Having shown at large that this universal sovereignty and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome over the Christian church has no real foundation, either in Scripture or elsewhere, it will be requisite to show by what ways and means so groundless a claim and pretence should gain belief and submission to it from so considerable a part

* The powers here assigned to princes may be considered, by Episcopalians as well as others, to exceed those allowed to civil rulers by "the laws of God," however accordant they may be with "ancient practice." But though, as general principles, some of these corollaries may admit of dispute, yet, as applied to the church of Rome, it is not easy to resist their force. In truth, all general reasonings on the respective jurisdiction of church and state are out of place, when the question is with a church which claims an authority co-extensive in its objects with that of the state, and subversive of all due allegiance to civil rulers.—Ed.

of Christendom. And that from so very slender roots, from slight beginnings, and the slimmest pretences one can well imagine,¹ this bulk of exorbitant power grew the vastest that ever man on earth attained, or ever aimed at, will be the less wonderful if we consider the many causes which concurred and contributed to it; some of which are proposed in the following observations:—

1. *Eminency of any kind*, in wealth, in honour, in reputation, in might, in place, or mere order of dignity, easily passes into advantages of real power and command over those who are inferior in those respects, and have any dealings or common transactions with such superiors.

For to persons endowed with such eminency by voluntary deference the conduct of affairs is wont to be allowed, none presuming to stand in competition with them, every one rather yielding place to them than to their equals.

The same conduct of things, upon the same accounts, and by reason of their possession, continues fast in their hands, so long as they retain such advantages.

Then, from a custom of managing things, springs up an opinion or a pretence of right thereto; they are apt to assume a title, and others ready to allow it.

Men naturally admire such things, and so are apt to defer extraordinary respect to the possessors of them.

Advantages of wealth and might are not only instruments to attain, but incentives spurring men to affect, the getting authority over their poorer and weaker neighbours; for men will not be content with bare eminency, but will desire real power and sway, so as to obtain their wills over others, and not to be crossed by any. Pope Leo had no reason to wonder that Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, was not content with dry honour.² Men are apt to think their honour is precarious, and stands on an uncertain foundation, if it be not supported with real power; and, therefore, they will not be satisfied to let their advantages lie dead, which are so easily improvable to power, by inveigling some, and scaring or constraining others to bear their yoke: and they are able to benefit and gratify some, and thereby render them willing to submit; those afterwards become serviceable to bring others under, who are disaffected or refractory.

So the bishops of Constantinople and of Jerusalem, at first, had only privileges of honour, but afterward they soon hooked in power.

¹ De pusillo crescere.—*P. Leo.*, *Ep.* lv.

² Quid illi satisfaciet, si tantæ urbis magnificentia et claritudo non sufficit?—*Leo*, *Ep.* lv. [“What will satisfy him, if the magnificence and renown of such a city is not enough?”]

Now, the Roman bishops, from the beginning, were eminent above all other bishops in all kinds of advantages.

He was seated in the imperial city, the place of general resort; thence obvious to all eyes, and his name sounding in all mouths. He had a most numerous, opulent, splendid flock and clergy. He had the greatest income, from liberal oblations, to dispose of. He lived in greatest state and lustre.¹ He had opportunities to assist others in their business, and to relieve them in their wants. He necessarily thence obtained great respect and veneration. Hence, in all common affairs, the conduct and presidency were naturally devolved on him without contest.

No wonder, then, that after some time the pope arrived to some pitch of authority over poor Christians, especially those who lay nearest to him, improving his eminency into power, and his pastoral charge into a kind of empire, according to that observation of Socrates, that "long before his time the Roman episcopacy had advanced itself beyond the priesthood into a sovereignty."²

And the like he observes to have happened in the church of Alexandria, upon the like grounds, or by imitation of such a pattern.³

2. *Any small power is apt to grow and spread itself*; a spark of it soon will expand itself into a flame. It is very like to the "grain of mustard-seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof," Matt. xiii. 31, 32. "Grasping ambition," as Plutarch says, "is an innate disease of sovereignties."⁴ Whoever has any pittance of it will be improving his stock; having tasted the sweetness of having his will (which extremely gratifies the nature of man), he will not be satisfied without having more; he will take himself to be straitened by any bounds, and will strive to free himself of all restraints.

Any pretence will serve to ground attempts of enlarging power, and none will be balked: for power is bold, enterprising, restless; it always watches, or often finds, "never slips opportunities of dilating itself."⁵ Every accession begets farther advantages to amplify it, as its stock grows, so it with ease proportionably increases, being ever out at use [usury.] As it grows, so its strength to maintain

¹ Euseb. vi. 43, an. 254. Oblationibus matronarum ditati. Circumspecte vestiti. ["Enriched with the oblations of matrons." "Splendidly attired."]—*Amm. Marc.* I. xxvii. p. 337, an. 367, Euseb.

² Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἦδη πάλαι προελθούσης.—*Socr.* vii. 11.

³ *Socr.* vii. 7.

⁴ Τὸ σύμφυτον νόσημα ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονξία.—*Plut.* in *Pyrrh.*

⁵ Subrependi occasiones non prætermittit ambitio, &c.—*P. Leo I., Ep.* lxii. Facilius crescit dignitas quam incipit.—*Sen., Ep.* ci. Primæ dominandi spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus, adsunt studia et ministri.—*Tacit., Ann.* iv. p. 143.

and enlarge itself grows; it gaining more wealth, more friends, more associates and dependants.

None can resist or obstruct its growth without danger and manifold disadvantages; for as its adherents are deemed loyal and faithful, so its opposers are branded with the imputations of rebellion, contumacy, disloyalty, and, not succeeding in their resistance, they will be undone.

None ever enterprises more than to stop its career; so that it seldom loses by opposition, and it ever gains by composition. If it be checked at one time, or in one place, it will, like the sea, at another season, in another point, break in. If it is sometimes overthrown in a battle, it is seldom conquered in the war.

It is always on its march forward, and gains ground; for one encroachment countenances the next, and is alleged for a precedent to authorize or justify it. It seldom moves backward, for every successor thinks he may justly enjoy what his predecessor gained, or what is transmitted into his possession; so that there hardly can ever be any restitution of ill-gotten power.

Thus have many absolute kingdoms grown:—The first chief was a leader of volunteers; from thence he grew to be a prince with stated privileges; after, he became a monarch invested with high prerogatives; in fine, he creeps forward to be a grand seignior, usurping absolute dominion. So Augustus Cæsar first only assumed the style of prince of the senate, demeaning himself modestly as such; but he soon drew to himself the administration of all things, and upon that foundation his successors very suddenly erected a boundless power. If you trace the footsteps of most empires to the beginning, you may perceive the like.

So the pope, when he had got a little power, continually swelled it. The puny pretence of the succeeding St Peter, and the name of the apostolical see; the precedence, by reason of the imperial city; the honorary privileges allowed him by councils; the authority deferred to him by one synod of revising the causes of bishops; the countenance given to him in repressing some heresies,—he improved to constitute himself Sovereign Lord of the Church.

3. *Spiritual power especially is of a growing nature*, and more especially that which derives from divine institution; for it has a great awe upon the hearts and consciences of men, which engages them to a firm and constant adherence. It uses the most subtle arms, which it has always ready, which needs no time nor cost to furnish, which cannot be extorted from its hand; so that it can never be disarmed. And its weapons make strong impression, because it proposes the most effectual encouragements to its abettors, and discouragements to its adversaries; alluring the one with promises of

God's favour and eternal happiness; terrifying the other with menaces of vengeance from heaven and endless misery;—which ever quell religious, superstitious, weak people, and often daunt men of knowledge and courage.

It is presumed unchangeable and unextinguishable by any human power; and thence is not, as all other power, subject to revolutions. Hence, like Achilles, it is hardly vincible, because always immortal. If it be sometimes rebuffed or impaired, it soon will recover greater strength and vigour.

The popes derive their authority from divine institution;¹ and their weapons always are sentences of Scripture. They pretend to dispense remission of sins, and promise heaven to their abettors. They excommunicate, curse, and damn the opposers of their designs.

They pretend they never can lose any power that ever belonged to their see; they are always stiff, and they never recede or give back. "The privileges of the Roman church," [say they,] "can sustain no detriment."²

4. *Power is easily attained and augmented upon occasion of dissensions.* Each faction usually makes itself a head, the chief in strength and reputation which it can find inclinable to favour it, and that head it will strive to magnify, that he may be the abler to promote its cause; and if the cause prosper, he is rewarded with accession of privileges and authority; especially those who were oppressed, and find relief by his means, become zealously active for his aggrandizement.

Thus, usually, in civil broils the captain of the prevalent party grows a prince, or is crowned with great privileges, as Cæsar, Octavian, Cromwell, &c.

So, upon occasion of the Arian faction, and the oppression of Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, and other bishops, the pope, who, by their application to him, had occasion to head the catholic party, grew in power; for thereupon the Sardican synod decreed to him that privilege, which he infinitely enhanced, and which became the main engine of rearing himself so high.

And by his interposal in the dissensions raised by the Nestorians, the Pelagians, the Eutychians, the Acacians, the Monothelites, the Image-worshippers and Image-breakers, &c., his authority was advanced; for he, adhering in those causes to the prevailing party, was by them extolled, obtaining both reputation and sway.

5. *All power is attended by dependencies of persons sheltered*

¹ Dist. xxi. cap. 2, 8.

² Privilegia Romanæ ecclesiæ nullum possunt sustinere detrimentum &c.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. xxxvi. 32.*

under it, and by it enjoying subordinate advantages, which proportionably grow by its increase.

Such persons, therefore, will ever be inciting their chief and patron to amplify his power; and in aiding him to compass it, they will be very industriously, resolutely, and steadily active, their own interest moving them thereto.

Wherefore, their mouths will ever be open in crying him up, their heads will be busy in contriving ways to further his interests, their care and pains will be employed in accomplishing his designs; they with their utmost strength will contend in his defence against all oppositions.

Thus the Roman clergy first, then the bishops of Italy, then all the clergy of the west, became engaged to support, to fortify, to enlarge the papal authority; they all sharing with him in domination over the laity, and enjoying wealth, credit, support, privileges, and immunities thereby. Some of them, especially, were ever putting him on higher pretences, and furthering him by all means in his acquist [acquirement] and maintenance of them.

6. Hence, if a potentate himself should have no ambition nor much ability to improve his power, yet *it would of itself grow*: he need only be passive therein; the interest of his partisans would effect it. So that often power no less thrives under sluggish and weak potentates, especially if they are void of goodness, than under the most active and able. Let the ministers alone to drive on their interest.

7. *Even persons otherwise just and good seldom scruple to augment their power by undue encroachment*, or at least to uphold the usurpations of their foregoers; for even such are apt to favour their own pretences, and afraid of incurring censure and blame, if they should part with any thing left them by their predecessors. They apprehend themselves to owe a dearness [kindness] to their place, engaging them to tender its own weal and prosperity: in promoting which they suppose themselves not to act for their own private interest; and that it is not out of ambition or avarice, but out of a regard to the grandeur of their office, that they stickle and bustle; and that in so doing they imitate St Paul, who “magnified his office.” They are encouraged hereto by the applause of men, especially of those who are allied with them in interest, and who converse with them; who take it for a maxim, *Boni principis est ampliare imperium* [“It is the part of a good prince to amplify his dominion”]. The extenders of empire are admired and commended, however they do it,—although with cruel wars, or by any unjust means.

Hence, usually, the worthiest men in the world’s eye are greatest enlargers of power. And such men bringing appearances of virtue,

ability, reputation, to aid their endeavours, most easily compass designs of this nature, finding less obstruction to their attempts: for men are not so apt to suspect their integrity, or to charge them with ambition and avarice; and the few who discern their aims and consequences of things are overborne by the number of those who are favourably conceited and inclined toward them.

Thus, Julius I., Damasus I., Innocent I., Gregory I., and the like popes, whom history represents as laudable persons, did yet confer to the advancement of papal grandeur. But they who most advanced that interest, as Pope Leo I., Gelasius I., Pope Nicholas I., Pope Gregory VII., in the esteem of true zealots, pass for the best popes.¹ Hence the distinction between a good man, a good prince, a good pope.

8. *Men of an inferior condition are apt to express themselves highly in commendation of those who are in a superior rank*, especially upon occasion of address and intercourse; which commendations are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgments or attestations of right, and thence sometimes prove means of creating it.

Of the generality of men it is truly said,—

— qui famæ servit ineptus,
Ac stupet in titulis et imaginibus, &c.—*Hor.*

—that they “stupidly truckle to fame, and are dazzled with titles and images,” readily ascribing to superiors whatever they claim, without scanning the grounds of their title. Simple and weak men, out of abjectness or fear, are wont to crouch and submit to any thing, upon any terms. Wise men do not love brangling, nor will expose their quiet and safety without great reason, thence being inclinable to comply with greater persons. Bad men, out of design to procure advantages or impunity, are prone to flatter and glose them. Good men, out of due reverence to them, and in hope of fair usage from them, are ready to compliment them or treat them with the most respectful terms. Those who are obliged to them will not spare to extol them, paying the easy return of good words for good deeds.

Thus all men conspire to exalt power, which snatches all good words as true, and constructs them to the most favourable sense, and alleges them as verdicts and arguments of unquestionable right. So are the compliments, or terms of respect, used by Jerome, Austin, Theodoret, and divers others, toward popes drawn into an argument for papal authority; whenas [whereas] the actions of such fathers, and their discourses upon other occasions, manifest their serious judgment to have been directly contrary to his pretences. Wherefore, the Emperor of Constantinople, in the Florentine synod, had good reason to decline such sayings for arguments;² for,—

¹ Sixtus V.

² Κατὰ ἰντὰ τῶν ἀγίων.

"If," says he, "any of the saints in an epistle honour the pope, shall he take that as importing privileges?"¹

9. *Good men commonly*, out of charitable simplicity, meekness, modesty, and humility, love of peace, and averseness from contention, *are apt to yield to the encroachments of those who any wise excel them*; and when such men yield, others are ready to follow their example. Bad men have little interest to resist, and no heart to stand for public good; but rather strike in presently, taking advantage by their compliance to drive a good market for themselves. Hence so many of all sorts, in all times, complied with popes, or did not obstruct them, suffering them without great obstacle to raise their power.

10. If, in such cases, a few wise men apprehend the consequences of things, yet *they can do little to prevent them*. They seldom have the courage with sufficient zeal to bustle against encroachments, fearing to be overborne by its stream, to lose their labour, and vainly to suffer by it. If they offer at resistance, it is usually faint and moderate; whereas power acts vigorously, and pushes itself forward with mighty violence, so that it is not only difficult to check it, but dangerous to oppose it.

Ambiguity of words, as it causes many debates, so it yields much advantage to the foundation and amplification of power;² for whatever is said of it will be interpreted in favour of it, and will afford colour to its pretences. Words innocently or carelessly used are, by interpretation, extended to signify great matters, or what you please. For instance:—

The word *bishop* may import any kind of superintendency or inspection. Hence, St Peter came to be reckoned bishop of Rome, because, in virtue of his apostolical office, he had inspection over that church founded by him, and might exercise some episcopal acts.

The word *head* signifies any kind of eminency;³ the word *prince*, any priority; the word to *preside*, any kind of superiority or pre-eminence. Hence, some fathers attributing those names to St Peter, they are interpreted to have thought him sovereign in power over the apostles. And because some gave like terms to the pope, they infer his superiority in power over all bishops, notwithstanding such fathers expressed a contrary judgment.

The word *successor* may import any derivation of power. Hence, because St Peter is said to have founded the church of Rome, and to have ordained the first bishop there, the pope is called his successor.

¹ Μήπως, φησὶ, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τὸν πάπαν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦτο ἀντὶ προνομίου.—*Syn. Flor.*, scss. xxv. p. 848.

² Ita de vocabulorum occasionibus plurimum quæstiones subornantur, sicut et de verborum in communionibus.—*Tertull. de Resur. Carn.* liv.

³ Καὶ ἡγούμενος κεφαλῆς.—*Can. Apost.* xxxiv.

The word *authority* often imports any kind of influence upon the opinions or actions of men, grounded upon eminence of place, worth, reputation, or any such advantage. Hence, because the pope of old sometimes was desired to interpose his authority, they will understand him to have had right to command or judge in such cases:¹ although authority is sometimes opposed to command; as where Livy says, that "Evander held those places by authority rather than by command;"² and Tacitus of the German princes says, "They are heard rather according to their authority of persuading than power of commanding."³ "The word *judge*," says Canus, "is frequently used to signify no more than, 'I think or conceive;'"⁴ whereby he excuses divers popes from having decreed a notable error: for Alexander III. says of them, "That they judged that after a matrimony contracted, not consummated, another may be valid, that being dissolved." Yet if the pope is said to have *judged* so or so in any case, it is alleged for a certain argument of proper *jurisdiction*.

11. *There is a strange enchantment in words*, which, being assumed, although with no great colour of reason, work on the fancies of men, especially of the weaker sort. Of these power always arrogates to itself such as are most operative, by their force sustaining and extending itself.

So divers prevalent factions assumed to themselves the name of *Catholic*; and the Roman church particularly has appropriated that word to itself, even so as to commit a bull, implying Rome and the universe to be the same place. And the perpetual canting of this term has been one of its most effectual charms to weak people: "I am a Catholic,"—that is, a *Universal*; "therefore all I hold is true." This is their great argument.

The words, *successor of Peter, apostolic see, prima sedes*, have been strongly urged for arguments of papal authority; which have, beyond their true force (for, indeed, they signify nothing), had a strange efficacy upon men of understanding and wisdom.

12. The pope's power was much amplified by the *importunity of persons condemned or extruded from their places*, whether upon just accounts, or wrongfully and by faction: for they, finding no other more hopeful place of refuge and redress, often applied to

¹ Quia duobus episcopis, quorum ea tempestate summa autoritas erat non illuserat, &c.—*Sup. Sev.* ii. 63. "Because he had not deluded the two bishops who had the greatest authority in those times." Non mediocris autoritatis episcopus Carthag.—*Aug., Ep.* cxlii. "The bishop of Carthage was of no mean authority."

² Evander . . . ea autoritate magis quam imperio retinebat loca.—*Liv.* i.

³ — audiuntur autoritate suadendi potius quam jubendi potestate.—*Tac. de Mor. Ger.*, p. 640.

⁴ Verbum *judico* frequenter in ea significatione usurpatur, ut idem sit quod sentio suo opinor.—*Can.*, loc. vi. cap. 8 (*Comp. lib.* vi. 1.)

him;¹ for what will not men do, whither will not they go, in straits?

Thus Marcion went to Rome, and sued for admission to communion there. So Fortunatus and Felicissimus, in St Cyprian, being condemned in Africa, fled to Rome for shelter; of which absurdity St Cyprian so complains. So likewise Martianus and Basilides, in St Cyprian, being outed of their sees for having lapsed from the Christian profession, fled to Stephen for succour, to be restored.² So Maximus, the Cynic, went to Rome to get a confirmation of his election at Constantinople. So Marcellus, being rejected for heterodoxy, went thither to get attestation to his orthodoxy, of which St Basil complains. So Apiarius, being condemned in Africa for his crimes, appealed to Rome.

And on the other side, Athanasius, being with great partiality condemned by the synod of Tyre, Paulus and other bishops being extruded from their sees for orthodoxy, St Chrysostom being condemned and expelled by Theophilus and his complices, Flavianus being deposed by Dioscorus and the Ephesine synod, Theodoret being condemned by the same, cried out for help to Rome.³ Chelidonius, bishop of Resanon, being deposed by Hilarius of Arles (for crimes), fled to Pope Leo. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, being extruded from his see by Photius, complained to the pope.

13. All princes are forward to heap honour on the bishop of their imperial city, it seeming a disgrace to themselves that so near a relation be an inferior to any other, who is, as it were, their spiritual pastor, who is usually by their special favour advanced. The city itself and the court will be restless in assisting him to climb.

Thus the bishop of Constantinople arose to that high pitch of honour, and to be second patriarch, who at first was a mean suffragan to the bishop of Heraclea. This, by the synods of Constantinople and Chalcedon, is assigned for the reason of his advancement.⁴ And how ready the emperors were to promote the dignity of that bishop, we see by many of their edicts to that purpose, as particularly that of Leo.

So, for the honour of their city, the emperors usually favoured the pope, assisting him in the furtherance of his designs, and extending his privileges by their edicts at home, and letters to the eastern emperors recommending their affairs.

¹ — ut ad domini mei tanti pontificis et piissimi patris, omnium ad se confugientium tutissimi defensoris ac protectoris, &c.—*Rothald. Apell.* in *P. Nic. I.*, Ep. xxxvii. p. 563. “— my lord, so great a pontiff, and most pious a father, the safe defender and protector of all those that flee unto him for succour.”

² Cypr., Ep. lxxviii., Ep. lv.

³ Calendon of Antioch, liber. cap. xviii.; P. Leo, Ep. lxxxix.; Marc. v. 82; P. Nic. I., Ep. xxxviii. p. 564; Rothaldus.

⁴ Cod., lib. i. tit. 2, cap. 16.

So in the synod of Chalcedon we have the letters of Valentinian, together with those of Placidia and of Eudoxia, the empresses, to Theodosius, in behalf of Pope Leo, for retraction of the Ephesine synod, wherein they express themselves engaged to maintain the honour of the Roman see. "Seeing that," says Placidia, mother of Theodosius, "it becomes us in all things to preserve the honour and dignity of this chief city, which is the mistress of all others."¹

So Pope Nicholas confesses that the emperors had "extolled the Roman see with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits"² or benefices, &c.

— Romanus tempore prisco
Pauper erat præsul, regali munere crevit, &c.³

14. The popes had the advantage of being ready at hand to suggest what they pleased to the court, and thereby to procure its edicts (directed or dictated by themselves) in their favour, for extending their power or repressing any opposition made to their encroachments.

Baronius observes, that the bishops of Constantinople used this advantage for their ends; for thus he reflects on the edict of the Emperor Leo in favour of that see: "These things Leo; but questionless conceived in the words of Acacius, swelling with pride."⁴

And no less unquestionably the popes conceived words for the emperors in countenance of their authority.⁵

Such was that edict of Valentinian in favour of Leo against Hilarius, bishop of Arles (in an unjust cause, as Binius confesses),⁶ who contested his authority to undo what was done in a Gallican synod. And we may thank Baronius himself for this observation: "By this, reader, you understand that when the emperors ordained laws concerning religion, they did it by transcribing and enacting the laws of the church, upon the admonition of the holy bishops requiring them to do their duty."⁷ It was a notable edict which Pope Hilarius alleges: "It was also decreed by the laws of Christian princes, that whatsoever the bishop of the apostolic see should, upon examination, pronounce concerning churches and their governors," &c., "should with reverence be received and strictly observed,"⁸ &c.

¹ 'Ὅστις πρίν ηἰμᾶς ταύτη τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις διέσκεια πασῶν ὑπάρχου τῶν γῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς εἰσὶν παραφυλάττει.—*Syn. Chalc.*, p. 27.

² Qualiter (imperatores) eam diversis beneficiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint, qualiter illam, &c.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. viii.* p. 513.

³ Gunth. Lig. lib. vi.

⁴ Hæc Leo, sed Acacii fastu tumentis proculdubio verbis concepta, et stylo superbie exarata.—*Baron.*, ann. 478, § 4.

⁵ Apud Marc. v. 82.

⁶ Bin. ad P. Hil., Ep. xi. p. 576.

⁷ Ex his intelligis, lector, cum de rebus sacris imperatores leges sanxerint, id ipsum admonitione ss. præsulum requirentium eorum officium ex scriptis legibus statuisse.—*Baron.*, ann. 458, § 4.

⁸ Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum est, &c.—*P. Hilarius, Ep. xi.* p. 576.

Such edicts, by crafty suggestions, being at opportune times from easy and unwary princes procured, held, not being easily reversed; and the power which the pope once had obtained by them he would never part with, fortifying it by higher pretences of divine immutable right.¹

The Emperor Gratian, having got the world under him, ordered the churches to choose who would communicate with Pope Damasus.² This, and the like countenances, brought credit and authority to the Roman see.

15. It is, therefore, no wonder that popes, being seated in the metropolis of the western empire, the head of all the Roman state, should find interest sufficient to make themselves, by degrees, what they would be; for they not only surpassing the provincial bishops in wealth and repute, but having power in court, who dared to pull a feather with them, or to withstand their encroachments? What wise man would not rather bear much than contest upon such disadvantages, and without probable grounds of success?

16. Princes who favoured them with such concessions, and abetted their undertakings, did not foresee what such increase of power in time would arise to, or suspect the prejudice thence done to imperial authority. They little thought that, in virtue thereof, popes would check and mate princes, or would claim superiority over them; for the popes at that time behaved and expressed themselves with modesty and respect to emperors.

17. Power once rooted finds seasons and favourable junctures for its growth, which it will be intent to embrace.

The confusions of things, the irruptions of barbarians, the straits of emperors, the contentions of princes, &c., all turned to account for him; and in the confusion of things, he snatched what he could to himself.

The declination and infirmity of the Roman empire gave him opportunity to strengthen his interests, either by closing with it, so as to gain somewhat by its concession, or by opposing it, so as to head a faction against it. As he often had opportunity to promote the designs of emperors and princes, so those returned to him increase of authority; so they trucked and bartered together. For when princes were in straits, or needed assistance (from his reputation at home) to the furtherance of their designs, or support of their interest in Italy, they were content to honour him and grant what he desired; as in the case of Acacius, which had caused so long a breach, the emperor, to engage Pope Hormisdas, consented to his will. And at the Florentine synod, the emperor bowed to the pope's terms, in hopes to get his assistance against the Turks.

¹ P. Nic. I., Ep. xxxvi.

² Theod. v. 2.

When the eastern emperors, by his means chiefly, were driven out of Italy, he snatched a good part of it to himself, and set up for a temporal prince.¹

When princes clashed, he, by yielding countenance to one side, would be sure to make a good market for himself; for this pretended successor to the fisherman was really skilled to angle in troubled waters.

They have been the incendiaries of Christendom, the kindlers and fomenters of war, and would often stir up wars; and, inclining to the stronger part, would share with the conqueror, as when he stirred up Charles against the Lombards.² They would, upon spiritual pretence, be interposing in all affairs.³

He obliged princes, by abetting their cause when it was unjust or weak, his spiritual authority satisfying their conscience, whence he was sure to receive good acknowledgment and recompense; as when he allowed Pepin's usurpation (anno 752.)

He pretended to dispose of kingdoms and to constitute princes, reserving obeisance to himself. Gregory VII. (anno 1060) granted to Robert Guiscard Naples and Sicily, *beneficiario jure*. Innocent II. (anno 1139) gave to Roger the title of king.

There is scarce any kingdom in Europe which he has not claimed the sovereignty of, by some pretence or other. Princes sometimes, for quiet-sake, have desired the pope's consent and allowance of things appertaining of right to themselves; whence the pope took advantage to claim an original right of disposing such things.

The proceeding of the pope upon occasion of wars is remarkable. When he entered into league with a prince, to side with him in a war against another, he covenanted to prosecute the enemy with spiritual arms (that is, with excommunications and interdicts), engaging his confederates to use temporal arms; so making ecclesiastical censures tools of interest.

When princes were in difficulties, by the mutinous disposition of princes, the emulation of antagonists, he would, as served his interest, interpose, hooking in some advantage to himself.

In the tumults against our King John he struck in, and would have drawn the kingdom to himself.

He would watch opportunity to quarrel with princes, upon pretence they intrenched on his spiritual power; as about the point of the investiture of bishops, and receiving homage from them.

¹ Ἀπὸς αἰσούσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐυλιζέται, &c. "When the oak is fallen, every one gets some wood."

² Anast. in Vit. Zach.; P. Nic. I., Ep. xxv. xxx., &c.

³ Non sine suspicione, quod illorum temporum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potius atque nutrent.—*Modruviciensis Episc. in Conc. Lat. sub Leone X.*, sess. vi. p. 72.

Gregory VII. excommunicated	Hen. III., anno 1076.
Calixtus II.	Hen. IV., anno 1120.
Adrian IV.	Fred., anno 1160.
Celestinus III.	Hen. V., anno 1195.
Innocent III.	Otho, anno 1219.
Honorius III. and Gregory IX.	Fred. II., anno 1220.
Innocent IV. in the Lugd. Conc. 1245.

18. The ignorance of the times did him great service; for then all the little learning which was being in his clients and factors, they could instil what they pleased into the credulous people. Then his dictates would pass for infallible oracles and his decrees for inviolable laws; whence his veneration was exceedingly increased.

19. He was forward to support factious churchmen against princes, upon pretence of spiritual interest and liberty; [such as] Anselm (anno 1109), [and Thomas à] Becket (anno 1154.)¹ And usually, by his importunity and arts, getting the better in such contests, he thereby much strengthened his authority.

20. He making himself the head of all the clergy, and carrying himself as their protector and patron, engaged thereby innumerable most able heads, tongues, and pens, who were devoted to maintain whatever he did, and had little else to do.

21. So great a party he cherished with exorbitant liberties, suffering none to rule over them or touch them beside himself.

22. He founded divers militias and bands of spiritual janizaries, to be combatants for his interests; who, depending immediately upon him, subsisting by his charters, enjoying exemptions by his authority from other jurisdictions, being sworn to a special obeisance of him, were entirely at his devotion, ready with all their might to advance his interests, and to maintain all the pretences of their patron and benefactor.

These had great sway among the people, upon account of their religious guises and pretences to extraordinary heights of sanctimony, austerity, contempt of the world; and learning being mostly confined to them, they were the chief teachers and guides of Christendom: so that no wonder if he challenged and could maintain any thing by their influence.

They cried up his power as superior to all others. They attributed to him titles strangely high, "Vice-god, Spouse of the Church," &c.; strange attributes of "omnipotency, infallibility," &c.

23. Whereas wealth is a great sinew of power, he invented divers ways of drawing great store thereof to himself.²

¹ Eadmer., Matt. Par. [Matthew Paris, the old historian of England, to whom we are indebted for much of our knowledge of these times.—Ed.]

² Pro pallio omnino aliquid dare prohibeo.—*Greg. I., Ep. iv. 44.* ["For the pall (the pontifical vesture) I forbid that any thing at all be given."]

By how many tricks did he proll [pilfer] money from all parts of Christendom! as by

Dispensations for marriage within degrees prohibited, or at uncanonical times; for vows and oaths; for observance of fasts and abstinences; for pluralities and incompatible benefices, non-residences, &c.

Indulgences and pardons, and freeing souls from the pains of purgatory.

Reservations, and provisions of benefices, not bestowed *gratis*.¹

Consecrated presents, "Agnus Dei's, swords, roses," &c.

Confirmation of bishops, sending palls.²

Appeals to his court.

Tributes of "Peter-pence, annats, tithes;" introduced upon occasion of holy wars, and continued.³

Playing fast and loose,—tying knots, and undoing them for gain.

Sending legates to drain places of money.

Commutations of penance for money.

Inviting to pilgrimage at Rome.

Hooking in legacies. What a mass of treasure all this came to! what a trade he drove! "*Quantas nobis divitias peperit hæc fabula Christi!*"*

24. He indeed easily, by the help of his mercenary divines, transformed most points of divinity in accommodation to his interests of power, reputation, and gain.

25. Any pretence, how slender soever, will in time get some validity, being fortified by the consent of divers authors and a current of suitable practice.

Any story serving the designs of a party will get credit by being often told, especially by writers bearing a semblance of gravity; whereof divers will never be wanting to abet a flourishing party.

26. The histories of some ages were composed only by the pope's clients, friars and monks, and such people; which, therefore, are partial to him, addicted to his interests, and under awe of him.

For a long time none dared open his mouth to question any of his pretences, or reprehend his practices, without being called "heretic," and treated as such.

27. Whereas the pope had two sorts of opposites to subdue, temporal princes and bishops, his business being to overtop princes and to enslave all bishops, or to invade and usurp the rights of both, he

¹ *Vendit plumbum pro auro.* ["He sells lead for gold," alluding to the leaden seals attached to parchments.—Ed.] *Taxa camerariæ.* ["The fees of the Romish chamberlain or treasury."]

² In the times of Henry I. the bishop of York paid £10,000 sterling for his pall. —*Matt. Par.*, p. 274.

³ Peter-pence.—*Plat.*, p. 257.

* "How much wealth this fable about Christ has brought in to us!"—the saying of Pope Leo X.—Ed.

used the help of each to compass his designs on the other; by the authority of princes oppressing bishops, and by the assistance of bishops mating princes.

28. When any body would not do as he would have them, he incessantly clamoured or whined that "St Peter was injured."¹

29. The forgery of the Decretal Epistles (wherein the ancient popes are made expressly to speak and act according to some of his highest pretences, devised long after their times, and which they never thought of, good men!) hugely conduced to his purpose, authorizing his encroachments by the suffrage of ancient doctrine and practice. A great part of his canon law is extracted out of these, and grounded on them.

The donation of Constantine, fictitious acts of councils, and the like counterfeit stuff, helped thereto; which were soon embraced, as we see in Pope Gregory II., &c.

As also legends, fables of miracles, and all such "deceivableness of unrighteousness."²

30. Popes were so cunning as to form grants, and impute that to privileges derived from them which princes enjoyed by right or custom.³

31. Synods of bishops, called by him at opportune seasons, consisting of his votaries or slaves. None dared therein to whisper any thing to the prejudice of his authority. He carried whatever he pleased to propose, without check or contradiction. Who dared to question any thing done by such numbers of pastors, styling themselves the "representatives of Christendom?"

32. The having hampered all the clergy with strict oaths of universal obedience to him (beginning about the times of Pope Gregory VII.) greatly assured his power.

33. When intolerable oppressions and exactions constrained princes to struggle with him, if he could not utterly prevail, things were brought to composition, whereby he was sure to be for that time a gainer, and gained establishment in some points, leaving the rest to be got afterward in more favourable junctures.

Witness the *Concordats* between

Henry II. and Pope Alexander III., anno 1172.

Edward III. and Pope Gregory XI., anno 1373.

Henry V. and Pope Martin V., anno 1418.

34. When princes were fain to curb their exorbitances by "Pragmatical Sanctions," they were restless till they had got those sanc-

¹ Quando et apostolica præceptio ad injuriam B. Petri in illis partibus non observatur, et a te spernitur et violatur.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. xxxvii.*

² Ἄρδεν οὐκ ἀδυναίει.—*2 Thess. ii. 10.*

³ Twisd., p. 17. Non necessitatis, sed honoris causa peto. Extortis assentationibus.—*P. Leo, Ep. ad Syn. Chalc.*

tions revoked.* And when they found weak princes, or any prince in circumstances advantaging their design, they obtained their end. So Pope Leo X. got Louis XI. to repeal the "Pragmatic Sanctions" of his ancestors.†

35. The power he assumed to absolve men from oaths and vows, to dispense with prohibited marriages, &c., not only brought much grist to his mill, but enabled him highly to oblige divers persons, especially great ones, to himself. For to him they owed the quiet of their conscience from scruples; to him they owed the satisfaction of their desires, and legitimation of their issue, and title to their possessions.

36. So the device of indulgences greatly raised the veneration of him; for who would not adore him that could loose his bands, and free his soul from long and grievous pains?

SUPPOSITION VI.

THE next supposition [hypothesis] is this, "*That in fact the Roman bishops continually from St Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this sovereign power.*"

This is a question of fact, which will best be decided by a particular consideration of the several branches of sovereign power, that so we may examine the more distinctly whether in all ages the popes have enjoyed and exercised them or not.

And if we survey the particular branches of sovereignty, we shall find that the pope has no just title to them in reason, by valid law, or according to ancient practice; whence each of them yields a good argument against his pretences.

I. If the pope were sovereign of the church, he would have power to convocate its supreme councils and judicatories, and would constantly have exercised it.

This power, therefore, the pope claims, and, indeed, pretends to it a long time since, before he could obtain to exercise it. "It is manifestly apparent," says Pope Leo X., with approbation of his Lateran synod, "that the Roman bishop, for the time being (as who has authority over all councils), has alone the full right and power

* The edict called the *Pragmatic Sanction* was emitted by Charles VII. of France in 1438, and was intended to shield the French clergy from the intolerable encroachments of the pope. It consisted of twenty-three articles, abolishing the *annats*, and other exactions of Rome, and declaring the authority of a general council superior to that of the pope.—Ed.

† The execution of this repeal, obtained from the priest-ridden Louis XI., was, however, prevented by the firmness of the University of Paris, and the *Pragmatic Sanction* was restored by his son and successor, Charles VIII.—Ed.

of indicting, translating, and dissolving councils."¹ And long before him, "To the apostolical authority," said Pope Adrian I., "by our Lord's command, and by the merits of St Peter, and by the decrees of the holy canons and of the venerable fathers, a right and special power of convocating synods has many wise been committed."² And yet before him, "The authority," says Pope Pelagius II., "of convocating synods has been delivered to the apostolical see by the singular privilege of St Peter."³

But it is manifest that the pope cannot pretend to this power by virtue of any old ecclesiastical canon, none such being extant or produced by him; nor can he allege any ancient custom, there having been no general synod before Constantine; and as to the practice from that time, it is very clear that for some ages the popes did not assume or exercise such a power, and that it was not taken for their due. Nothing can be more evident, and it were extreme impudence to deny, that the emperors, at their pleasure and by their authority, congregated all the first general synods; for so the oldest historians in most express terms report, so those princes in their edicts averred, so the synods themselves declared. The most just and pious emperors, who bore greatest love to the clergy, and had much respect for the pope, called them without scruple; it was deemed their right to do it, none remonstrated against their practice; the fathers in each synod referred thereto with allowance, and commonly with applause; popes themselves did not contest their right, yea, commonly petitioned them to exercise it.

These things are so clear and so obvious that it is almost vain to prove them; I shall therefore but touch them.

In general Socrates thus attests to the ancient practice: "We," says he, "continually include the emperors in our history, because upon them, ever since they became Christians, ecclesiastical affairs have depended, and the greatest synods have been and are made by their appointment."⁴ And Justinian, in his prefatory type to the fifth general council, begins thus: "It has been ever the care of pious and orthodox emperors, by the assembling of the most reli-

¹ *Distinct. xvii.* Cum etiam solum Rom. pontificem pro tempore existentem, tanquam auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, conciliorum indiendorum, transferendorum ac dissolvendorum plenum jus et potestatem habere . . . manifeste constat.—*Con. Later., sess. xi. p. 152, anno —.*

² — Cui jussione Domini, et meritis B. Petri apostoli, singularis congregandarum synodorum auctoritas, et sanctorum canonum ac venerandorum patrum decretis multipliciter privata tradita est potestas.—*P. Hadrian I., apud Bin. tom. v. p. 565, ann. 785.*

³ Cum generalium synodorum convocandi auctoritas apostolicæ sedi B. Petri singulari privilegio sit tradita, &c.—*P. Pelag. II., Ep. viii., Bin. tom. iv. p. 476, ann. 587. Qu. An hæc epistola sit Pelagii II.?* Negat Launoïus.

⁴ Συνιχῶς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ περιλαμβάνομεν, διότι ἀφ' οὗ Χριστιανίζον ἤρξαντο, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτητο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μίγνεται σύνδοι τῇ αὐτῶν, γράμψι γὰρ τὰς ἐκ καὶ γίνονται.—*Socr. v. Prooem.*

gious bishops, to cut off heresies as they sprung up, and by the right faith, sincerely preached, to keep the holy church of God in peace."¹ And to do this was so proper to the emperors, that when Ruffin affirmed St Hilary to have been excommunicated in a synod, St Jerome, to confute him, asked, "Tell me what emperor commanded this synod to be congregated?"² implying it to be illegal or impossible that a synod should be congregated without the imperial command.

Particularly, Eusebius says of the first Christian emperor, that "as a common bishop appointed by God, he summoned synods of God's ministers."³ So he "commanded a great number of bishops to meet at Arles," for decision of the Donatists' cause; so he also "commanded" the bishops from all quarters to meet at Tyre, for examination of the affairs concerning Athanasius. And that he convoked the great synod of Nice, the first and most renowned of all general synods, all the historians agree, he himself affirmed, [and] the fathers thereof in their synodical remonstrances avowed; as we shall hereafter, in remarking on the passages of that synod, show.

The same course his son Constantius followed, without impediment; for although he was a favourer of the Arian party, yet the catholic bishops readily at his call assembled in the great synods of Sardica,⁴ of Ariminum,⁵ of Seleucia,⁶ of Sirmium,⁷ of Milan,⁸ &c., which he, out of a great zeal to compose dissensions among the bishops, convoked.

After him the Emperor Valentinian, understanding of dissensions about divine matters, to compose them indicted a synod in Illyricum.⁹

A while after, for settlement of the Christian state (which had been greatly disturbed by the persecution of Julian and of Valens,

¹ Semper studium fuit orthodoxis et piis imperatoribus, pro tempore exortas hæreses per congregationem religiosissimorum episcoporum amputare, et recta fide sincere prædicata in pace sanctam Dei ecclesiam custodire, &c.—*Justin. in Syn. v. Collat. i. p. 209, Græce, p. 368, magis emphatice.*

² Doce . . . quis imperator hanc synodum jusserit congregari?—*Hier.*

³ Οἷα τις κοινὸς ἱερέως ἐν Θεοῦ καθισταμένος συνέδους τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρίναι.—*Euseb. de Vit. Const. I. 44.* Πλείστοις ἐν διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθήτων τόπων ἱερισμοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀριελατησίαν πόλιν συνελθὼν ἐκλιύσαμεν.—*Euseb. Hist. x. 6, Ep. ad Chrestum.* "Ad Arelatensium civitatem piissimi imperatoris voluntate adducti," say the fathers in their epistle to Pope Sylvester himself. *Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Const., lib. iv. cap. 41-43, et Socr. i. 28.*

⁴ Προετίταξεν εἰς Σαρδικίαν συνδραμῶν ἱερισμοῖς.—*Theod. ii. 4; Soz. iii. 11; Socr. ii. 16, 20; Athan., tom. i. p. 761; Hil. in Fragm. p. —.* Jubet ex toto orbe apud Sardicam episcopos congregari.—*Sulp. ii. 52.*

⁵ Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κληύσεως, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας προσταγμάτων, &c.—*Syn. Arim., Ep. ad Const., Socr. ii. 37.*

⁶ Socr. ii. 39. "Ἡ—γινέσθαι ἐν βασιλείᾳ ἐκλιύει προσταγμάτων.—*Ann. 381.*

⁷ Ὁ βασιλεὺς συνέδον ἱερισμῶν ἐν τῇ Σερμῷ γινέσθαι ἐκλιύει.—*Socr. ii. 29; Soz. iv. 6.*

⁸ Προσταγμάτων δὲ ἐν τοῦ βασιλείας ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πόλει ποιέσθαι τὴν συνέδον.—*Socr. i. 36; Soz. iv. 9.*

⁹ Ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἰλλυρικῇ συνέδον γινέσθαι προετίταξε.—*Theod. iv. 7.*

and by divers factions), Theodosius I. "commanded," says Theodoret, "the bishops of his empire to be assembled together at Constantinople;"¹ which meeting accordingly made the second general synod, in the congregation [convening] of which the pope had so little to do, that Baronius says it was celebrated against his will.

Afterwards, when Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, affecting to seem wiser than others in explaining the mystery of Christ's incarnation, had raised a jangle to the disturbance of the church, for removing it the Emperor Theodosius II. "by his edict commanded the bishops to meet at Ephesus;"² who there celebrated the third general council. In the beginning of each action it is affirmed that the synod was "convocated by the imperial decree;"³ the synod itself often professes it; the pope's own legate acknowledges it; and so does Cyril, the president thereof.⁴

The same emperor, upon occasion of Eutyches being condemned at Constantinople, and the stir thence arising, indicted the second general synod of Ephesus (which proved abortive by the miscarriages of Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria), as appears by his imperial letters to Dioscorus and the other bishops, summoning them to that synod: "We have decreed that the most holy bishops meeting together,"⁵ &c. "After the same manner, the other most reverend bishops were written to, to come to the synod."⁶ And, as Pope Leo confesses, calling it "the council of bishops, which you" (Theodosius) "commanded to be held at Ephesus."⁷

The next general synod of Chalcedon was convocated by the authority of the Emperor Marcian (anno 451), as is expressed in the beginning of each action,⁸ as the emperor declares, as the synod itself,

¹ Σύνοδον ἐμπαύξων αὐτῇ συνεκάλεσε.—Soz. vii. 7; Socr. v. 8. Μόνης τῆς οἰκίας βασιλείας τοῦδε ἱσχυάτους ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν συναθροίσαναι προστάζειν.—Theod. v. 7. Repugnante Damaso celebrata, &c.—Baron., ann. 553, § 224.

² Πρίστανγμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τὴν σύνοδον συνίται ἐκίλευσε.—Socr. vii. 34; Evagr. i. 3.

³ Ἐκ Διοσιγμάτων τῶν βασιλέων συγκαρτηθεῖσα.

⁴ Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ Δίσιγμα τῶν ὑποβιβιστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συγκαρτηθεῖσα.—Syn. Eph., Act. i. p. 291. "The holy synod assembled by the grace of God, according to the decree of our most religious emperors," &c. — ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ πνύματι τοῦ ὑμῶν πρώτους συναχθεῖσα.—P. 297. Τὰ προσεταγμένα τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ παρὰ τοῦ ὑμῶν πρώτους, &c.—Act. v. p. 347. Τοῖς ἀφαιρεθῆσι κατὰ κρίσταγμα τῶν βασιλέων.—P. 404. "Ἦντονα σύνοδος οἱ Χριστιανικώτατοι καὶ φιλοφρονώτατοι βασιλεῖς ὤρισαν." "Which synod our most Christian and gracious emperors appointed," says Philip, the pope's legate.—Act. iii. p. 380. Τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῇ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ Δίσιγμα τῶν Διοφιλιστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων συναχθεῖσα, &c. "To the holy synod assembled by the grace of God, and the command of our emperors," &c. So Cyril and Memnon inscribe their epistle.—Act. iv. p. 337.

⁵ Ἐδιστάμεν κατὰ ταῦτα συνιλέσμεν ἰουστάτω, &c.

⁶ Τῇ αὐτῇ σύμφ. ἐγράφη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑλατιστάταις ἱσχυάτους ἔστι παραγγεῖσθαι ἐς τὴν σύνοδον.—Syn. Chal., pars i. p. 58.

⁷ Episcopale consilium, quod haberi apud Ephesum præcepistis.—P. Leo I., Ep. xxv. ad xxiv. ad Theod.

⁸ Κατὰ τοῦτον Δίσιγμα συναθροισθεῖσα. Τὸν ἁγίον ἡμῶν ἄρρισμιν σύνοδος.—Act. vi. p. 345.

in the front of its Definition, avows: "The holy, great, and œcumenical synod, gathered together by the grace of God and the command of our most dread emperors," &c., "has determined as follows."¹

The fifth general synod was also congregated by the authority of Justinian I. (anno 533); and the emperor's letter authorizing it begins, as we saw before, with an assertion, backed with a particular enumeration, that all former great synods were called by the same power.² The fathers themselves say that they had "come together according to the will of God, and the command of the most pious emperor."³ So little had the pope to do in it, that, as Baronius himself tells us, it was congregated "against his will."⁴

The sixth general synod at Constantinople was also indicted by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, as appears by his letters, as is intimated at the entrance of each action, as the synod acknowledges, as Pope Leo II., in whose time it was concluded, affirms. The synod, in its Definition, as also in its Epistle to Pope Agatho, inscribes itself, "The holy and œcumenical synod, congregated by the grace of God, and the high religious sanction of the most pious and most faithful great emperor Constantine,"⁵ and in their definition they say, "By this doctrine of peace dictated by God, our most gracious emperor, through the divine wisdom being guided, as a defender of the true faith, and an enemy to the false, having gathered us together in this holy and œcumenical synod, has united the whole frame of the church,"⁶ &c. In its acclamatory oration to the emperor it says, Ταῖς Θεοτάταις ὑμῶν προστάξεσιν ἔχοντες ὅτι τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀρχιερατικώτατος πρόεδρος καὶ ἡμεῖς ἰλάρχιστοι, &c. —Act. xviii. p. 271. "We all acquiescing in your most sacred commands; both the most holy president of (Rome) the most ancient and apostolical city, and we the least,"⁷ &c.

These are all the great synods, which posterity with clear consent admitted as general: for the next two have been disclaimed by great

¹ Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμένη ἐκκλησία, ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν, καὶ θέλημα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συναχθεῖσα . . . ἄρσεν τὰ ἐκτεταγμένα.—Act. vi. p. 346.

² Act. p. 368, Gr.; p. 309, Lat.

³ Pro Dei voluntate, et jussione piissimi imperatoris ad hanc urbem convenimus.—Collat. viii.

⁴ Ut quæ resistente Romano pontifice fuerit congregata.—Baron., ann. 533, § 219.

⁵ Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμένη ἐκκλησία, ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ πατερσις θέλημα τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ καὶ πιστοτάτου μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναχθεῖσα.—Act. xviii., p. 265, 285, in Ep. ad P. Agath.

⁶ Ταύτη τῇ θεολίτῃ τῆς εἰρήνης διδασκαλίᾳ θεοφθούς ὁ πρέσβυτος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ἐδηγοῦμαι, ὁ τῆς μὲν ἑρесьος ἐκτίμαχος, τῆς δὲ κακοδοξίας ἀντίμαχος, τὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἁγίαν ταύτην καὶ οἰκουμένην ἀρτίως ἐμάχοντο, τὸ τῶς ἰαλλοῦσας ἄπαν ἡμεῖς σύγκλημα.—Act. xviii., p. 266, in Definitione Synodica.

⁷ Καὶ γὰρ ἰσχυροῦμεν ὅτι ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμένη ἰατὴ ἐκκλησία, ἥτις κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν, τῷ βασιλεὶ προστάγματι ἰαρχος ἐν τῇ βασιλεὶ συνήρθησθαι πόλει, &c.—P. Leo II., in Ep. ad Con. Imp., p. 305.

churches (the seventh by most of the western churches, the eighth by the eastern), so that even divers popes after them did not reckon them for general councils;¹ and all the rest have been only assemblies of western bishops, celebrated after the breach between the oriental and occidental churches.

Yet even that second synod of Nice, which is called the seventh synod, avows itself to have "convened by the emperor's command;"² and in the front of each action, as also of their Synodical Definition, the same style is retained.

Hitherto it is evident that all general synods were convoked by the imperial authority; and about this matter divers things are observable.

It is observable in how peremptory a manner the emperors required the bishops to convene at the time and place appointed by them. Constantine, in his letter indicting the synod of Tyre, has these words: "If any one, presuming to violate our command and sense,"³ &c.

Theodosius II. summons the bishops to the Ephesine synod in these terms: "We, taking a great deal of care about these things, will not suffer any one, if he be absent, to go unpunished; nor shall he find excuse either with God or us, who presently without delay does not by the time set appear in the place appointed."⁴

In like terms he called them to the second Ephesine synod: "If any one shall choose to neglect meeting in a synod so necessary and grateful to God, and by the set time do not with all diligence appear in the place appointed, he shall find no excuse,"⁵ &c.

Marcian thus indicts the synod of Nice (after by him translated to Chalcedon): "It seems good to our clemency that an holy synod meet in the city of Nice, in the province of Bithynia."⁶

Again, we may observe that in the imperial edicts or epistles, whereby councils effectually were convened, there is nothing signified concerning the pope's having any authority to call them. It is not

¹ P. Joh. VIII., Ep. cxxlvii.; P. Nic. I., Ep. vii., viii., x.; P. Hadr. II., Ep. xxvi.

² Πᾶσα ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος ἡ κατ' εὐδοκίαν Θεοῦ, προτάξει τι τῆς φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλείας συνιλλούσα.—Act. vii. p. 881, i. 519, ii. 551, iii. 586, iv. 609, v. 696, vi. 722, vii. 812; *Defin. Synod.*, Act. vii. p. 817.

³ Euseb. de Vit. Const. iv. 42; Vid. in v. p. 80.

⁴ Καὶ ἡμῖν δι' τούτων πολλὴν κοινότητα φροντίδα ἀπολιμπάνεται εὐδοκίᾳ φερτῶς ἀνιζόμεθα· οὐδὲν γὰρ τι ἔτι πρὸς Θεόν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπολογίαν, ἢ μὴ παραχρῆμα κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον καιρὸν, εἰς τὸν ἀφορισθέντα τόπον σπουδαίως παραγινόμενος.—Theod. *Jun.*, Ep. ad Cyril. *Conc. Eph.*, pars i. p. 2, 6.

⁵ Εἰ δὲ τις τὴν εὐτως ἀναγκασίαν καὶ τῇ Θεῷ φίλῃ παρὰ τοῦ ἡμῶν σύνοδου, καὶ μὴ πάσῃ δυνάμει κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον καιρὸν τὸν ἀφορισθέντα καταλλάξαι τίσται, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον, ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἡμετέραν εὐσέβειαν ἀπολογίαν.—Theod. in Ep. ad Diosc. in *Conc. Chalc.*, Act. i. p. 86.

⁶ Τούτω διπλῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡμεῖν ἡμερέσεται, ἵνα ἀγία σύνοδος ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ πόλει τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐκκλησιαστικῶς συγκαταστή.—In Ep. ad Euseb. *Syn. Chalc.*, pars i. p. 34.

as by licence from the pope's holiness, but in their own name and authority they act; which were very strange if the popes had any plea then commonly approved for such a power.

As commonly emperors called synods by the suggestion of other bishops,¹ so again there be divers instances of popes applying themselves to the emperors with petitions to indict synods; wherein sometimes they prevailed, sometimes they were disappointed. So Pope Liberius requested of Constantius to indict a synod for deciding the cause of Athanasius. "Ecclesiastical judgment," said he, as Theodoret reports, "should be made with great equity; wherefore, if it please your piety, command a judicatory to be constituted."² And in his epistle to Hosius, produced by Baronius, he says, "Many bishops out of Italy met together, who together with me had besought the most religious emperor that he would command, as he had thought fit, the council of Aquileia to meet."³

So Pope Damasus, having a desire that a general synod should be celebrated in Italy for repressing heresies and factions then in the church, obtained the imperial letters for that purpose directed to the eastern bishops, as they in their epistle to the western bishops intimate: "But because, expressing a brotherly affection toward us, ye have called us, as your own members, by the most pious emperor's letters, to that synod which, by the will of God, ye are gathering at Rome."⁴

It is a wonder that Bellarmine should have the confidence to allege this passage for himself.⁵

So again, Pope Innocent I. being desirous to restore St Chrysostom, as Sozomen tells us, "sent five bishops and two priests of the Roman church to Honorius, and to Arcadius the emperor, requesting a synod, with the time and the place thereof."⁶ In which attempt he suffered a repulse; for the courtiers of Arcadius repelled those agents, "as troubling another government, which was beyond their bounds,"⁷ or wherein the pope had nothing to do that they knew of.

So also Pope Leo I. (whom no pope could well exceed in zeal to maintain the privileges and advance the eminence of his see) in

¹ Κύριλλος . . . ἐκόντως ἰδίῃσι νόμοις τοῦ νόμου Θεοδοσίου τὰ σπῆπτερα τῆς ἰσῆς δίδοντας τὴν ἐν Ἐφίῳ πρῶτην σύνοδον ἐπέστειλεν.—*Euseb.* i. 8.

² Διότι ἐγὼ δεῖμι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κληρικοί συνταθῆναι κρίνουσιν.—*Theod.* ii. 16.

³ Multi ex Italia episcopi convenerunt, qui mecum religiosissimum imperatorem fuerant deprecati, ut juberet sicut ipsi placuerat, dudum concilium Aquileiense congregari.—*Baron.*, ann. 353, § 19.

⁴ Ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τὴν ἀδελφικὴν περὶ ἡμῶν ἀγάπην ἐπιδικαζόμενοι, σύνοδον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τοῦ βουλῆσαι συγκαταστήναι, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς οἰκίᾳ μίλην προσκαλίσασθαι, διὰ τῶν τοῦ Σιμφλιανίου βασιλέως γραμμάτων.—*Theod.* v. 9.

⁵ Bell. de Pont. R. ii. 13.

⁶ Πίστωσιν ἐπισκόπους τέσσαρες καὶ πρεσβυτέρους δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρὸς Ὁρόμιον, καὶ Ἀρκάδιον τὸν βασιλέα, σύνοδον αἰτήσαντας, καὶ παρὲν ταύτης καὶ τέσσερι.—*Soz.* viii. 28.

⁷ Ὡς ὑπερβίον ἀρχὴν ἐνοχλῶσαντας.—*Ibid.*

these terms requested Theodosius to indict a synod:¹ "Whence if your piety shall vouchsafe consent to our suggestion and supplication, that you would command an episcopal council to be held in Italy, soon, God aiding, may all scandals be cut off." Upon this occasion the emperor appointed a council, not in Italy, according to the pope's desire, but at Ephesus; which not succeeding well, Pope Leo again addressed to Theodosius in these words: "All the churches of our parts, all bishops, with groans and tears, supplicate your grace that you would command a general synod to be celebrated within Italy."² To which request, although backed with the desire of the western emperor, Theodosius would by no means consent; for, as Leontius reports, "when Valentinian, being importuned by Pope Leo, wrote to Theodosius II. that he would procure another synod to be held, for examining whether Dioscorus had judged rightly or no, Theodosius wrote back to him saying, 'I shall make no other synod.'"³

The same pope again, of the same emperor, petitioned for a synod to examine the cause of Apatolius, bishop of Constantinople. "Let your clemency," says he, "be pleased to grant an universal council to be held in Italy; as with me the synod, which for this cause met at Rome, requests." Thus that pope continually harped upon one string,—to get a general synod to be celebrated at his own doors; but never could obtain his purpose, the emperor being stiff in refusing it.

The same pope, with better success (as to the thing, though not as to the place), requested of the Emperor Marcian a synod;⁴ for he, "concurring in opinion that it was needful," says Liberatus, "at the petition of the pope and the Roman princes, commanded a general council to be congregated at Nice."⁵

Now, if the pope had himself a known right to convocate synods,

¹ Humiliter ac sapienter exposcite, ut petitioni nostræ, qua plenariam indicii synodum postulamus, clementissimus imperator dignetur annuere (says Pope Leo to the clergy and people of Constantinople).—*Ep. xxiii.*

² Unde si pietas vestra suggestioni ac supplicationi nostræ dignetur annuere, ut intra Italiam haberi jubeatis episcopale concilium, cito auxiliante Deo poterunt omnia scandala resecari.—*P. Leo I., Ep. ix.*

³ Omnes partium ecclesiæ nostrarum, omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus et lacrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut generalem synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari.—*P. Leo I., Ep. xlii.*

⁴ Οὐκαίσιτιανὸς ἐχλεύμινος ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ πάππᾳ Θεοδοσίῳ τῇ μητρὶ, ἵνα ἐκκλησίᾳ συνόδῳ γινώσθαι, εἰς τὸ γινώσκειν ἡ καλῶς ἔκρινεν ἡ Δίσκερος ἢ οὐ; ἡ δὲ Θεοδοσία ἀντίγραφον αὐτῇ λίγων, ἔτι οὐ πρὸς ἄλλαν σύνοδον.—*Leont. de Sect. Act. iv.*

⁵ Sanctum clementiæ vestræ studium, quo ad reparationem pacis ecclesiasticæ synodum habere voluistis, adeo libenter accepi, ut quamvis eam fieri intra Italiam poposcissem, &c.—*Leo, Ep. l.* Poposceram quidem a gloriosissima clementia vestra, ut synodum, quam pro reparanda orientalis ecclesiæ pace a nobis etiam petitam necessariam iudicatis, aliquantisper differri ad tempus opportunius juberetis, &c.—*P. Leo, Ep. xliii., xlv., l.*

⁶ Sed eo defuncto, cum Martianus imperii culmen fuisset adeptus, pro illa papæ et principum Romanorum petitione universale concilium in Nicæna congregari jussit.—*Léb. Brév., cap. xiii.*

what needed all this supplication or this application to the emperors? Would not the pope have endeavoured to exercise his authority? would he not have clamoured or whined at any interruption thereof? Would so spiritfui and sturdy a pope as Leo¹ have begged that to be done by another which he had authority to do of himself, when he apprehended so great necessity for it, and was so much provoked thereto? Would he not, at least, have remonstrated against the injury therein done to him by Theodosius?

All that this daring pope could adventure at was to wind in a pretence that the synod of Chalcedon was congregated by his consent: for, "It has been the pleasure" (of whom, I pray?) "that a general council should be congregated, both by the command of the Christian princes and with the consent of the apostolic see,"² says he very cunningly; yet not so cunningly but that any other bishop might have said the same for his see.

This power, indeed, upon many just accounts, peculiarly belongs to princes. It suits the dignity of their state; it appertains to their duty; they are most able to discharge it. They are the guardians of public tranquillity, which constantly is endangered, which commonly is violated, by dissensions in religious matters (whence we must pray for them, that by their care "we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty"³); they alone can authorize their subjects to take such journeys, or to meet in such assemblies; they alone can well cause the expenses needful for holding synods to be exacted and defrayed; they alone can protect them, can maintain order and peace in them, can procure observance to their determinations; they alone have a sword to constrain resty and refractory persons (and in no cases are men so apt to be such as in debates about these matters) to convene, to confer peaceably, to agree to observe what is settled. They, as "nursing fathers" of the church, as "ministers of God's kingdom," as encouragers of all "good works,"⁴ as the stewards of God, intrusted with the great talents of power, dignity, wealth, enabling them to serve God, are obliged to cause bishops in such cases to perform their duty; according to the example of good princes in holy Scripture, who are commended for proceedings of this nature; for so King Josiah convoked a general synod of the church in his time. "Then," says the text, "the king sent and gathered together all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem." In this synod he presided, "standing in his place, and making a covenant before the Lord;" its resolutions he confirmed, "causing all that were

¹ Fortissimus Leo.—*Liber.*, cap. xii.

² — in causa fidei, propter quam generale concilium et ex præcepto Christianorum principum, et ex consensu apostolicæ sedis placuit congregari.—*Ep.* lxi.

³ 1 Tim. ii. 2.

⁴ Isa. xlix. 23; Wisd. vi. 4; Rom. xiii. 8.

present in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to that covenant;" and he took care of their execution, "making all present in Israel effectually to serve the Lord their God."¹

So also King Hezekiah "gathered the priests and Levites together," warned, commanded them to do their duty and reform things in the church. "My sons," said he, "be not now negligent; for the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and that ye should minister unto him, and burn incense."²

Beside them none other can have reasonable pretence to such a power, or can well be deemed able to manage it. So great an authority cannot be exercised upon the subjects of any prince without eclipsing his majesty, infringing his natural right, and endangering his state. He that at his pleasure can summon all Christian pastors, and make them trot about, and hold them when he will, is in effect emperor, or in a fair way to make himself so. It is not fit, therefore, that any other person should have all the governors of the church at his beck, so as to draw them from remote places whither he pleases, to put them on long and chargeable journeys, to detain them from their charge, to set them on what deliberations and debates he thinks good. It is not reasonable that any one, without the leave of princes, should authorize so great conventions of men, having such interest and sway. It is not safe that any one should have such dependencies on him, by which he may be tempted to clash with princes, and withdraw their subjects from their due obedience. Neither can any success be well expected from the use of such authority by any who has not power by which he can force bishops to convene, to resolve, to obey. Whence we see that Constantine, who was a prince so gentle and friendly to the clergy, was put to threaten those bishops who would absent themselves from the synod indicted by him at Tyre; and Theodosius, also "a very mild and religious prince," did the like in his summoning the two Ephesine synods.³ We likewise may observe, that when the "pope and western bishops," in a synodical epistle, "invited those of the east to a great synod indicted at Rome, these refused the journey, alleging 'that it would be to no good purpose.'"⁴ So, also, when the western bishops called those of the east, for resolving the difference between Flavianus and Paulinus, both pretending to be bishops of Antioch, what effect had their summons? And so will they always or often be ready to say who are called at

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29, &c.

² 2 Chron. xxix. 4, 16, 20, 21, &c., verse 11.

³ Τῇ πρᾶττει καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀληθῶς ἱερωμένους ἵνα. — ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος πρὸς σφόδρα παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τῇ γῆ. — Socr. vii. 42.

⁴ Τὴν ἀποδημίαν παρετήσαντο ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσαν κέρδος. — Theod. v. 8. "Ἐγραψεν αὐτοῖς τι, καὶ Γρατιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, συγκαλοῦντες εἰς τὴν δύσιν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους. — Soc. vii. 11. "Both they and Gratian the emperor wrote, calling the eastern bishops into the west."

the pleasure of those who want force to constrain them; so that such authority in unarmed hands (and God keep arms out of the pope's hands!) will be only a source of discords.

Either the pope is a subject, as he was in the first times, and then it were too great a presumption for him to claim such a power over his fellow-subjects in prejudice to his sovereign (nor, indeed, did he presume so far, until he had in a manner shaken off subjection to the emperor); or he is not a subject, and then it is not reasonable that he should have such power in the territories of another prince.

The whole business of general synods was an expedient for peace, contrived by emperors, and so to be regulated by their order. Hence, even in times and places where the pope was most revered, yet princes were jealous of suffering the pope to exercise such a power over the bishops their subjects,¹ and to obviate it, commanded all bishops not to stir out of their territories without licence; particularly our own nation, in the council at Clarendon, where it was decreed, "That they should not go out of the kingdom without the king's leave."²

To some things above said, a passage may be objected which occurs in the acclamation of the sixth synod to the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, wherein it is said that Constantine and Sylvester collected the synod of Nice; Theodosius I. and Damasus, together with Gregory and Nectarius, the synod of Constantinople; Theodosius II., with Celestine and Cyril, the Ephesine synod; and so of the rest.³ To this I answer, that the fathers mean only, for the honour of those prelates, to signify that they, in their places and ways, concurred and co-operated to the celebration of those synods; otherwise we might, as to matter of fact and history, contest the accurateness of their relation. And it is observable that they join other great bishops then flourishing with the popes: so that if their suffrage prove any thing, it proves more than our adversaries would have, viz., that all great bishops and patriarchs have a power or right to convocate synods.

As for passages alleged by our adversaries, that no synod could be called, or ecclesiastical law enacted, without consent of the pope, they are no wise pertinent to this question; for we do not deny that the pope had a right to sit in every general synod, and every other

¹ Philip of France.—*Bin.*, tom. vii. p. 906, ann. 1802.

² Decretum est . . . non licere . . . exire regnum absque licentia regia.—*Conc. Clarend. Vid. Matt. Par.*, ann. 1164.

³ Syn. Sext. Act. xviii. p. 272. *Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἀντιόχειος, καὶ Σίλβηστρος ὁ ἀντιόχειος τὸν ἐν Νικαίᾳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ περὶ ἑλίου συνέδοι. . . ἄλλ' ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος, καὶ Δάμασος ὁ ἀδάμας τῆς πίστεως. . . Γρηγόριος τε καὶ Νεκτάριος τὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ πάλιν συνήθριζον σύλλογον. Πάλιν Νιστόριος, καὶ πάλιν Κελσιτίνος, καὶ Κύριλλος, ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Χρυσὸν διήρυ, καὶ κατεδίχαζεν, οἱ δὲ τῇ δικαιοῦν συλλαμβανόμενοι σὺν τῇ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δικαιοῦν τὸν κατατομία κατέβαλλον, &c.*

patriarch at least had no less, as all reason and practice show,¹ and as they of the seventh synod suppose, arguing the synod of Constantinople, which condemned the worship of images, to be no general council, "because it had not the pope's co-operation, nor the consent of the eastern patriarchs."² Syncellus, the patriarch of Jerusalem's legate in the eighth synod, says, "For this reason the Holy Spirit set up patriarchs in the world, that they might suppress scandals arising in the church of God."³ And Photius in the same synod told, "That the judgment passed against him was most equal and impartial, as proceeding not from one, but all the four patriarchs."⁴

That a general synod does not need a pope to call it or preside in it appears by what the synods of Pisa and Constance define, for provision in time of schisms.⁵

II. It inseparably belongs to sovereigns in the general assemblies of their states to *preside*, and moderate affairs; proposing what they judge fit to be consulted or debated; stopping what seems unfit to be moved; keeping proceedings within order and rule, and steering them to a good issue; checking disorders and irregularities, which the distemper or indiscretion of any persons may create in deliberations or disputes.

This privilege, therefore, the pope claims, not allowing any general council to be legitimate wherein he in person, or by his legates, does not preside and sway. "All Catholics," says Bellarmine, "teach this to be the chief pontiff's proper office, that either in person or by his legate he preside, and as chief judge moderate all."⁶

But for this prerogative no express grant from God, no ancient canon of the church, no certain custom can be produced.

Nor does ancient practice favour the pope's claim to such a prerogative, it appearing that he did not exercise it in the first general synods.

St Peter himself did not preside in the apostolical synod at Jerusalem, where he was present, Acts xv., but rather St James, as we before have shown.

In all the first synods, convoked by emperors, they either themselves in person, or by honourable persons authorized by them, in effect presided, governing the proceedings.

¹ Διαγινώσκονται οἱ αὐτοὶ συνεδριῶν τῶν διαγορευόντων μὴ δεῖν γίνεσθαι ποτὶ συνέδριον οἰκουμένην καὶ πατριᾶς συμφωνίας τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγιωτάτων πατριάρχων.—*Anteacla Syn. Nic. II.*, p. 518.

² Οὐκ ἴσχυι συνιργῆναι τὸν τετρακῆντα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πάσαν . . . καθὼς νόμος ἐστὶ ταῖς συνόδοις· ἀλλ' οὐτε συμφρονούντας αὐτὴ τοῦ πατριάρχου τῆς Ἰω., &c.—*Syn. vii. Act. 6*, p. 725.

³ Διὰ τοῦτο τὰς πατριαρχικὰς κεφαλὰς ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ ἵδμεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναφυόμενα σπάνδαλα δι' αὐτῶν ἀναφανίζονται.—*Syn. viii. Act. 1*, p. 980.

⁴ Ἀπρωσπύλητοις ἢ κρίσει, ὥς οὐκ ἔξ ἡνὸς μόνου θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχικῶν γινώμενη.—*Act. v. p. 946*.

⁵ *Sess. xxxix. p. 1109*.

⁶ Catholici omnes id munus proprium esse docent summi pontificis, ut per se, vel per legatos president, et tanquam supremus iudex omnia moderetur.—*Bell. de Conc. i. 19*.

In the synod of Nice, Constantine was the chief manager, director, and moderator of the transactions,¹ and under him other chief bishops presided; but that the pope's legates had any considerable influence or sway there by no evidence appears, as we shall hereafter, out of history, declare.

In the synod of Sardica (which in design was a general council, but in effect did not prove so, being divided by a schism into two great parts), Hosius, bishop of Corduba, presided, or, by reason of his age and venerable worth, had the first place assigned to him, and bore the office of prolocutor. So the synod itself implies. "All we bishops assembled," say they in their catholic epistle, "and especially the most venerable Hosius, who, for his age and for his confession, and because he has undergone so great pains, is worthy of all reverence."² So Athanasius expressly calls him. "The holy synod," says he, "the prolocutor of which was the great Hosius, presently sent to them,"³ &c. The canons of the synod intimate the same, wherein he proposes matters, and asks the pleasure of the synod. The same is confirmed by the subscriptions of their general epistle, wherein he is set before Pope Julius himself: "Hosius from Spain, Julius of Rome, by the presbyters Archidamus and Philoxenus."⁴ In this all ecclesiastical histories agree, none speaking of the pope's presiding there by his legates.

In the second general synod at Constantinople the pope had plainly no stroke. The oriental bishops alone there resolved on matters, "being headed," as Sozomen says, by their patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; "being guided by Nectarius and St Gregory Nazianzen,"⁵ as the council of Chalcedon avers in its epistle to the emperor.

In the third general synod at Ephesus, Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, presided, as Pope Leo himself testifies. He is called the "head of it"⁶ in the Acts.⁷

¹ Προεδίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς πατέρεσι.—Euseb. iii. 18.

² Πάντων ἡμῶν συλλέγονται ἰσχυρίσων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐνγεγραμμένου Ὁσίου, τοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμερομίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν τοσούτον κάματον ὑπομιμνησκίται, πάσης αἰδοῦς ἔξισι συγχάριοντες, &c.—Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 761.

³ Εὐθὺς ἡ ἁγία σὺνδὸς, ἥς ἀρχηγὸς ἦν ὁ μέγας Ὁσιος, ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς, &c.—Athanas. ad Solit., p. 819. Ἀρίσται Ὁσιος, καὶ πρωτοκρίτης, οἱ τότε ὑπῆρχον ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνηλεσθέντων, &c.—Soz. xii. 18. Τῶν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνηλεσθέντων πρωτεύοντες.—Theod. ii. 16. Τῶν μὲν Ὁσίου ἑξῆρχος τῆς γνώμης, &c.—Syn. Chalc. ad Imp. Marc., p. 468.

⁴ Ὁσιος ἀπὸ Σπανίας, Ἰούλιος Ῥώμης δι' Ἀρχιδάμου καὶ Φιλοξένου πρεσβυτέρων, &c.—Apud Athanas., p. 767.

⁵ Baron., ann. 553, § 224. Ἠγουμένη.—Soz. vii. 7. Τῶν δὲ Νεκταρίου σὺν Γρηγορίῳ τῶν ἡγεμονίων ἦσαν.—Conc. Chalc., in Ep. ad Imp. Marc. p. 469.

⁶ Prioris Ephesinæ synodi, cui sanctæ memoriæ Cyrillus episcopus tunc præsedebat.—P. Leo I., Ep. xlvii. Κεφαλὴ τῶν συλλεγεμένων ἁγιωτάτων ἰσχυρίσων Κύριλλος.—Relat. Act. Eph. cap. ix.

⁷ Digression.—We may note, that the bishop of the place where the synod was held bore a kind of presidency in all synods: so did St James, bishop of Jerusalem, in the first synod, as St Chrysostom notes; so did Protogenes at Sardica, and Nectarius at Constantinople, and Memnon in this of Ephesus.

It is true that, according to the acts of that synod and the reports of divers historians, Pope Celestine, according to a new politic device of the popes, authorized Cyril to represent his person and act as his proctor in those affairs, assigning to him, as he says, "both the authority of his throne" (that is, his right of voting) "and the order of his place" (the first place in sitting); but it is not consequent thence that Cyril upon that sole account presided in the synod.¹ He thereby had the disposal of one considerable suffrage, or a legal concurrence of the pope with him in his actings; he thereby might pretend to the first place of sitting and subscribing (which kind of advantages it appears that some bishops had in synods, by the virtue of the like substitution in the place of others); but he thence could have no authoritative presidency; for that the pope himself could by no delegation impart, having himself no title thereto warranted by any law or by any precedent,—that depended on the emperor's will, or on the election of the fathers, or on a tacit regard to personal eminence in comparison to others present. This distinction Evagrius seems to intimate when he says that "the divine Cyril administered it, and the place of Celestine,"² where a word seems to have fallen out; and Zonaras more plainly expresses it, saying that "Cyril, pope of Alexandria, presided over the orthodox fathers, and also held the place of Celestine;"³ and Photius, "Cyril supplied the seat and the person of Celestine."⁴ If any later historians confound these things, we are not obliged to comply with their ignorance or mistake.

Indeed, as to presidency there, we may observe that sometimes it is attributed to Cyril alone, as being the first bishop present, and bearing a great sway; sometimes to Pope Celestine, as being in representation present, and being the first bishop of the church in order; sometimes to both Cyril and Celestine; sometimes to Cyril and Memnon bishop of Ephesus, who, as being very active, and having great influence on the proceedings, are styled the presidents and rulers of the synod.⁵ All which show that presidency was a lax

¹ Συναφίσις αὐ τοῦ αἰθνήσιος τοῦ ἡμετέρου θρόνου, καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρῃ τοῦ τόπου διαδοχῇ.—*Celest. ad Cyril., Relat. cap. xvi. N. B.* Yet the fathers, in their epistle to Pope Celestine, only take notice of Arcadius, Proiectus, and Philippus supplying his place.—*Act. p. 858.*

² Κυρίλλου τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκου διακόντος καὶ τὸν Κελιστίου τόπον.—*Evagr. i. 4.*

³ Πρεσβεταμίνον τῶν ἐκδοξέν πατέρων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Κυρίλλου πάπα Ἀλεξανδρίας, ἐκείχοντος δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον Κελιστίου.—*Zon. in Syn. Eph. can. i.*

⁴ Τοῦ Ῥώμης Κελιστίου ἐκλήρου ἐπὶ καθέδρῃ καὶ πρέσβων.

⁵ Ἡς ἡγίετο ὁ μακάριος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Κύριλλος.—*Conc. Chalc., Act. iv. p. 302. Συνόδου καθηγητής.—Cler. Const. in Syn. Eph. p. 418. Cui præsuit Cyrillus.—Syn. Chalc., Act. i. p. 178. Ἡς ἡγούμενος οἱ ἁγιώτατοι Κελιστίνος καὶ Κύριλλος.—Syn. Chalc. Defin., in Act. v. p. 388, iv. p. 300. The bishops of Isauria to the Emperor Leo say that Cyril was partaker with Pope Celestine, &c. Dum B. Celestino in columbia ecclesie Romanorum particeps, &c.—*Part. iii., Syn. Chalc., p. 522. Τῆς συνόδου πρέσβη.—Eph., Act. iv. p. 388 (p. 420, 422). Πρέσβη τοῦ ἐκκλησίας.—Act. v. p. 347. Ἡμεῖσιμι πρέσβη.—Relat. Syn. p. 406. Ἐξάρχου τῆς συνόδου.—Relat. p. 411.**

thing, and no peculiarity in right or usage annexed to the pope, nor altogether depended on his grant or representation, to which Memnon had no title.

The pope himself and his legates are divers times in the Acts said *συνεδρῶσιν*, "to sit together," with the bishops; which considence* [consession] does not well comport with his special right to presidency.¹

Yea, it is observable that the oriental bishops, who, with John of Antioch, opposed the Cyrillian party in that synod, charged on Cyril that "he (as if he lived in a time of anarchy) proceeded to all irregularity;"² and that, "snatching to himself the authority, which neither was given him by the canons nor by the emperor's sanction, he rushed on to all kinds of disorder and illegality:"³ whence it is evident that, in the judgment of those bishops, among whom were divers worthy and excellent persons,⁴ the pope had no right to any authoritative presidency.

This word "presidency," indeed, has an ambiguity apt to impose on those who do not observe it; for it may be taken for a privilege of precedence, or for authority to govern things. The first kind of presidency the pope, without dispute, when present at a synod, would have had among the bishops, as being the "bishop of the first see," as the sixth synod calls him,⁵ and "the first of priests," as Justinian calls him;⁶ and in his absence his legates might take up his chair, for in general synods each see had its chair assigned to it, according to its order of dignity by custom. And according to this sense, the patriarchs and chief metropolitans are also often, singly or conjunctly, said to preside, as sitting in one of the first chairs.

But the other kind of presidency was (as those bishops in their complaint against Cyril imply, and as we shall see in practice) disposed by the emperor as he saw reason, although usually it was conferred on him who, among those present, in dignity preceded the rest. This is that authority, *αὐθεντία*, which the Syrian bishops complained against Cyril for assuming to himself without the emperor's

* This word *considence*,—used to express *sitting together*, as judges in a court of session,—has been uniformly printed *confidence* in the late editions.—ED.

¹ *Συνόδος, ἢ συνεδρίον καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*.—*Relat. ad Imp.* p. 422. *Συνεδρῶντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερῆς, &c.*—*Act.* ii. p. 322. *Τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον συνεδρῶντα ἡμεῖς*.—*Act.* iv. p. 340.

² *Ὡς ἐν ἀναστασιῶσι καιροῖς χωρὶς πρὸς πᾶσαν παρανομίαν, &c.*

³ *Ἀρπάζας ἑαυτῷ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τὴν μὴτι παρὰ τῶν κατόντων αὐτῷ διδομένην, μᾶτι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμῶντων διασημάτων, ἡμεῖς πρὸς πᾶν ἴδιον ἀταξίαν καὶ παρανομίαν*.—*Relat. ad Imper., Act.* *Ἐφθ.* p. 380.

⁴ The bishops of Syria, being then the most learned in the world, as John of Antioch implies, p. 377.

⁵ *Πρωτόθρονος τῆς ἰακκλῆσις*.—*Syn.* vi. p. 286. *Τῶν τε συνεδρῶντων αὐτῷ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀγωνάτων πατριάρχων*.—*Ibid.* p. 297.

⁶ *Πρῶτος ἱερίων*.—*Justin., Cod. tit. 1.*

warrant, and whereof we have a notable instance in the next general synod at Ephesus; for,—

In the second Ephesine synod (which in design was a general synod, lawfully convened, for a public cause of determining truth and settling peace in the church, but which by some miscarriages proved abortive), although the pope had his legates there, yet, by the emperor's order, Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, presided. "We," said Theodosius in his epistle to him, "do also commit to thy piety the authority and the pre-eminency of all things appertaining to the synod now assembled."¹ And in the synod of Chalcedon it is said of him that "he had received the authority of all affairs and of judgment."² And Pope Leo I., in his epistle to the emperor, says that Dioscorus "challenged to himself the principal place,"³ insinuating a complaint that Dioscorus should be preferred before him, although not openly contesting his right.

The emperor had, indeed, some reason not to commit the presidency to Pope Leo, because he was looked upon as prejudiced in the cause, having declared in favour of Flavianus against Eutyches; whence Eutyches declined his legates' interesting [interfering] in the judgment of his cause, saying, "They were suspected by him, because they were entertained by Flavianus with great regard."⁴ And Dioscorus, being bishop of the next see, was taken for more indifferent [impartial], and otherwise a person (however afterward it proved) of much integrity and moderation. "He," says the emperor, "shone, by the grace of God, both in honesty of life and in orthodoxy of faith."⁵ And Theodoret himself, before those differences arose, says of him that he was, by common fame, "reported a man adorned with many other kinds of virtue, and that especially he was celebrated for his moderation of mind."⁶

It is true that the legates of Pope Leo took in dudgeon this preferment of Dioscorus; and, if we may give credence to Liberatus, "would not sit down in the synod, because the pre-session [presidentship] was not given to their holy see."⁷ And afterwards, in the synod

¹ Καὶ μὴ (συνῆ) καὶ Ἰούλιος ἐπίσκοπος τόποι πολλῶν ἁγίων, τοῦ τῆς προεξουσίας Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου.—*Evagr.* i. 10. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν ἀνηκούστων τῇ οὐν συναθροισμῶν συνὶδρ τὴν αἰδεντίας, καὶ τὰ πρωτεύον τῇ εἰς Διοσκουρίαν παρίχομεν.—*Syn. Chal.*, Act. i. p. 59.

² Τὴν ἐξουσίαν πάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς κρίσεως.—*Ibid.*, p. 160. Ὁ δὲ ἱεραρχὸς καθιστάμενος Διοσκουρος.—*Evagr.* i. 10.

³ — Si is qui sibi locum principalem vindicabat, sacerdotalem moderationem custodire voluisset, &c.—*Leo I.*, *Ep.* xxv. xxvi., &c.

⁴ Ὅπως μοι γινώσκεις, &c.—*Syn. Chal.*, Act. i. p. 80.

⁵ — τῇ εἰς ἁγιωσύνην ἐκλαμπύουσα διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐκείνῃ τῇ τοῦ βίου σιμνότητι, καὶ τῇ ἁρισταγίᾳ πίστει.—*Theod.*, *Ep. ad Diosc.* in *Syn. Chal.*, Act. i. p. 59.

⁶ Πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι εἰδὼσιν ἁριστεῖς κοσμιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰς ἁγιωσύνην ἀκούμενον—οὐκ ἔλαττον δὲ ἀπανταῖς ἀδελφοῖς τὸ τοῦ φρονήματος μέτρον.—*Theod.*, *Ep.* lx.

⁷ Ecclesie Romanæ diaconi, vices habentes P. Leonis assidere non passi sunt, eo quod non data fuerit premissio sanctæ sedi eorum.—*Liber.*, cap. xii.

of Chalcedon, the pope's legate, Paschasinus,¹ together with other bishops, complained that Dioscorus was preferred before the bishop of Constantinople. But, notwithstanding those ineffectual mutinies, the emperor's will took place, and according thereto Dioscorus had, although he did not use it so wisely and justly as he should, the chief managery of things.

It is to be observed, that to other chief bishops the presidency in that synod is also ascribed, by virtue of the emperor's appointment. "Let the most reverend bishops," say the imperial commissaries in the synod of Chalcedon, "to whom the authoritative management of affairs was by the royal sovereignty granted, speak why the epistle of the most holy archbishop Leo was not read;"² and, "You," say they again, "to whom the power of judging was given."³ And of Dioscorus, Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Beristus, Basilius of Seleucia, it is by the same commissioners said that they "had received the authority, and governed the synod then sitting."⁴ And Elpidius, the emperor's agent, in the Ephesine synod itself, expressly styled them "presidents;" and Pope Leo himself calls them "presidents and primates of the synod."⁵

Whence it appears, that at that time, according to common opinion and practice, authoritative presidency was not affixed to the Roman chair.

In the synod of Chalcedon, Pope Leo, indeed, assumed to himself a kind of presidency by his legates;⁶ and no wonder that a man of a stout and ardent spirit, impregnated with high conceits of his see, and resolved with all his might to advance its interests (as his legates themselves in effect declared to the world), should do so, having so favourable a time, by the misbehaviour of Dioscorus and his adherents, against whom the clergy of Constantinople, and other fathers of the synod, being incensed, were ready to comply with Leo, who had been the champion and patron of their cause, in [by] allowing him extraordinary respect, and whatever advantages he could pretend to.

¹ Πασχασίνος ἱερεὺς—ἦδε ἡμῖς Θεοῦ Θέλοντος Κύριον τὸν Ἀνατόλιον πρῶτον ἔχοντα· οὗτοι πρίμῃ τοις ἱερεῶσι τὸν μακάριον Φλαυανίον.—*Syn. Chalced.* Act. i. p. 62.

² Οἱ ἐκτελεστοῦντες ἰσχύοντες, οἱ ἡ ἀξίοντι τὸν τῶν πραγμάτων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδόντες κερυφῆς, λεγόντες, &c.—*Ibid.* p. 65.

³ Ἐμῶν, οἱ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ διακρίνει ἰδόντες, &c.—*Ibid.* p. 77.

⁴ Τοὺς ἐξουσίαν ἐκδοχόντας, καὶ ἐκάρχοντας τῆς τότε συνέδου, &c.—*Act.* ii. p. 202, iv. 288. (*Evagr.* xxiv., ἔκταρχοι.) Κοινῆς ἀπάντων φωνῆς συνδράμειν τι καὶ ἐκτελεστέας τὸν ἑμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ψῆφον, &c.—*Ibid.* p. 70.

⁵ Siquidem pene omnes, qui in consensum præsidentium aut traducti fuerant, aut coacti.—*Leo, Ep.* li. Ibi primates synodi nec resistentibus, &c.—*P. Leo I., Ep.* —.

⁶ In his fratribus,—me synodo vestre fraternitas existimet præsidere.—*P. Leo I., Ep.* xlvii. Ὁς οὐ μὴν ἐν κεφαλῇ μὲν ἡγεμῶντος, ἐν τοῖς τὰν σὺν τάξιν ἐκτίχουσιν.—*Syn. Chalced. Ep. ad Leon.* p. 473.

Yet, in effect, the emperor by his commissioners presided then they propounding and allowing matters to be discussed; moderating debates by their interlocution, and driving them to an issue; maintaining order and quiet in proceedings; performing those things which the pope's legates at Trent or elsewhere, in the height of power, undertook.

To them supplicatory addresses were made for succour and redress by persons needing it; as, for instance, "Command," said Eusebius of Dorylæum, "that my supplications may be read."¹

Of them leave is requested for time to deliberate. "Command," says Atticus, in behalf of other bishops, "that respite be given, that within a few days, with a calm mind and undisturbed reason, those things may be formed which shall be pleasing to God and to holy fathers."²

Accordingly, they order the time for consultation. "Let the hearing be deferred for five days," say they, "that in the meantime your holiness* may meet at the house of the most holy archbishop Anastasius, and deliberate in common about the faith, that the doubt may be instructed."⁴

They [the imperial commissioners] were acknowledged judges, and had thanks given them for the issue by persons concerned. "I," says Eunomius, bishop of Nicomedia, "do thank your highness [highnesses] for your right judgment."⁵ And in the cause between Stephanus and Bassianus, concerning their title to the bishopric of Ephesus, they [the imperial commissioners] having declared their sense, "the holy synod cried, 'This is right judgment; Christ has decided the case; God judges by you.'"⁶ And in the result, upon their declaring their opinion, "the whole synod exclaimed, 'This is right judgment; this is a pious order.'"⁷

When the bishops, transported with eagerness and passion, tumultuously clamoured, they gravely checked them, saying, "These vulgar exclamations neither become bishops nor shall they advantage the parties."⁸

¹ Act. i. p. 50, 202, ii. 211.

² Κελεύσεται τὰς διήσεις εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι.—Act. i. p. 50.

³ Κελεύσεται ἰδοθῆναι ἡμῖν, ὥστε ἐν τοῖς ἐλλείποντι ἡμερῶν ἀκουμένῃ διακρίσει καὶ ἀταράχῃ γινώσκῃ τὰ τῇ Θεῷ δοκούντα καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατέρεσι συνηθῆναι.—Act. i. p. 219.

⁴ "Your holinesses," it might have been rendered, for it refers to the whole synod. In like manner, for "highness," in next paragraph, we may read "highnesses."—Eunomius.

⁵ Ταισθεύσεται ἡ ἀρετὴς ἡμεῶν σῶσαι. ὥστε ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὸ συνελθῆναι ἐν ἡμεῖς ἀγωνισθῇ εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀναστασίου, καὶ κοινῶς περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἐκτελεσθῆναι, ἵνα οἱ ἀμφισβηλλόντες διδαχθῶσι.—Act. iv. p. 289.

⁶ Εὐχαριστῶ τῇ δικαιοκρασίᾳ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπειᾶς ὑμῶν.—Act. xiii. p. 420.

⁷ Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἰσχύει, ἁπλῶς δικαία κρίσις, ἡ Χριστὸς ἰδὼναι τῇ ὁμοθυμῳ δικάζειν.—Act. xii. p. 409.

⁸ Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἰσχύει, ἁπλῶς δικαία κρίσις, οὗτος ἰσχυρὸς τύπος.—Ibid. p. 414.

⁹ Αἱ ἐκδόσεις αἱ δημοτικαὶ οὗτοι ἐπισκόποις ἀρῶσιν, οὗτοι τὰ μίση ἀφελήσονται.—Act. p. 55.

In the great contest about the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see,¹ they arbitrated and decided the matter, even against the sense and endeavours of the pope's legates, the whole synod concurring with them in these acclamations, "This is a right sentence! we all say these things! these things please us all! things are duly ordered! let the things ordered be held!"²

The pope's legates themselves avowed this authority in them [the commissioners]; for, "If," said Paschasinus, in the case of the Egyptian bishops, "your authority command, and ye enjoin that somewhat of humanity be granted to them,"³ &c.

And in another case, "If," said the bishops, "supplying the place of the apostolical see, your honours command, we have an information to suggest."⁴

Neither is the presidency of these Roman legates expressed in the conciliar acts,⁵ but they are barely said *συνελθεῖν*, "to concur," and *συνδρῦναι*, "to sit together," with the other fathers; and, accordingly, though they sometimes talked high, yet it is not observable that they did much there. Their presidency was nothing like that at Trent, and in other like papal synods. It may be noted that the emperor's deputies are always named in the first place, at the entrance of the acts [of the synod], before the pope's legates; so that they who directed the notaries were not popish. In effect, the emperor was president, though not as a judge of spiritual matters, yet as an orderer of the conciliar transactions; as the synod reports it to Leo: "The faithful emperors," said they, "presided (or governed it) for good order's sake."⁶

In the fifth general synod, Pope Vigilius, indeed, was moved to be present, and, in his way, to preside; but he, out of state or policy, declined it;⁷ wherefore the patriarch of Constantinople was the ecclesiastical president, as in the beginning of every collation appeared: whence clearly we may infer that the pope's presidency is no wise necessary to the being of a general council.

In the sixth general synod, the emperor in each act is expressly said to preside, in person or by his deputies,⁸ although Pope Agatho had his legates there.

¹ — κατὰ συνδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον.—*Syn. Chalc. ad Leon., Ep.* p. 476.

² Οἱ ὑπαξιότατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἰσχύσαν, αὐτὴ δικαία ψῆφος, ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν, ταῦτα πᾶσι ἄρισται, πάντα δόντος ἰσχυρόν, τὰ τυπωθέντα κρατεῖται.—*Act.* xvi. p. 464.

³ Εἰ προστάτῃ ἡ ὑμῶν ἐξουσία, καὶ κελύπτῃ τί ποτε αὐτοῖς παρασχισθῆναι φιλανθρωπίας ἰσχύμενοι, &c.—*Act.* iv. p. 315.

⁴ Οἱ ὑπαξιότατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἰσχύσαντες τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἔδωκαν εἰ προστάτῃ ἡ ὑμῶν μεγαλειότης, ἰσχύον διδασκαλίαν ὑποβαλεῖν.—*Act.* xvi. p. 451.

⁵ *Act.* v., vii., viii. p. 366; *Act.* ix., xi., xiii., xiv.; *Act.* iii. p. 230.

⁶ Βασιλεῖς δὲ πιστοὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐβήρχον.—*Relat. Syn., ad Leon.* 473.

⁷ Ideo petimus presidente nobis vestra beatitudine, sub tranquillitate, et mansuetudine sacerdotali, sanctis propositis evangelii, communi tractatu, &c.—*Coll.* i. p. 212, & in *Const. Vigil.*

⁸ Προκαθήμενον τοῦ ὑποσημιότου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, &c.

In the synod of Constance, sometimes the cardinal of Cambray, sometimes of Hostia, presided, by order of the synod itself, and sometimes the king of the Romans supplied that place;¹ so little essential was the pope's presidency to a council deemed even then, when papal authority had mounted to so high a pitch.

Nor is there good reason why the pope should have this privilege, or why this prerogative should be affixed to any one see; so that if there be cause,—as, if the pope be unfit or less fit, if princes or the church cannot confide in him, if he be suspected of prejudice or partiality, if he be a party in causes or controversies to be decided, if he himself need correction,—[there is no reason why] princes may not assign, or the church, with allowance of princes, may not choose, any other president more proper in their judgment for that charge. In such cases the public welfare of church and state is to be regarded.

Were an erroneous pope, as Vigilius or Honorius, fit to govern a council gathered to consult about defining truth in the matter of their [his] error?

Were a lewd pope, as Alexander VI., John XII., Paul III. (innumerable such, scandalously vicious) worthy to preside in a synod convoked to prescribe strict laws of reformation?

Were a furious, pugnacious pope, as Julius II., &c., apt to moderate an assembly drawn together for settlement of peace?

Were a pope engaged in schism, as many have been, a proper moderator of a council designed to suppress schism?

Were a Gregory VII., or an Innocent IV., or a Boniface VIII., an allowable manager anywhere of controversies about the papal authority?

Were now, indeed, any pope fit to preside in any council wherein the reformation of the church is concerned, it being notorious that popes, as such, do most need reformation, that they are the great obstructors of it, that all Christendom has [had] a long time a controversy with them for their detaining it in bondage?

In this and many other cases we may reject their presidency, as implying iniquity, according to the rule of an old pope: "I would know of them how they would have the judgment which they put forth examined? By themselves? that the same persons may be adversaries, witnesses, and judges? To such judgment as this even human affairs are not to be trusted, much less the integrity of the divine law."²

¹ Dominus Rom. rex indutus vestibus regalibus recessit de sede sua solita, et transiit ad aliam sedem positam in fronte altaris, tanquam præsiciens pro tunc in concilio.—*Syn. Const.*, sess. xiv. p. 1044.

² Quæro tamen ab his, judicium quod prætendunt, ubinam possit agitari, an apud ipsos, ut iidem sint inimici, et testes, et iudices? Sed tali iudicio nec humana debent committi negotia, nedum divinæ legis integritas.—*P. Gelas., Ep. iv.*

It is not reasonable that any person should have such a prerogative, which would be an engine of mischief: for thereby, bearing sway in general assemblies of bishops, he would be enabled and irresistibly tempted to domineer over the world,—to abuse princes and disturb states, to oppress and enslave the church, to obstruct all reformation, to enact laws to promote and establish errors serviceable to his interests;¹ the which effects of such power, exercised by him in the synod of Trent, and in divers other of the later general synods, experience has declared.

III. If the pope were sovereign of the church, the *legislative power*, wholly or in part, would belong to him, so far, at least, that no synod or ecclesiastical consistory could without his consent determine or prescribe any thing. His approbation would be required to give life and validity to their decrees. He should, at least, have a negative, so that nothing might pass against his will. This is a most essential ingredient of sovereignty, and is therefore claimed by the pope, who long has pretended that no decrees of synods are valid without his consent and confirmation.

[Thus speaks Pope Nicholas I.] :—"The decrees made by the holy popes of the chief see of the Roman church, by whose authority and sanction all synods and holy councils are strengthened and established, how can you say that you do not receive and observe them?"²

"You know very well," [says the same pope,] "that nothing is accounted valid, or to be received in universal councils, but what the see of St Peter has approved; so, on the other hand, whatever she alone has rejected, that is for this sole reason to be rejected."³

"We never read of any synod that was valid," [says Pope Pelagius II.,] "unless it were confirmed by the apostolic authority."⁴

"We trust no true Christian is now ignorant," [says Pope Gelasius I.,] "that no see is above all the rest more obliged to observe the constitution of each council, which the consent of the universal church has approved, than the prime see, which by its authority confirms every synod, and by a continued moderating preserves them, according to its own principality,"⁵ &c.

¹ Nic. II. Lugd. Lat. IV. V.

² Decretalia autem quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis Romanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate atque sanctione omnes synodi, et sancta concilia roborantur, et stabilitatem sumunt, cur vos non habere, vel observare dicitis!—*P. Nic. I., Ep. vi. ad Photium.*

³ Denique ut in universalibus conciliis, quid ratum vel quid prorsus acceptum, nisi quod sedes B. Petri probavit (ut ipsi scitis) habetur; sicut e contrario quod ipsa sola reprobavit, hoc solummodo consistat hactenus reprobatum.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. vii.*

⁴ — nulla unquam synodus rata legatur, quæ apostolica auctoritate non fuerit fulta.—*P. Pelag. II., Ep. viii. Dist. 17.*

⁵ Confidimus quod nullus jam veraciter Christianus ignoret. uniuscujusque synodi constitutum, quod universalis ecclesiæ probavit assensus, non aliquam magis exequi sedem præ cæteris oportere, quam primam; quæ et unamquamque synodum sua auc-

But this pretence, as it has no ground in the divine law, or in any old canon, or in primitive custom, so it crosses the sentiments and practice of antiquity; for that [because], in ancient synods, divers things were ordained without the pope's consent, divers things against his pleasure.

God has promised to bless particular synods, Matt. xviii. 19, 20.

What particular or formal confirmation did St Peter yield to the assembly at Jerusalem?

That in some of the first general synods he [the pope] was not apprehended to have any negative voice, is by the very tenor and air of things, or by the little regard expressed toward him, sufficiently clear. There is not in the synodical epistles of Nice or of Sardica any mention of his confirmation.

Interpretatively, all those decrees which thwart these pretences may be supposed to pass [have passed] without his consent; for if these are now good, then of old they were known and admitted for such, and being such, we cannot suppose the pope willingly to have consented, in derogation, to them.

Wherefore, the Nicene canons, establishing ecclesiastical administrations without regard to him, and in authority equalling other metropolitans with him, may be supposed to pass [have passed] without his consent.

The canons of the second general council, and of all others confirming these, as also the canons of all synods which advanced the see of Constantinople, his rival for authority, above its former state, first to a proximity in order, then to an equality of privileges, with the see of Rome, may, as plainly contrary to his interest and spirit, be supposed to pass [have passed] without his consent;¹ and so divers popes have affirmed. If we may believe Pope Leo (as I suppose), the canons of the second council were not transmitted to Rome; they therefore passed, and obtained in practice of the catholic church, without its consent or knowledge. Pope Gregory I. says that "the Roman church did not admit them;"² wherein it plainly discorded with the catholic church, which with all reverence did receive and hold them. And in despite to the canon of that synod advancing the royal city, [Constantinople], to that eminency, Pope Gelasius I. would not admit it for so much as a metropolitan see.³ O proud in-

toritate confirmat, et continuata moderatione custodit pro suo scilicet principatu, &c.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. xiii. ad Episc. Dard.* Vide p. 647, *Tract. de Anath.*

¹ Persuasioni tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur, quorundam episcoporum ante 60, ut jactas, annos, nunquamque a prædecessoribus tuis ad apostolicæ sedis transmissæ notitiam.—*Leo, Ep. liii., ad Anat.*; *Conc. Constant.*, can. iii.; *Concil. Chalc.*, can. ix., xvii., xxviii.; *Syn. Trull.*, can. xxxvi.

² Romana autem ecclesia eosdem canones vel gesta synodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accipit; in hæc autem eandem synodum acceperat quod est per eam contra Macedonium definitum.—*P. Greg. M., Ep. vi.* 81. The same Pope Leo I. affirms, *Ep. liii.*

³ — ejus civitatis quæ non solum inter sedes numeratur, sed nec inter metropolitānorum jura censetur, &c.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. xiii., ad Episc. Dard.*

solency! O contentious frowardness! O rebellious contumacy against the catholic church and its peace! Such was the humour of that see, to allow nothing which did not suit with the interests of its ambition.

But farther; divers synodical decrees passed expressly against the pope's mind and will. I pass over those at Tyre, at Antioch, at Ariminum, at Constantinople, in divers places of the east (which yet evince that commonly there was no such opinion entertained of this privilege belonging to the pope), and shall instance in only general synods.

In the synod of Chalcedon, "equal privileges" (ἴσα πρεσβεία) were assigned to the bishop of Constantinople as the bishop of Rome had. This with a general concurrence¹ "was decreed and subscribed," although the "pope's legates earnestly resisted, clamoured, and protested against it;"² the imperial commissioners and all the bishops not understanding or not allowing the pope's negative voice.

And whereas Pope Leo, moved with a jealousy that he who thus had obtained an equal rank with him should aspire to get above him, fiercely disputed, exclaimed, inveighed, menaced against this order, striving to defeat it, pretending to annul it, labouring to depress the bishop of Constantinople from that degree, which both himself and his legates in the synod had acknowledged due to him;³ in which endeavour divers of his successors imitated him:⁴ yet could not he nor they accomplish their design, the veneration of that synod and consent of Christendom overbearing their opposition, the bishop of Constantinople sitting in all the succeeding general synods in the second place, without any contrast; so that at length popes were fain to acquiesce in the bishop of Constantinople's possession of the second place in dignity among the patriarchs.

In the fifth general synod Pope Vigilius made a constitution, in most express terms prohibiting the condemnation of the *three chapters*,* as they are called, and the anathematization of persons deceased in the peace of the church. "We dare not ourselves," says he,

¹ Πάντα ἡ σύνοδος ἰσχυροί.—*In fine Aetorum*, p. 464.

² Inde enim fratres nostri, ab apostolica sede directi, qui vice mea synodo præsident, probabiliter atque constanter illicitis ausibus obstiterunt, aperte reclamantes, &c.—*Leo I., Ep. liii.*, liv. Οἱ ὑπακούσαντες ἐπίσκοποι ἰσχύσαν, οὐδὲν ἀπαγκάθη.—*Act. xvi.* p. 469, against P. Leo's assertion, that the consent was extorted. Τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἡμεῖς . . . κατὰ συνδικήν ἐκνώσαμεν ψῆφον, say the fathers to Pope Leo, p. 476. "By a synodical vote we have confirmed this ancient custom."

³ Ep. 58, 54, 55, 61, 62.

⁴ Εὐσεβίος ἐπίσκοπος Δαρυλαίου ἔπιν' ἑκὼν ὑπὸ γράψα' ἱσιδᾶν καὶ τὸν καὶ τότε τοῦτον τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πάτρι ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγὼ ἀνίστημι, παρόντων κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἀποδέχεται αὐτόν.—*Syn. Chalc.*, Act. xvi. p. 462, supra. "Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, said, 'I have willingly subscribed, because I have read this canon to the most holy pope of Rome, the clergy of Constantinople being present, and he received it.'"

* *The Three Chapters*.—The Emperor Justinian, by the advice of Theodorus of Cæsarea, passed a decree in the year 544, which contained three heads, or *Chapters* (capitula, κεφάλαια), as they came to be called, condemning Theodorus of Mopsuestia,

"condemn Theodorus, neither will we submit to have him condemned by any other."¹ And in the same constitution he orders and decrees, "That nothing be said or done by any to the injury or discredit of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, a man most approved in the synod of Chalcedon;" and the same," says he, "have the decrees of the apostolical see determined, that no man pass a new judgment upon persons dead, but leave them as death found them."² Lastly, by that constitution he "specially provides, that, as he had before said, nothing, through means of that perverse opinion which we have condemned, might be derogated from persons dying in the peace and communion of the universal church."³

Yet the synod, in smart terms reflecting on the pope, and giving him the lie, not regarding his opinion or authority, decreed that persons deceased were liable to be anathematized. They anathematized Theodorus; they expressly condemned each of the "chapters;"⁴ they threatened deposition or excommunication on whoever should

Theodoret bishop of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, as guilty of error, and pronouncing censure on certain writings of these men, as favourable to Nestorianism. This gave occasion to a vigorous dispute between the eastern and western bishops; the latter, with Pope Vigilius at their head, refusing to condemn "the three chapters," maintaining that great injury was done by the imperial edict both to the council of Chalcedon and to deceased worthies now in heaven. To settle this controversy, Justinian, in the year 558, assembled at Constantinople what is called the fifth general council, referred to in the text. In this council, the three chapters of Chalcedon were formally condemned; and this is acknowledged by the Romish church as an oecumenical council, although the pope, who was at Constantinople, not only absented himself from it, but protested against all its proceedings. It is true that Vigilius was on this account banished by the emperor, and was afterwards compelled to condemn the three chapters; which was the fourth time that he had changed his opinion of them, and solemnly declared it, after examining them "with all possible care and attention."—*Barnage, Hist. de l'Eglise*, tome i. liv. x.; *Mosheim, Eccl. Hist.* (Reid's ed.), pp. 232, 233; *Bower's Hist. of the Popes*, vol. ii. p. 380, &c.—Ed.

¹ Eum (Theodorum) nostra non audemus damnare sententia, sed nec ab alio quopiam condemnari concedimus.—*Vig. Const.*, p. 186.

² Statuimus atque decernimus nihil in injuriam atque obtreactionem probatissimi in Chalcedonensi synodo viri, hoc est Theodreti episcopi Cyri, sub taxatione nominis ejus a quoquam fieri vel proferri.—*Ibid.*

³ Idemque regulariter apostolicæ sedis definiunt constituta, nulli licere noviter aliquid de mortuorum judicare personis; sed in hoc relinqui, in quo unumquemque supremus dies invenit, &c.—[*Ibid.*]

⁴ Hac præsentis constitutionis dispositione quam maxime providemus, ne (sicut supra diximus) personis, quæ in pace et communione universalis ecclesiæ quieverunt, sub hac damnati a nobis perversi dogmatis occasione aliquid derogetur.—*Ibid.*

⁵ Quoniam autem post hæc omnia impietatis illius defensoris injuriis contra Creatorem suum dictis gloriantes dicebant non oportere eum post mortem anathematizare . . . qui hæc dicunt nullam curam Dei judicatorum faciunt, nec apostolicarum pronuntiationum, nec paternarum traditionum.—*Coll. viii.* p. 289. Condemnamus autem et anathematizamus una cum omnibus aliis hæreticis et Theodorum.—*Coll. viii.* p. 291. Quod dicitur a quibusdam quod in communicatione et pace, defunctus est Theodorus, mendacium est, et calumnia magis adversus ecclesiam.—*Coll. v.* p. 250. Si quis conatus fuerit contra hæc quæ pie disposuimus, vel tradere, vel docere, vel scribere, siquidem episcopus vel clericus sit, iste tanquam aliena a sacerdotibus et statu ecclesiastico faciens, denudabitur episcopatu vel clericatu: si autem monachus vel laicus sit, anathematizabitur.—*Coll. viii.* p. 293.

oppose their constitutions; [nay,] they anathematize whoever does not anathematize Theodorus.¹

But Pope Vigilius refused to approve their doctrine and sentence; and therefore (which was the case of many other bishops, as Baronius himself confesses and argues²) was driven into banishment, wherein he expired.^{3*}

Yet posterity has embraced this synod as a legitimate and valid general synod, and the popes following professed the highest reverence thereto, equally with the preceding general synods;⁴ so little necessary is the pope's consent or concurrence to the validity of synodical definitions.

Upon this Baronius has an admirable reflection. "Stay here, reader," says he, "and consider the matter attentively," (ay, do so, I pray!) "that it is no new thing that some synod, in which the pope was not even present by his legates, but opposed it, should yet obtain the title of an œcumenical synod, while afterward the will of the pope acceded that it should obtain such a title."⁵

So, in the opinion of this doctor, the pope can easily change the nature of things, and make that become a general synod which once was none, yea, which, as it was held, did not deserve the name of any synod at all.⁶ O the virtue of papal magic! or rather, O the impudence of papal advocates!

The canons of the sixth general council, exhibited by the Trullane (or Quinsext) synod, clearly and expressly condemn several doctrines and practices of Rome;⁷ I ask whether the pope confirmed them? They will, to be sure, as they are concerned to do, answer, "No;" and indeed Pope Sergius, as Anastasius in his Life reports,⁸ refused them; yet did they pass for legitimate in the whole church:

¹ Si quis defendit . . . et non anathematizat eum . . . anathema sit.—*Ibid.*

² Baron., ann. 553, § 223.

³ — contra ipsius (pontificis Rom.) decreta ab ea (synodo) pariter sententia dicta.—Baron., ann. 553, § 219. Non consentientes depositi in exilium missi sunt.—*Lib.*, cap. 24.

* The author has committed a slight mistake here. Pope Vigilius may be said, indeed, to have died in exile; for though he had embarked, after seven years' absence, for Rome, he only got the length of Syracuse. But before he was permitted to return, he had formally approved of the sentence of the council at Constantinople, condemning Theodorus and Theodoret, and "the three chapters."—*Bower's Hist. of the Popes*, vol. ii. 415.—Ed.

⁴ Greg., Ep. i. 24. Quintam quoque synodum pariter veneror, &c., i. 24.—*Pelag. II.*, Ep. —; *Agatho. Syn. vi. Act. 4*; *Leo. Syn. Act. 18*; *Hadrian ad Nectar.*

⁵ Hic siste, lector, atque rem attente considera; non esse hoc novum, ut aliqua synodus, cui nec per legatos ipse pontifex interfuerit, sed adversatus fuerit, titulum tamen obtinuerit œcumenicæ; cum postea ut hujusmodi titulum obtineret, Romani pontificis voluntas accessit.—Baron., ann. 553, § 224.

⁶ Si ad numeros omnes, &c. Plene consenties ipsam nod œcumenicæ tantum, sed nec privatæ synodi mereri nomen.—*Ibid.*, ann. 553, § 219.

⁷ Can. 2, 7, 18, 36, 55, 58, 67.

⁸ — in quibus diversa capitula Romanæ ecclesiæ contraria scripta inerant.—*Anast. in Vit. Joh. VII.*

for in their general synod (the second Nicene), without contradiction, one of them is alleged (out of the very original paper, wherein the fathers had subscribed) as a "canon of the holy general sixth synod,"¹ and avowed for such by the patriarch Tarasius, both in way of argument of defence and of profession in his synodical epistle to the patriarchs, where he says, that "together with the divine doctrines of the sixth synod, he also embraces the canons enacted by it;"² of which epistle Pope Adrian, in his answer thereto, recites a part containing those words, and applauds it for orthodox, signifying no offence at his embracing the Trullane canons.³ And all those hundred and two canons are again avowed by the synod in their antithesis to the synod of Constantinople. In fine, if we believe Anastasius, Pope John VII., "being timorous, out of human frailty, directed these canons, without amendment, by two metropolitans, to the emperor;"⁴ that is, he admitted them so as they stand.

But it may be instanced [insisted] that divers synods have asked the pope's consent for ratification of their decrees and acts.

Thus the fathers of the second general synod having, in an epistle to Pope Damasus and the western bishops, declared what constitutions they had made, in the close speak thus: "In which things, being legally and canonically settled by us, we do exhort your reverence to acquiesce, out of spiritual charity and fear of the Lord."⁵

Thus the synod of Chalcedon did, with much respect, ask from Pope Leo the confirmation of its sanctions: "That you may know that we have done nothing for favour or out of spite, but as guided by the divine direction, we have made known to you the substance of all that has been done, for your concurrence, and for the confirmation and approbation of the things done."⁶

Of the fifth synod Pope Leo II. says, "That he agreed to what was determined in it, and confirms it with the authority of the blessed St Peter."⁷

To these allegations we reply, that it was, indeed, the manner of

¹ Κανὼν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμένης ἐκτῆς συνόδου.—*Syn. Nic. II.*, Act. iv. 631. Πρωτότυπος χάριτις ἰσχύει, ἐν ᾧ ὑπέγραψαν οἱ πατέρις.—*Ibid.*

² Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἐκτῆς συνόδου, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἐνθιμῶν καὶ θριανθῶν ἐκφωνηθέντων δογματῶν παρ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας κανόνας ἀποδέχομαι.—*Act. iii.* p. 592.

³ Ταύτη τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως, &c.—*Ibid.* p. 363; Act. vi. p. 732; *Dist. xvi.* cap. 5, &c.

⁴ Sed hic humana fragilitate timidus hos nequaquam tomos emendans per suprafatos metropolitans direxit ad principem.—*Anast. in Vit. Joh. VII.*

⁵ Οἷς ὡς ἐνθιμῶς καὶ πατριωτικῶς παρ' ἡμῶν κεραιτηθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγκαίρην παρακαλοῦμαι εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μιστινύσεως ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου, &c.—*Theod. v.* 9.

⁶ "Ἰνα δὲ γνώτῃ ὡς οὐδὲν πρὸς χάριν, ἢ πρὸς ἀπείχθειαν πεποιήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς Διῶν κυβερνάμενοι πνύματι, πᾶσαν ὑμῶν τῶν πειραγμένων τὴν δύναμιν ἡγουρίσμεν εἰς εὐστάσιον ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν πειραγμένων βελαιώσιν τε καὶ συγκατάθεσιν.—*Syn. Chalc. ad P. Leon I.*, p. 476.

⁷ Τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ὁμοθείᾳ συναινῶ, καὶ τῇ αὐθενσίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου Πιτρὸς βέλαιοι.—*P. Leo II., Ep.*, p. 306.

all synods,—for notification of things and promulgation of their orders, for demonstration and maintenance of concord, for adding weight and authority to their determinations, for engaging all bishops to a willing compliance in observing them, for attestation to the common interest of all bishops in the Christian truth, and in the governance and edification of the church,—having framed decrees concerning the public state, to demand, in fairest terms, the consent to them of *all* catholic bishops who were absent from them, to be attested by their subscription.

So Constantine recommended the Nicene decrees to all bishops, undertaking that they would assent to them.¹

So, more expressly, the synod of Sardica, in their epistle to all bishops of the catholic church: “Do ye also, our brethren and fellow-ministers, use the more diligence, as being present in spirit with our synod, to yield consent by your subscription, that concord may be preserved everywhere by all the fellow-ministers.”²

So Pope Liberius requested of the Emperor Constantius, “that the faith delivered at Nice might be confirmed by the subscription of all bishops.”³

So Athanasius “procured a synod at Alexandria to confirm the decrees at Sardica and in Palestine concerning him.”⁴

So the Macedonian bishops are said to have authorized their agents “to ratify the faith of consubstantiality.”⁵*

Many such instances occur in story, by which it may appear that the decrees of synods concerning faith, or concerning any matters of common interest, were presented to all bishops, and their consent requested or required; because, say the Roman clergy in St Cyprian, “a decree cannot be firm which has not the consent of many.”⁶

Whence it is no wonder if any synods thus proceeded toward so eminent a bishop as was he of Rome, that they should endeavour to give him satisfaction; that they should desire to receive satisfaction from him of his conspiring with them in faith, of his willingness to

¹ Ἀρμένιος διχισθε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἰστολὴν, &c.—*De Vit. Const.* iii. 20. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑμῖν ἐν ἁγχοῖς ἄρῃσαι ὑπισχόμεν.—*Ibid.* iii. 19.

² Σπουδάζετε δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συλλειτουργοὶ, ὡς τῇ πνεύματι συνόντες τῇ συνόδῳ ἡμῶν συνεπιψηφίζεσθαι δι' ὑπογραφῆς ὑμῖν ἐπιστολῆς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρὰ πάντων τῶν πατριαρχῶν συλλειτουργῶν τὴν ὁμολογίαν διασώζεσθαι.—*Syn. Sard. Epist.*, apud *Athan.* in *Apol.* ii. p. 766.

³ Ἐξήτει δὲ τὴν μὴ ἐν Νικαίᾳ παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν ὑπογραφαῖς τῶν πάντων ἐπισκόπων κρατύνεσθαι.—*Soz.* iv. 11.

⁴ Σύνοδον γενέσθαι παρισκιάζει τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐπιψηφίσαι τοῖς ἐν Σαρδίᾳ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ διδογμένοις.—*Ibid.* iv. 1.

⁵ Ἐντυλάμιναι . . . κυρώσαι τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν.—*Socr.* iv. 12.

* Literally, of the *homousiouis*, referring to the famous dispute with the semi-Arians, which turned on the difference between *homousios* and *homoiousios*, or whether the Son was of the *same*, or of the *like*, essence with the Godhead.—*Ep.*

⁶ — quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habere consensum.—*Cler. Rom.*, apud *Cyp.*, *Ep.* xxxi.

comply in observing good rules of discipline; that, as every vote had force, so the suffrage of one in so great dignity and reputation might adjoin some regard to their judgment.¹

The pope's confirmation of synods, what was it in effect but a declaration of his approbation and assent? the which confirmed by addition of suffrage; as those who were present by their vote, and those who were absent by their subscription, are said to confirm the decrees of councils, every such consent being supposed to increase the authority: whence the number of bishops is sometimes reckoned according to the subscriptions of bishops absent; as the council of Sardica is sometimes related to consist of three hundred bishops, although not two hundred were present, the rest concurring by subscription to its definitions.²

Other bishops, in yielding their suffrage, express it by, "I confirm, I define, I decree."³

But the *effectual* confirmation of synods, which gave them the force of laws, was in other hands, and depended on the imperial sanction.

So Justinian affirms generally: "All these things, at divers times following, our above-named predecessors, of pious memory, corroborated and confirmed by their laws what each council had determined, and expelled those heretics who attempted to resist the definitions of the aforesaid four councils, and disturb the churches."⁴

So particularly Constantine, as Athanasius himself reports, "confirmed by law the decrees of the great synod of Nice."⁵ And Eusebius assures the same. "He," says he, "ratified the decrees of the synod by his authority."⁶ His letters are extant, which he sent about the world, exhorting and requiring all to conform to the constitutions of that synod.

So Theodosius confirmed the decrees of the second general synod, "adding," says Sozomen, "his confirmatory suffrage to their decree;"⁷ which he did at the supplication of the fathers, addressed to him in these terms: "We therefore beseech your grace, that by

¹ Παρακαλοῦμεν τοῖνυν τίμησον ταῖς σαῖς ψήφοις τὸν κρίειν.—*Syn. Chalc. ad Leon.*, p. 476.

² Κατὰ τὴν συνδικήν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον, &c.—*Ep. Syn. Chalc. ad Leon.*, p. 475; *Socr.* ii. 20, et *Vales. ann. ibid.*

³ Sententias fratrum omnes sequimur, omnes confirmamus, omnes observandas esse decernimus.—*Conc. Rom. P. III.*, p. 579.

⁴ His itaque omnibus per diversa tempora subsequitis, prædicti piæ recordationis nostri patres ea quæ in unoquoque concilio judicata sunt, legibus suis corroboraverunt et confirmaverunt; et hæreticos qui definitionibus prædictorum S. quatuor conciliorum resistere, et ecclesias conturbare conati sunt, expulerunt.—*Justin. in Conc. V., Coll. i.* p. 210.

⁵ Τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου γραφίσα, τοῦ συνδρίου κοινοῦν, ἐγράψασι νόμον.—*Athan., apud Theod.* ii. 4.

⁶ Τὰ τῆς συνόδου δόγματα κυρῶν ἐπισφραγίσας.—*Euseb. de Vit. Const.* iii. 23. 'Ἐρωδίσαι καὶ διατάσσιν ἐφίλειται.—*Ibid.* iii. 20.

⁷ Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧδε τοῦ συνδρίου ἴδαξαι, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπισφραγίσας.—*Soz.* vii. 9.

your pious edict the sentence of the synod may be authorized; that as by the letters of convocation you honoured the assembly, so you would also confirm the result of things decreed."¹

The third general synod was also confirmed by Theodosius II., as Justinian tells us: "The above-named Theodosius, of pious memory, maintaining what had been so justly determined against Nestorius and his impiety, made his condemnation valid."²

And this emperor asserted this privilege to himself, as of right and custom belonging to him, writing to the synod in these words: "For all things, as it may please God, without contentiousness and with truth being examined, ought so to be established by our piety."³

The other abortive synod at Ephesus was also confirmed by Theodosius junior, as Dioscorus in his defence alleged in these words, which show the manner of practice in this case: "We then, indeed, judged the things that were judged; the whole synod accorded with us, and gave verdict by their own votes, and subscribed; and they were referred to the most religious Emperor Theodosius, of happy memory, and he by a general law confirmed all things judged by the holy and oecumenical synod."⁴

So also the Emperor Marcian confirmed the synod of Chalcedon, as himself tells us in his royal edict. "We," says he, "having by the sacred edict of our serene majesty confirmed the holy synod, warned all to cease from disputes about religion."⁵ With which Pope Leo signifies his compliance in these terms: "But because by all means your piety and most religious will must be obeyed, I have willingly approved the synodical constitutions about confirming the catholic faith and condemning heretics; which pleased me."⁶

Justinian confirmed the fifth synod with a witness, punishing with banishment all who would not submit to its determinations!

In the sixth synod the fathers requested the emperor, according

¹ Διόμμεθα τοίνυν τῆς οὗς ἡμετέροισι γράμμασι τῆς οὗς ἐπιστάσις ἐπισυμβῆναι τῆς συνόδου τὴν ψῆφον, ἵ' ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας γράμμασι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐντάμνηται, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δεξάντων ἐπισφραγίσῃ τὸ εἶδος.—*Præf. ad Can. Conc. Const.*, apud *Bin.*, p. 660.

² Sed prædictus piæ recordationis Theodosius vindicans ea, quæ ita recte contra Nestorium, et ejus impietatem fuerant judicata, fecit firmiter obtinere contra eum factam condemnationem.—*Justin. in Quinto Conc.*, *Coll. i.*

³ Χρὴ γὰρ πάντα κατὰ τὸ ἐν Θεῷ μίλλον ἀρίσκειν δίχα φιλονεικίας καὶ μετὰ ἀληθείας ἐπισταθῆναι οὕτω παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας Διοσιτάτας βιβλαισθῆναι.—*Ep. Theod. ad Syn. Eph. in Actis Conc.*, p. 375.

⁴ Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἐπρίναμεν τὰ κεκρυμμένα συνήθειον ἡμῶν πᾶσα ἡ σύνοδος, καὶ παρτίδοτο οἰκίας φωνῆς, καὶ ὑπόγραφῃ καὶ ἀνηνέχθη τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ βασιλῷ τῆς θείας λαϊκῆς Θεοδοσίῃ καὶ ἐκτεταται πάντα τὰ κεκρυμμένα παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμένης συνόδου νόμῳ γενικῷ.—*Syn. Chalced. Act. i.* p. 59.

⁵ Ἐπεὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμετέροισι διατάγμασι τὴν ἁγίαν βιβλαιώσαντες σύνοδον ὑπαμύνταται ἄπαντας, ἀπὸς τῶν ἐπὶ Σπονδίας παύσασθαι διαλύειν.—*Conc. Chalced.*, part iii. p. 478.

⁶ Quia vero omnibus modis obediendum est pietati vestræ, religiosissimæque voluntati, constitutionibus synodaliibus, quæ mihi de confirmatione fidei catholicæ et hæreticorum damnatione placuerunt, libens adjeci sententiam meam.—*P. Leo I., Ep. lix. ad Marc. Aug.*

to custom, to confirm its definitions, in these very words: "To what we have determined set your seal, your royal ratification by writing, and confirmation of them all, by your sacred edicts and holy constitutions, according to custom."¹

"We beg that, by your sacred signing of it, you would give force to what we have defined and subscribed."²

"We entreat the power of our lord, guided by God's wisdom, to confirm, for the greater strength and security of the orthodox faith, the copies of our determination, read in the hearing of your most serene majesty, and subscribed by us, that they may be delivered to the five patriarchal sees with your pious confirmation."³

Accordingly he confirmed that synod by his edict: "All these things being thus ordered by this sixth holy and œcumenical synod, we decree that none whosoever trouble himself farther about this faith, or advance any new inventions about it."⁴

Thus he told Pope Leo II. in his epistle to him: "This divine and venerable determination the holy synod has made; to which we also have subscribed, and confirmed it by our religious edicts, exhorting all our people, who have any love for Christ, to follow the faith there written."⁵

Pope Leo tells his name-sake, Leo the emperor, "that he must always remember that the imperial power was given him, not only to rule the world, but more especially to protect the church."⁶

Thus, by long prescription, commencing with the first general synod, did the emperor enjoy this prerogative: and with good reason, — he having an unquestionable warrant and obligation to promote the welfare of the church, designed by those conventions; he being the guardian of concord among his subjects and protector of their liberties, which might be nearly concerned in conciliar proceedings; the power of enacting laws being an incommunicable branch of sovereign majesty; he alone having power committed to him, able to enforce the

¹ Καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ὁριθῆναι σφ:αγιῶν παράσχει τὴν ὑμῶν ἱγγραφοὶ βασιλικῇν ἐπιμύρωσιν, καὶ διὰ θείων ἡδίκτων, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἰθιῶν ἐπιστῶν διατάξιον τὴν τούτων ἀπάντων βεβαιώσιν.—*Syn. VI. Act. xviii. p. 275.*

² Αἰτούμεν διὰ θείας ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως τὸ κύρος παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐκφωνηθέντι ἰνυπογράφῳ ἔργῳ.—*Ibid, p. 288.*

³ Αἰτούμεν τὸ θείον τοῦ δισπότου κρείττος πρὸς μίξιναν τῆς ὁρθόδοξου πίστεως ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ βεβαιώσιν ἰεσούτου ἰνυπογράφους ἔργους τοῦ ἀναγνωσθέντος κατὰ παρουσίαν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ὑμῶν κρείττους ἔργου ἰσδοθέντι τοῖς πάντι πατριάρχαις θρόνοις μετὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως.—*Ibid, p. 284.*

⁴ Τούτων οὕτως ἀπάντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας ταύτης καὶ οἰκουμένης Ἰσταν: συνόδου διατυπωθέντων, sancimus, ὅσας μηδὲν τῶν πάντων ἱερῶν τι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι, ἢ καινότερον δόγματος ἰφύριμα μηχανήσασθαι, &c.—*Ibid, Edict. Const. p. 294.*

⁵ Οἷον δι' ἐβδόμου ἔργου ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος ἐξέδωκεν, ὃ καὶ συνυπογράψαμεν, καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν ἡδίκτων τούτων ἐπιμύρωσιν προ:έψαντες ἅπαντα τὸν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν λαὸν τῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἱγγραμμῇ πίστει ἐνίστασθαι, &c.—*Ibid, pp. 298, 302.*

⁶ Debes incunctanter advertere regiam potestatem tibi non solum ad mundi regimen, sed maxime ad ecclesiæ præsidium esse collatam, &c.—*Leo M., Ep. lxxv.*

observance of decrees, without which they would in effect signify little: because also, commonly, the decrees of synods in a manner retrenched some part of the royal prerogative, translating or imparting to others causes before appropriated to his jurisdiction (as in the case of appeals, and of prohibiting addresses to court, ordered in the Sardican and other synods, of exempting clergymen from secular jurisdiction, from taxes and common burdens, &c.); which ought not to be done without his licence and authority.

So that the oriental bishops had good reason to tell the emperor that "it was impossible without his authority to order the matters under consideration with good law and order."¹

It is no wise reasonable that any other should have this power, it being inconsistent with public peace that in one state there should be two legislative powers, which might clash the one with the other, the one enacting sanctions prejudicial to the interest and will of the other: wherefore the pope, being then a citizen of Rome, and a subject to the emperor, could not have a legislative power, or a negative vote in synods, but that wholly belonged to the imperial authority.

But it is opposed, that some synods have been declared invalid for want of the pope's confirmation; for to the decrees of the synod at Ariminum it was excepted that they were null, because the bishop of Rome did not consent to them.² "There could not," say the Roman synod, in Theodoret, "be any prejudice from the number of those assembled in Ariminum, neither the Roman bishop, whose suffrage ought first to have been received, nor Vicentius, who for so many years held his episcopacy blameless, nor others, agreeing to such things."³ To which exception [objection] I answer, that,—

1. That which is alleged against the synod of Ariminum is, not the defect of the pope's confirmation subsequent, but of his consent and concurrence before it or in it; which is very reasonable, because he had a right to be present and to concur in all such assemblages, especially being so eminent a bishop.⁴

2. The same exception every bishop might allege, all having a like right and common interest to vote in those assemblies.

3. Accordingly, the dissent of other bishops, particularly of those eminent in dignity or merit, is also alleged in exception; which

¹ Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὡς ἀγορεύει διχα τοῦ ὑμῖν κρείττους ἐστάναι καὶ ἐνθίσαι τὰ προκείμενα τυπώθαι.—*Rel. Orient. ad Imp. Act. Syn. Eph.* p. 372.

² Τῶν ἐν Ἀρμίνῳ ὑπαινέσιν ταύτης ἀκέραιον ὄναι, ὡς μήτι Ῥωμαῖον ἐπισκοπῇ, μήτι τῶν ἄλλων συνδιδόναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὡς πολλῶν τῶν αὐτῇ συνελθόντων ἀπαρισθίνων τοῖς τίσι παρ' αὐτῶν διδογμένοις.—*Soz.* vi. 23.

³ Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρκερμά τι ἡδυνήθη γινώσκειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμίνῳ συναχθέντων, ὡς οὐκ ἐνίσταται, μήτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῶν, οὐ πρὸ πάντων ἰδεῖν τὴν γνώμην ἐκδίδεσθαι, οὐκ Οὐικιντίου δὲ καὶ τοσοῦτοι ἴσται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀσπίλους ἐφύλαξιν, οὐκ τῶν ἄλλων ταῖς ταυούταις ἐνγκαταθιμένοις.—*Theod.* ii. 22.

⁴ Pope Liberius being absent, detained from it by violence in banishment.

had been needless if his alone dissent had been of so very peculiar force.

4. The emperor, and many other bishops, did not know of any peculiar necessity of his confirmation.

Again, it may be objected that popes have voided [made void] the decrees of general synods, as did Pope Leo the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon, concerning the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see, in these blunt words: "But the agreements of bishops repugnant to the holy canons made at Nice, your faith and piety joining with us, we make void, and by the authority of the blessed apostle St Peter, by a general determination, we disannul."¹ And in his epistle to those of that synod: "For however vain conceit may arm itself with extorted compliances, and think its wilfulness sufficiently strengthened with the name of councils, yet whatever is contrary to the canons of the above-named fathers will be weak and void."² Lastly, in his epistle to Maximus, bishop of Antioch, he says: "He has such a reverence for the Nicene canons, that he will not permit or endure that what those holy fathers have determined be by any novelty violated."³

This behaviour of Pope Leo, although applauded and imitated by some of his successors,⁴ I doubt not to except against, in behalf of the synod, that it was disorderly, factious, and arrogant, proceeding indeed from ambition and jealousy,—the leading act of high presumption in this kind, and one of the seeds of that exorbitant ambition which at length overwhelmed the dignity and liberty of the Christian republic; yet, for somewhat qualifying the business, it is observable that he grounded his repugnancy and pretended annulling of that decree, or of decrees concerning discipline, not so much upon his authority to cross general synods, as upon the inviolable firmness and everlasting obligation of the Nicene canons, which he (although against the reason of things and rules of government) presumed no synod could abrogate or alter. In fine, this opposition of his proved ineffectual, by the sense and practice of the church maintaining its ground against his pretence.

It is an unreasonable thing, that the opinion or humour of one

¹ Consensiones vero episcoporum, sanctorum canonum apud Niciam conditorum regulis repugnantes, unita nobiscum vestræ fidei pietate, in irritum mittimus, et per auctoritatem beati Petri apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus.—*P. Leo I., Ep. lv. ad Pulcher. Aug.*

² Quantumlibet enim extortis assentionibus sese instruat vanitatis elatio, et appetitus suos concilliorum sestimet nomine roborandos, infirmum atque irritum erit quicquid a prædictorum patrum canonibus discreparit.—*Ep. lxi. ad Syn. Chalc.*

³ Tanta apud me est Nicenorum canonum reverentia, ut ea quæ sunt a sanctis patribus constituta nec permiserim nec patiar aliqua novitate violari.—*Leo., Ep. lxxiii. ad Max. Antioch.*

⁴ P. Gelas. Ep. xiii. ad Episc. Dard., p. 642, et in Tract. de Anathem., p. 647; P. Pelag. II. Ep. v. ad Eliam, p. 474; Greg. M. Ep.

man (no wiser nor better commonly than others) should be preferred before the common agreement of his brethren, being of the same office and order with him, so that he should be able to overthrow and frustrate the result of their meetings and consultations, when it did not square to his conceit or interest, especially seeing there is not the least appearance of any right he has to such a privilege, grounded in holy Scripture, tradition, or custom; for, seeing that Scripture has not a syllable about general synods, seeing that no rule about them is extant in any of the first fathers till after three hundred years, seeing there was not one such council celebrated till after that time, seeing in none of the first general synods any such canon was framed in favour of that bishop, what ground of right could the pope have to prescribe unto them or thwart their proceedings? Far more reason there is, in conformity to all former rules and practice, that he should yield to all his brethren, than that all his brethren should submit to him: and this we see to have been the judgment of the church, declared by its practice in the cases before touched.

IV. It is, indeed, a proper endowment of an absolute sovereignty, immediately and immutably constituted by God, with no terms or rules limiting it, that its will, declared in way of precept or proclamations, concerning the sanction of laws, the abrogation of them, the dispensation with them, should be observed.

This privilege, therefore, in a high strain the pope challenges to himself, asserting to his decrees and sentences the force and obligation of laws; so that the body of that canon law, whereby he pretends to govern the church, in greatest part consists of papal edicts or decretal epistles, imitating the rescripts of emperors, and bearing the same force.

In Gratian we have these aphorisms from popes concerning this their privilege:—

“No person ought to have either the will or the power to transgress the precepts of the apostolic see.”¹

“Those things which have at several times been written by the apostolic see, for the catholic faith, for sound doctrine, for the various and manifold exigencies of the church, and the manners of the faithful, how much rather ought they to be preferred in all honour, and by all men, upon all occasions whatsoever, to be reverently received!”²

¹ Nulli fas est vel velle vel posse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta.—*P. Greg. IV., Dist. xix. cap. 5.*

² — quanto potius quæ ipsæ (sedes apostolica) pro catholica fide, profanis (i. proanis) dogmatibus, pro variis et multifariis ecclesiæ necessitatibus, et fidelium moribus, diverso tempore scripsit, omni debent honore præferri, et ab omnibus prorsus in quibuslibet opportunitatibus discretionē vel dispensatione magistra reverenter assumi!—*P. Nic. I., Ep., Dist. xix. cap. 1.*

"Those decretal epistles, which most holy popes have at divers times given forth from the city of Rome, upon their being consulted with by divers bishops, we decree that they be received with veneration."¹

"If ye have not the decrees of the bishops of Rome, ye are chargeable with neglect and carelessness; but if ye have them and yet observe them not, ye deserve to be reprimanded and rebuked for your presumption."²

"All the sanctions of the apostolic see are so to be understood as if confirmed by the voice of St Peter himself."³

"Because the Roman church, over which, by the will of Christ, we preside, is proposed for a mirror and example, whatsoever it determines, whatsoever it appoints, is perpetually and irrefragably to be observed by all men."⁴

"We who, according to the plenitude of our power, have a right to dispense above law or right."⁵

"What this holy see might do by its own sole authority, it is often pleased to define by consent of a great many priests."⁶

But this power he assumes and exercises merely upon usurpation and unwarrantably, having no ground for it in original right or ancient practice.

Originally the church has no other general lawgiver, beside our "one Lord" and "one Lawgiver," Eph. iv. 5; James iv. 12.

As to practice we may observe:—

1. Anciently, before the first general synod, the church had no other laws beside the divine laws, or those which were derived from the apostles by traditional custom,⁷ or those which each church enacted for itself in provincial synods, or which were propagated from one church to another by imitation and compliance, or which, in like [a similar] manner, were framed and settled.

¹ Decretales epistolas, quas beatissimi papæ diversis temporibus ab urbe Roma pro diversorum patrum consultatione dederunt, venerabiliter suscipiendas decernimus.—*P. Gelas. I. (in decreto) lit. a Nic. P., Ep. xlii., ad Ep. Gallie, Dist. xix. cap. 1.*

² Si decreta Romanorum pontificum non habetis, de neglectu atque incuria estis arguendi; si vero habetis et non observatis, de temeritate estis corripiendi et increpandi.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. vi., ad Phot., Dist. xx. cap. 2.*

³ Sic omnes apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius divini Petri voce firmatæ sunt.—*P. Agatho, Dist. xix. cap. 2; Vid. Syn. VI., Act. iv. p. 35.*

⁴ Quia in speculum et exemplum S. Romana ecclesia, cui nos Christus præesse voluit, proposita est, ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est.—*P. Steph., Dist. xix. cap. 3; P. Gelas. I., Ep. ix.; De Dispens. p. 688.*

⁵ Qui secundum plenitudinem potestatis, de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.—*P. Inn. III., Decret. Greg., lib. iii. tit. 8, cap. 4.*

⁶ Sedes hæc—quod singulari etiam auctoritate perficere valet, multorum sæpe sacerdotum decernit definire consensu.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. xviii., ad Carolum R.; Leo I., Ep. i. cap. 5; P. Hilarius in Conc. Rom., p. 578; Caus. 25, qu. i. cap. 4; P. Urb., Caus. 25, qu. i. cap. 6; P. Anas. ad Imp. Anast.; P. Siric., Ep. i. p. 691.*

⁷ Ἀρχαία ἰθὺ.—*Syn. Constantinop., can. ii.*

Whence, according to different traditions, or different reasons and circumstances of things, several churches varied in points of order and discipline.

The pope, then, could not impose his traditions, laws, or customs, upon any church. If he attempted it, he was liable to suffer a repulse; as is notorious in the case when Pope Victor would (although rather as a doctor than as a lawgiver) have reduced the churches of Asia to conform with the Roman in the time of celebrating Easter, wherein he found not only stout resistance, but sharp reproof.

In St Cyprian's time, every bishop had a free power, according to his discretion, to govern his church; and it was deemed a tyrannical enterprise for one to prescribe to another, or to require obedience from his colleagues; as elsewhere, by many clear allegations out of that holy man, we have showed. "For none of us," says he, "makes himself a bishop of bishops, or by a tyrannical terror compels his colleagues to a necessity of obedience, since every bishop, according to the licence of his own liberty and power, has his own freedom, and can no more be judged by another than he himself can judge another."¹

If any new law were then introduced or rule determined for common practice, it was done by the general agreement of bishops, or of a preponderant multitude among them, to whom the rest, out of modesty and peaceableness, yielded compliance; according to that saying of the Roman clergy to St Cyprian, upon occasion of the debate concerning the manner of admitting lapsed persons to communion, "That decree cannot be valid that has not the consent of the majority."²

The whole validity of such laws or rules, indeed, wholly stood upon presumption of such consent; by which the common liberty and interest were secured.

2. After that, by the emperor's conversion, the church, enjoying secular protection and encouragement, reduced itself, as into a closer union and freer communication of parts, so into a greater uniformity of practice; especially by means of great synods, wherein, the governors and representatives of all churches being called unto them, and presumed to concur in them, were ordained sanctions, taken to oblige all.³ The pope had, indeed, a greater stroke than formerly, as having the first place in order, or "privilege of honour" (*πρωτεύου τιμῆς*),

¹ Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare.—*Cypr. in Conc. Carthag.*

² Quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habuisse consensum.—*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr., Ep. xxxi.*

³ Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimus eadem omnes censuræ et disciplinæ consensione sociati.—*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr., Ep. xxxi.*

in ecclesiastical assemblies, where he concurred; yet had he no casting vote or real advantage above others, all things passing by majority of votes. This is supposed as notorious in the acts of the fifth council. "This," say they, "is to be taken for granted, that in councils we must not regard the interlocution of one or two, but those things which are commonly defined by all, or by the majority."¹

So also in the fifth council, George, bishop of Constantinople, says, "That seeing everywhere the counsel of the multitude, or of the majority, prevails, it is necessary to anathematize the persons before mentioned."²

3. Metropolitan bishops in their provinces had far more power, and more surely grounded, than the pope had in the whole church; for the metropolitans had an unquestioned authority, settled by custom, and confirmed by synodical decrees: yet had not they a negative voice in synodical debates; for it is decreed in the Nicene synod, that in the designation of bishops, which was the principal affair in ecclesiastical administrations, "plurality of votes should prevail."³

It is indeed there said, that none should be ordained *χωρίς γνώμης*,—"without the opinion of the metropolitan;" but that does not import a negative voice in him, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without his knowledge, advice, and suffrage: for so the apostolical canon (to which the Nicene fathers there alluded and referred, meaning to interpret it) appoints that the metropolitan should "do nothing," *ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης*, "without the opinion of all;"⁴ that is, without suffrage of the most concluding all, for surely that canon does not give to each one a negative voice. And so the synod of Antioch (held soon after that of Nice, which, therefore, knew best the sense of the Nicene fathers, and how the custom went) interprets it, decreeing "That a bishop should not be ordained without a synod, and the presence of the metropolitan of the province:"⁵ in which synod yet they determine that "plurality of votes should carry it;"⁶ no peculiar advantage in the case being granted to the metropolitan.

¹ Illo certe constituto, quod in conciliis non unius vel secundi interlocutionem attendere oportet, sed hæc quæ communiter ab omnibus vel amplioribus definiuntur.—*Concil. V. Collat.* 6, p. 263.

² Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πλείους, ἦτοι τῶν πολλῶν πανταχοῦ ἡ βουλὴ κρατεῖ, ἀναγκαῖον ἵσταν ἰσχυροῦς τὰ λειψύμενα πρὸς τὰ ἀναθηματισθῆναι.—*VI. Syn., Act.* xvi. p. 249.

³ Κρατεῖται ἡ τῶν πλείων ψῆφος.—*Conc. Nic., can.* vi.

⁴ Κατὰ πανταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἐκείνης ἂν τοῦ πάντων γνώμης ποιῶναι τι.—*Apost. Can.* xxxiv.

⁵ Ἐπίστωποι μὴ χειροτονῆσθαι δίχα συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—*Syn. Ant., can.* xix.

⁶ ——— κρατεῖται τὴν τῶν πλείων ψῆφον.—*Ilid.* Κρατεῖται ἡ τῶν πλείων ψῆφος.—*Syn. Nic., can.* vi.

Seeing, therefore, provincial synods were more ancient than general, and gave pattern to them, if [though] we granted the same privilege to the *pope* in *general* synods as the *metropolitans* had in *provincial* (which yet we cannot do with any good reason or ground), yet could not the pope thence pretend to an authority of making laws by himself.

4. It was then a passable [current] opinion, that *he*, as one, was in reason obliged to yield to the common judgment of his colleagues and brethren; as the Emperor Constantius told Pope Liberius, that "the vote of the plurality of bishops ought to prevail."¹

5. When Pope Julius seemed to cross a rule of the church by communicating with persons condemned by synods, the fathers of Antioch "smartly recriminated against him, showing that they were not to receive canons from him."²

6. So far was the pope from prescribing laws to others, that he was looked upon as subject to the laws of the church no less than others: as the Antiochene fathers supposed, "complaining to Pope Julius of his transgressing the canons;"³ which charge he does not repel by pretending exemption, but by declaring that he had not offended against the canons, and retorting the accusation against themselves;—as the African fathers supposed, when they told Pope Celestine that he could not admit persons to communion which had been excommunicated by them, that being contrary to a decree of the Nicene synod;⁴—as the Roman church supposed itself, when it told Marcian that they could not receive him without leave of his father who had rejected him.⁵ This the whole tenor of ecclesiastical canons shows, they running in a general style, never excepting the pope from the laws prescribed to other bishops.

7. The privilege of dispensing with laws had then been a strange hearing, when the pope could in no case dispense with himself for infringing them, without bringing clamour and censure upon him.⁶

8. It had, indeed, been a vain thing for synods with so much trouble and solemnity to assemble, if the pope without them could have framed laws, or could with a puff of his mouth have blown away the results of them by dispensation.

¹ Τῶν γὰρ πλείονων ἐπισκόπων ἡ ψῆφος ἰσχύει ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ.—*Theod.* ii. 16.

² Γνώμη κοινὴ σφοδρότερον δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀντιγυαλοῦσι τῷ 'Ιουλίῳ, δηλοῦντες μὴ δεῖν κανονίζεισθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ.—*Socr.* ii. 15.

³ Τιμίς ὡς παρὰ κανόνας ποιήσαντας ἡμᾶς ἐμίμψασθε, &c.—*P. Julii Ep. apud Athanas. in Apol.* ii. p. 748. Τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ κανόνας πράξαντες, ἡμεῖς, &c. p. 748.

⁴ Μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήτους, &c.—*Ep. ad P. Celest. I.*

⁵ Οὐ δυνάμειδα ἂν τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.—*Ephiph. Hær.* 42.

⁶ It was then a maxim becoming the mouth of a pope: *Universe pacis tranquillitas non aliter poterit custodiri, nisi sua canonibus reverentia intemerata servetur.*—*P. Leo I., Ep.* lxii. "The tranquillity of a universal peace cannot otherwise be kept, unless due reverence be paid to the canons."

9. Even in the growth of papal dominion, and after that the seeds of Roman ambition had sprouted forth to a great bulk, yet had not popes the heart or face openly to challenge power over the universal canons or exemption from them, but pretended to be the chief observers, guardians, defenders, and executors of them, or of the rights and privileges of churches established by them;¹ for while any footsteps of ancient liberty, simplicity, and integrity remained, a claim of paramount or lawless authority would have been very ridiculous and very odious. Pope Zosimus I. denies that he could alter the privileges of churches.²

10. If they talked more highly, requiring observance to their constitutions, it was either in their own precincts, or in the provinces where they had a more immediate jurisdiction, or in some corners of the west, where they had obtained more sway, and in some cases wherein their words were backed with other inducements to obedience; for the popes were commonly wise in their generations, accommodating their discourse to the state of times and places.³

11. It is also to be observed, that often the popes are supposed to speak and constitute things by their own authority, which indeed were done by synods, consisting of western bishops more closely adhering to that see, in regard to those regions;⁴ the decrees of which synods were binding in those places, not so much by virtue of papal authority, as proceeding from the consent of their own bishops, how ready soever he was to assume all to himself, pretending those decrees as precepts of the apostolical see.

Whence all the acts of modern popes are invalid and do not oblige, seeing they do not act in synod, but only of their own head, or with the advice of a few partisans about them, men linked in common interest with them to domineer over the church.

12. Yet even in the western countries, in later times, their decrees have been contested when they seemed plainly to clash with the old canons or much to derogate from the liberties of churches; nor have there wanted learned persons in most times, who, so far as they durst, have expressed their dislike of this usurpation.

“For although the bishop of Rome be more venerable than the rest that are in the world, upon account of the dignity of the apostolical see, yet it is not lawful for him in any case to transgress the order of canonical governance; for as every bishop who is of the

¹ P. Hil., Ep. ii. N. B.; P. Innoc. I., Ep. ii. 12; P. Hil., Ep. iv.; P. Gelas. I., Ep. ix. p. 634., xiii. 639; De Anath. p. 645.

² P. Zos. I., Ep. vii., ad Episc. Vienn. et Narb.; Caus. xxv. qu. i. cap. 7.

³ P. Siric., Ep. i.; Leo. M., Ep. i., cap. 6; P. Gelas., Ep. ix.; P. Siric. Ep. iv.

⁴ “Ἀπασα κατὰ δύοιν σύνοδος.—*Conc. Eph.*, p. 832. Σύνοδος ἀνήκουσαι τῇ συνόδῳ ἀποστολικῇ Σπίνω. *Syn. VI.*, Act. iv. p. 60. Note. The pope in those councils asked the placita. P. Hil. in *Conc. R.* p. 678.

orthodox church, and the spouse of his own see, entirely represents the person of our Saviour, so generally no bishop ought pragmatically to act any thing in another's diocese."¹

13. In the times of Pope Nicholas I. the Greeks did not admit the Roman decrees; so that pope, in an epistle to Photius, complains (circa an. 860) "that he did not receive the decrees of the popes, whenas yet they ordained nothing but what the natural, what the Mosaical, and what the law of grace required."² And in another epistle he expostulates with him for saying that "they neither had nor did observe the decrees made by the holy popes of the prime see of the Roman church."³

14. That which greatly advanced the papal jurisdiction, and introduced his usurpation of obtruding new decrees on the church, was the venting of the forged Decretal Epistles under the name of old popes (Vid. Hinom.); which when the pope alleged for authorizing his practices, the French bishops, endeavouring to assert their privileges, alleged that "they were not contained in the whole body of their canons."⁴

15. The power of enacting and dispensing with ecclesiastical laws touching exterior discipline of old belonged to the emperor. And it was reasonable that it should, because old laws might not conveniently suit with the present state of things and the public welfare; because new laws might conduce to the good of church and state, the care of which is incumbent on him; because the prince is bound to use his power and authority to promote God's service, the best way of doing which may be by framing orders conducive thereto.

Accordingly, the emperors enacted divers laws concerning ecclesiastical matters, which we see extant in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian.

"These things," say the council of Arles, "we have decreed to be presented to our lord the emperor, desiring his clemency, that if any thing be defective, it may be supplied by his prudence; if any thing be unreasonable, it may be corrected by his judgment; if any

¹ Licet namque pontifex Romanæ ecclesiæ ob dignitatem apostolicæ sedis cæteris in orbe constitutis reverentior habeatur, non tamen ei licet transgredi in aliquo canonici moderaminis tenorem; sicut enim unusquisque orthodoxæ ecclesiæ pontifex ac sponsus propriæ sedis uniformiter speciem gerit Salvatoris, ita generaliter nulli convenit quippiam in alterius procaciter patrare episcopi diocesi.—*Glab. Rod.* 2, 4. *Vid. Baron.*, ann. 996, § 22, 23.

² Noli quia decreta ipsorum non susceperis amplius asseverare, cum ipsi nihil nisi quod naturalis, quod Mosaica, neonon et gratiæ lex jussit, instituant.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. xi. ad Phot.*

³ Decretalia autem, quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis Romanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta,—cur vos non habere vel observare dicitis?—*Id., Ep. vi. ad Phot.*

⁴ Quamquam quidam vestrum scripserint haud illa decretalia priscorum pontificum in toto codicis canonum corpore contineri descripta, &c.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. xlii. ad Gallic. Episc.*

thing be reasonably ordered, it may by his help, the divine grace assisting, be perfected."¹

We may observe, that popes allowed the validity of imperial laws. Pope Gregory I. alleges divers laws of divers emperors concerning ecclesiastical affairs, as authentic and obligatory rules of practice.²

16. Divers churches had particular rights of independency upon all power without themselves.

Such as the church of Cyprus in the Ephesine synod claimed and obtained the confirmation of.

Such was the ancient church of Britain before Austin came into England.

"The Welsh bishops are consecrated by the bishop of St David's, and he himself in like manner is ordained by others, who are, as it were, his suffragans, professing no manner of subjection to any other church."³

V. Sovereign power immediately by itself, when it pleases, exercises all parts of jurisdiction, setting itself in the tribunal; or mediately executes it by others, as its officers or commissioners.

Wherefore, now the pope claims and exercises universal jurisdiction over all the clergy; requiring of them engagements of strict submission and obedience to him;⁴ demanding that all causes of weight be referred to him; citing them to his bar, examining and deciding their causes; condemning, suspending, deposing, censuring them, or acquitting, absolving, restoring them, as he sees cause, or finds in his heart;⁵ he encourages people to accuse their pastors to him, in case any infringes his laws and orders.

But, in general, that originally or anciently the pope had no such right appropriated to him may appear by arguments, by cross instances, by the insufficiency of all pleas and examples alleged in favour of this claim; for,—

1. Originally there was not at all among Christians any jurisdiction like to that which is exercised in civil governments, and which now the papal court executes; for this our Saviour prohibited, and St Peter forbade the presbyters *κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων*, 1 Pet. v. 3.

¹ Hæc—domino imperatori præsentanda decrevimus, poscentes ejus clementiam ut siquid hic minus est, ejus prudentia suppleatur, si quid secus quam se ratio habet, ejus judicio emendetur; si quid rationabiliter taxatum est, ejus adjutorio divina opitulante clementia perficiatur.—*Conc. Arel. IV. cap. 26, ann. 813, sub Carolo M.*

² P. Greg. I., Ep. xi. 56.

³ Episcopi Walliæ a Menevensi antistite sunt consecrati, et ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam suffraganeis est constitutus, nulla penitus alii ecclesiæ facta professione vel subjectione.—*Girald. Cambr. Itin. ii. 1.*

⁴ Bell. ii. 18, 26.

⁵ Per hoc illam de tota ecclesia judicare.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. iv.* Cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus.—*Dist. xl. cap. 6. Caus. 2, qu. 7, cap. 45, &c.* Sacra statuta et veneranda decreta episcoporum causas, utpote majora negotia nostræ definiendas censuræ mandarunt.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. xxxviii.*

And St Chrysostom affirms the episcopal power not to be *αὐθεντία*, or *ἀρχή*. And ecclesiastical history informs us that such a jurisdiction was lately introduced in the church, as by other great bishops, so especially by the bishop of Rome.¹ "For," says Socrates, "from that time the episcopacy of Alexandria, beyond the sacerdotal order, assumed a domineering power in affairs."² This kind of power the Roman bishops had long before assumed; for says he, "The episcopacy of Rome, in like manner as that of Alexandria, had already a great while ago gone before in a domineering power beyond that of the priesthood."³

At first the episcopal power only consisted in paternal admonition and correction of offenders, exhorting and persuading them to amendment; and in case they contumaciously persisted in disorderly behaviour, bringing them before the congregation, 1 Cor. v. 4, 12; 2 Cor. ii. 6; and the cause being there heard and proved, with its consent imposing such penance or correction on them as seemed needful for the public good or their particular benefit. "All things," says St Cyprian, "shall be examined, you being present and judging;"⁴ and, elsewhere, "According to your divine suffrages, according to your pleasure."⁵

2. Originally no one bishop had any jurisdiction over another, or authority to judge his actions, as St Cyprian (who well knew the current judgment and practice of his age) in many places affirms; who particularly reflects on the Roman bishop for presuming to censure his brethren who dissented from him. "Let us all," says he, "expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only has power to prefer us to the government of his church, and to judge of what we do."⁶

3. Even the community of bishops did not otherwise take notice of or intermeddle with the proceedings of any bishop in his precinct and charge, except when his demeanour concerned the general state of the church, intrenching upon the common faith, or public order and peace.

In other cases, for one or more bishops to meddle with the pro-

¹ Chrys. in 1 Tim. iii. 1, in Eph. Orat. 11; Hier., Ep. iii. 62; Isid. Pelus., Ep. xx. 126, iv. 219.

² Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀλεξανδρίας πέρα τῆς ἱερωτικῆς τάξεως κατὰ δυναστείαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.—Socr. vii. 7.

³ — τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρίαν πέρα τῆς ἱερωτικῆς ἐκ δυναστείας ἦδη σάλας ἀρρολούσης.—Socr. vii. 11.

⁴ Examinabuntur singulæ præsentibus, et judicantibus vobis.—Cyp. Ep. xii., *fratribus in plebe*.

⁵ Secundum vestra divina suffragia.—Cyp., Ep. xl. Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum.—*Ibid*, Ep. xli. ; Tertul., *Apol.* xxxix. ; *Ibidem*, &c.

⁶ Expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiam suam gubernatione et de actu nostro judicandi.—Cyp. in *Conc. Carth.*

ceedings of their brother was taken for an ἀλλοτριοπισκοπία, a pragmatical intrusion upon another's business, and an invasion of that liberty which belonged to each bishop by the grant of our Lord and the nature of his office; as by those passages of St Cyprian, and the declaration of the synod with him, appears.

4. In cases needing decision for the public good of the church, the law and custom of the church, confirmed by the Nicene synod (can. v.), ordered that jurisdiction should be exercised, and all causes finally determined, in each province; so that no regard is had to the pope, no exception in favour of him being expressed or implied.

Which constitution, if we believe Pope Leo himself, cannot in any case, by any power, be revoked or infringed.¹

That is most expressly confirmed by the synod of Antioch, in the code of the universal church: "If any bishop accused of certain crimes shall be condemned by all the bishops in the province, and all shall unanimously vote against him, he shall not be judged again by others; but the unanimous sentence of the bishops of the province shall remain valid."²

Here is no consideration or exception of the pope.

5. Accordingly, in practice, synods, without regard or recourse to the pope, judged bishops upon offences charged against them.

6. The execution of those judgments was intrusted to metropolitan bishops, or had effect by the people's consent; for it being declared that any bishop had incurred condemnation, the people presently deserted him.

Every bishop was obliged to confer his part to the execution, as Pope Gelasius affirms.³

7. If the pope had such judicial power, seeing there were from the beginning so many occasions of exercising it, there would have been extant in history many clear instances of it; but few can be alleged, and those, as we shall see, impertinent or insufficient.

8. Divers synods (great and smaller) made sanctions contrary to this pretence of the pope, appointing the decision of causes to be terminated in each diocese, and prohibiting appeals to him; which they would not have done if the pope had originally, or according to common law and custom, a supreme judicial power.

¹ In venerabilis concilii Niceni contumelia sæpe versatus alienarum tibi provinciarum jura temerarie rapuisti.—*P. Felix Acacio*, apud *Baron.* ann. 484, § 17.

² Εἰς τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ τισιν ἑγκλήμασι κατηγορηθεὶς κριθεῖν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑπαρχίᾳ ἱερέων, πάντες τε σύμφωνοι μὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξυγχεύειν ψῆφον, τούτων μνηστί παρ' ἱερείοις διδάσκειται· ἀλλὰ μόνον βίβλαιαν τὴν σύμφωνον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑπαρχίας ἱερέων ἀπόφασιν.—*Syn. Ant.*, can. xvi.

³ Quod non solum presuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicumque pontifici, ut quolibet et quemlibet locum, secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discernant.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. iv.*

9. The most favourable of ancient synods to papal interest, that of Sardica, conferred on the pope a power, qualified in matter and manner, of causing episcopal causes to be revised; which shows that before he had no right in such cases, nor then had an absolute power.

10. The pope's power of judging bishops hath been of old disclaimed as an illegal and upstart encroachment.

When the pope first nibbled at this bait of ambition, St Cyprian and his bishops reprehended him for it.

The bishop of Constantinople denied that Pope Gelasius alone might condemn him, according to the canons. The pope rants at it and reasons against it, but has no material argument or example for it (concerning the papal authority peculiarly) beside the Sardican canon.¹

11. The popes themselves have been judged for misdemeanour, heresy, schism; as hereafter we shall show.

12. The popes executed some judgments, only by a right common to all bishops, as executors of synodical decrees.²

13. Other bishops pretended to judicature by privilege; as Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, pretended that to him belonged the judgment of the bishop of Antioch.³

14. The popes were subject to the emperors, who, when they pleased, interposed to direct or qualify all jurisdiction, commanding the popes themselves; wherefore, the popes were not judges sovereign, but subordinate.⁴

Pope Gregory I. referred the great question about the title of "œcumenical bishop" to the judgment of the Emperor Mauricius.⁵

These things will more fully appear in the discussion of the particulars concerning the chief branches of jurisdiction, more especially under the tenth branch of sovereignty.

They allege that passage of Valentinian in his epistle to Theodosius, "That the most blessed bishop of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given a priesthood over all, has a see and power to judge both of faith and priests."⁶

¹ Euphemium vero miror, si ignorantiam suam ipse non perspicit, qui dicit Acacium ab uno non posse damnari, &c.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. iv.* Nobis opponunt canones, &c.—*Id., ibid.*

² Quod non solum præsulī apostolico facere licet, &c.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. iv. (Supr. in Arg. 6), Vid. Ep. xiii.*

³ 'Εχρήν 'Ιωάννην . . . τῷ ἀποστολικῷ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὑπακοῦσαι, καὶ τιμῆσαι· παρ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἴδεις αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχείων θρόνον ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκολουθίας καὶ παραδόσεως ἰδύσθαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ διτάζεσθαι.—*Syn. Eph., Act. iv. p. 400.*

⁴ Justin. Nov. cxxiii. cap. 8. "Jubemus Episc. Rom."

⁵ — ut piissimus dominus Mauricius ipsum illud negotium judicare dignaretur.—*Greg., Ep. iv. 22.*

⁶ Ἵνα μακαριώτατος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, ᾧ τὴν ἱερωσύνην κατὰ πάντων ἡ ἀρχαιότης παρέσχε, χάρις καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχων περὶ τε πίστεως καὶ ἡρίων κρίνῃ, &c.—*Act. Syn. Chal., p. 25.*

This was suggested by Pope Leo and his adherents to the young emperor; but it signifies no more but that, in the judgment of priests, as of faith, he was to have his share, or at most to be a leading person therein.

Theodosius, a mature, grave, pious prince, did not regard that pretence of Leo, nor the appeal of Flavianus.¹

VI. To the sovereign of any state belong the choice, constitution, confirmation, commissioning of all inferior magistrates, that none incapable, unworthy, or unfit for offices, or disaffected to the state, be intrusted with the management of affairs.

Wherefore, the pope claims and exercises these prerogatives so far as he can; pretending, at least, that no bishop can be constituted without his designation, or his licence, and his confirmation of the nomination, collation, or election.

And these privileges, by the great advocates, are upon highest terms asserted to him.²

In this matter may be distinguished,—

1. The designation of the person by election, or otherwise.
2. The confirmation of that.
3. The ordination or consecration of him to his office, which confers on him his character and authority.
4. The authority by which he acts.

Into all these the pope has intruded himself, and he will have a finger in them.

1. He gladly would have drawn to himself the collation and disposal of all benefices, challenging a general right to dispose of all at his pleasure;³ but not having been able wholly to deprive princes and patrons of their nomination and corporations of their election, he has yet, by reservations, provisions, collations of vacancies *apud sedem*, resignations, devolutions, and other such tricks, extremely encroached on the rights of all, to the infinite vexation, damage, and mischief of Christendom.

2. He pretends that no bishop shall be ordained without his licence.

3. He obliges the person ordained to swear obedience to him.

4. He pretends that all bishops are his ministers and deputies.

But no such privileges have any foundation or warrant in holy Scripture, in ancient doctrine, or in primitive usage. They are all encroachments upon the original rights and liberties of the church,

¹ "Ἰνα δὲ πρὸς τὴν συνάχουσαν ἐκ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν λατῶν ἱερῶν, &c.—*Ibid.* p. 28.

² Bell. iv. 24.

³ Licet ecclesiarum, personatum, dignitatum, aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum plenaria dispositio ad Romanum noscatur pontificem pertinere, &c.—*Clem. IV.*, in *Sezto*, lib. iii. tit. 4, cap. 2; *Vid. ibid.*, cap. iv. 10, xii. 20. "Although the plenary disposal of all churches, parsonages, dignities, and other ecclesiastical benefices, be known to belong to the pope of Rome," &c.

derived from ambition and avarice, subsisting upon usurpation, upheld by violence.

This will appear from a survey of ancient rules and practices concerning this matter.

The first constitution after our Lord's decease of an ecclesiastical person was that of Matthias into the vacant apostolate or bishopric of Judas;¹ wherein, upon St Peter's motion, all the disciples present, by consent, presented two,² out of which God himself elected one,³ by determining the lot to fall upon Matthias: so that this designation being partly human, partly divine, so far as it was human, it went by free election of the whole fraternity, and St Peter, beside generally suggesting the matter to be done, assumed nothing peculiar to himself.

The next constitution we meet with is that of deacons, to assist the apostles and elders in discharge of inferior offices; wherein the apostles committed the designation of the persons to the "multitude of the disciples," who elected them and presented them to the apostles, who by prayer and laying on of hands ordained them.⁴ Nor had St Peter in this action any particular stroke.

As to the constitution of bishops, in the first apostolical times, the course was this: The apostles, and apostolical persons (who were authorized by the apostles to act with their power and in their stead), in churches founded by them, constituted bishops, such as divine inspiration or their grace of discretion guided them to.⁵ So did St John in Asia, "setting those apart for the clergy whom the Spirit had marked out."⁶

This was not done without the consent of the Christian people, as Clemens Romanus tells us in his excellent epistle to the Corinthians.⁷ But he does not acquaint us, although he was himself bishop of Rome, that the pope had any thing to do in such constitutions or in confirmations of them. "The whole church," says he, "consenting;"—why does he not add, for his own sake, "and the pope confirming?"

In the next times, when those extraordinary persons and faculties had expired, when usually the churches planted were in situation somewhat incoherent and remote from each other, upon a vacancy the clergy and people of each church elected its bishop; in which

¹ Ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβει Ἰούδας.—Acts i. 20.

² Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο.—Verse 23.

³ Ἀνάδειξεν δὲ ἐξελίξω ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο Ἰω.—Verse 24.

⁴ Τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἐξελέξατο.—Acts vi. 2, 5.

⁵ Καὶ καταστήσεις κατὰ κρίσιν πισχυτέρους, ὡς ἰγὼ σοὶ διατάξωμαι.—Tit. i. 5. Διακρίσεις πνευμάτων.—1 Cor. xii. 10.

⁶ Κλήρω ἵνα γι κληρώσω τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημειομένων.—Eus. iii. 23.

⁷ Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ἑφ' ἑτέρων ἰλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνειδηθεὶς ἐκκλησίας πάσης.—Clem. Ep., p. 57.

action commonly the clergy propounded and recommended a person or persons, and the people by their consent approve, or by their suffrages elect one,¹ a strict examination of his life and doctrine intervening;—the which order Tertullian briefly intimates in these words, “The presidents of the church are certain elders well approved, who have obtained that honour not by price, but by proof.”²

It may be inquired how a bishop then was ordained, in case his city was very remote from any other churches?

Did they send for bishops from distant places to ordain him? or did the presbyters of the place lay their hands on him? or did he receive no other ordination than that he had before of presbyter? or did he abide no bishop till opportunity yielded bishops to ordain him? or did Providence order that there should be no such solitary churches? The ancient commentator (in Eph. iv. 11), contemporary to St Ambrose, and bearing his name, conceived that upon decease of a bishop the elder of the presbyters succeeded into his place.³ Whence had he this,—out of his invention and conjecture, or from some tradition and history?

Afterward, when the faith was [so] diffused through many provinces that churches grew thick and close, the general practice was this: The neighbour bishops, being advertised of a vacancy or want of a bishop, convened at the place; then, in the congregation, the clergy of the place propounded a person, yielding their attestation to his fitness for the charge; which the people hearing, gave their suffrages, accepting him if no weighty cause were objected against him, or refusing him if such cause appeared. Then, upon such recommendation and acceptance, the bishops present adjoined their approbation and consent; then, by their devotions and solemn laying on of their hands, they ordained or consecrated him to the function.

Of this course, most commonly practised in his time, we have divers plain testimonies in St Cyprian, the best author extant concerning these matters of ancient discipline. He says, “From divine tradition and apostolical observation is to be observed and held, which is also held with us, and through almost all the provinces, that for duly celebrating ordinations, all the neighbour bishops should resort unto that people for whom a bishop is ordained, and a bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people, who most fully know the life of each one, and have, from his conversation, a thorough insight into his practice,—which we have seen done with you in the or-

¹ Καὶ οὗτοι δοκιμαζέσθων πρῶτον, ἵνα διακονήσωσι, ἀνίσταται ὁ κληρικός.—1 Tim. iii. 10.

² Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.—Tertul., Apol. xxxix. Plena diligentia, exploratione sincera.—Cypr., Ep. lxviii.

³ Primum presbyteri episcopi appellabantur, ut recedente uno sequens ei succederet, &c.—Vid. Dist. lxvi. cap. 2. “At first presbyters were called bishops, that one departing, the next might succeed him.”

dination of our colleague Sabinus;—that thus, by the suffrage of all the brotherhood, and by the judgment of all the bishops then assembled, who had sent letters to you about him, the bishopric should be conferred on him.”¹

Again, “A people obedient to the Lord’s commands and fearing God ought to separate themselves from a wicked bishop” (such a notoriously wicked bishop as those were of whom he treats, who had renounced the faith), “and not to mingle themselves with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest; seeing, especially, that they have a power either to choose worthy priests or to refuse those who are unworthy,—a practice which we see is derived from divine authority, that a bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people, before the eyes of all, and that he who is worthy and fit should be approved by public judgment and testimony.”²

Again, he says concerning himself,³ “A bishop is substituted in the place of one deceased, when he is peaceably chosen by the suffrage of all the people;” and, “Whom if, according to the divine instructions, the whole fraternity would obey, no man would move any thing against the college of priests; for after the divine judgment, after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of his fellow-bishops, no man would make himself judge,—a judge in this case, not of the bishop, but of God.”⁴

Again, “Cornelius was made bishop by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the suffrage of the common people, being then present, and by the college of priests, venerable and good men;”⁵ and, “Cornelius was ordained in

¹ Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione observandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem proximi quique convenient, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit,—quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione,—ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, et de episcoporum qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio episcopatus ei deferretur.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxviii.*

² Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis et Deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi; quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos plebe præsentē sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur, &c.—*Cypr., Ep.*

³ Suffragio totius populi Cyprianus eligitur.—*Optat. i.* “Cyprian was chosen by the suffrages of the whole people.”

⁴ Cæterum quando episcopus in locum defuncti substituitur, quando populi universi suffragio in pace deligitur—cui si secundem magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quidquam moveret; nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum,—judicem se jam non episcopi sed Dei faceret, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lv.*

⁵ Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lii.*

the catholic church by the judgment of God, and by the suffrages of the clergy and people."¹

Again, [once more,] "A bishop once made, and approved by the testimony and the judgment of his colleagues and of the common people," &c.²

The author of the Apostolical Constitutions thus, in the person of St Peter, very fully and clearly describes the manner of ordination of bishops in his times: "Postquam hæc erit precatus," &c.;—"After one of the chief bishops present has thus prayed, the rest of the priests with all the people shall say, 'Amen;' and after the prayer, one of the bishops shall deliver the eucharist into the hands of the person ordained, and that morning he shall be placed by the rest of the bishops in his throne, all of them saluting him with a kiss in the Lord. After the reading of the Law and Prophets, of our Epistles, the Acts and Gospel, he who is ordained shall salute the church with these words, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all, Amen.' And let all answer, 'And with thy spirit.' After which words let him exhort the people."³

Thus it was then, in a practice so obvious and observable that a pagan emperor took good notice of it, and chose to imitate it in constituting the governors of provinces, and other officers: "When," says Lampridius of Alexander Severus, "he would either give rulers to provinces, or make presidents, or ordain procurators, he set up their names, exhorting the people, if they had any thing against them, to prove it by manifest evidence; if they could not make their accusation good, they were to die for it. And he said it would be hard not to do, in the choice of governors of provinces, to whom the lives and fortunes of men were intrusted, what the Christians and Jews did in setting up those who were to be ordained priests."⁴

Afterward, in process of time, when (the gaps of distance being filled up, and Christendom becoming one continued body) ecclesiastical discipline was improved into a more complete shape, for constitution of a bishop, all the bishops of a province convened, or such as could with convenience, the others signifying their mind by writing;

¹ Cornelio in catholica ecclesia de Dei judicio, et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lxvii.*

² Episcopo semel facto, et collegarum ac plebis testimonio et judicio comprobato, &c.—*Ep. xli., ad Cornel.*

³ Const. Apost. viii.

⁴ Ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel procuratores id est rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probasset, subiret poenam capitia. Dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortune hominum committerentur et capita.—*Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. cap. 45.*

and having approved him who was recommended by the clergy and allowed by the people, they ordained him, the metropolitan of the province ratifying what was done.¹

So the Nicene synod, regarding the practice which had commonly obtained, appointed, with a qualification, to be generally observed. "It is most fit," say they, "that a bishop be constituted by all bishops in the province; but if this be hard, either because of urgent necessity or for the length of the way, then three of the body being gathered together (those also who are absent conspiring in opinion, and giving their consent in writing), let the ordination be performed; but let the ratification of what is done be assigned to the metropolitan in each province."²

In this canon, which is followed by divers canons of other synods,³ there is no express mention concerning the interest of the clergy and people in election of the bishops; but these things are only passed over, as precedaneous [previous] to the constitution or ordination, about which only the fathers intended to prescribe, supposing the election to proceed according to former usual practice.

That we ought thus to interpret the canon, so that the fathers did not intend to exclude the people from their choice, appears from their synodical epistle, wherein they decree concerning bishops constituted by Meletius, who, returning to communion with the church, lived in any city, that, "If any catholic bishop should happen to die, then should those who were already received ascend to the honour of him deceased, on condition that they should appear worthy and the people should choose, the bishop of Alexandria withal adding his suffrage to him and his confirmation;"⁴—which words with sufficient evidence interpret the canon not to concern the election, but the ordination of bishops.

Thus the fathers of the second general synod plainly interpreted this canon by their proceeding;⁵ for they, in their synodical epistle to Pope Damasus and the western bishops, assured him that they, in the constitution of bishops for the principal eastern sees, had followed this order of the synod of Nice, together with "the ancient law of the church;"⁶ in agreement to which they had ordained Nectarius

¹ Παλαιὸς Διαμῶς.—*Syn. Constantinop.*; *Theod.* v. 9.

² Ἐπίσκοποι προσέειπεν μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἰαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι—εὐ δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν γινομένων δίδουσι καὶ ἑκάστη ἰαρχία τῷ μητροπολίτῃ, &c.—*Conc. Nic.*, can. iv.

³ Vid. *Can. Apost.* i.; *Conc. Antioch.*, can. xix.; *Conc. Laod.*, can. xii., &c.; *Conc. Afr.*, can. xiii.

⁴ Εἰ δὲ τις συμκαίῃ διαπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑκκλησίᾳ, τηρηκῶτα προσαναδείκνυσιν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τιτιλιανῆος τοὺς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας, μόνον εἰ ἄξιον φαίνοιντο, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἰροῖτο, συναινεφροσύνῃ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἰσισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου.—*Socr.* i. 9; *Theod.* i. 9.

⁵ *Theod.* v. 9.

⁶ Παλαιὸς τι Διαμῶς κεκράτηται, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρων ἔπος—Οἱς ἀπολόμεις, &c.

bishop of Constantinople, "with common consent, under the eyes of the most religious Emperor Theodosius and of all the clergy, the whole city adjoining also its suffrage;"¹ and that for Antioch, "the bishops of the province and of the eastern diocese concurring, had canonically ordained Flavianus bishop, the whole church consenting, as with one voice, to honour the man."²

Indeed, the practice generally confirms this, the people everywhere continuing to elect their bishop. So the people of Alexandria demanded Athanasius for their bishop.³ So Pope Julius complained that Gregory was intruded into the place of Athanasius, "not being required by the presbyters, not by the bishops, not by the people."⁴ So Gregory Nazianzen describes the elections of bishops in his times to be carried by the power of wealthy men and impetuosity of the people.⁵ So Augustine intimates the same in his speech about designation of a successor to himself: "I know," says he, "that after the decease of bishops, the churches are wont to be disturbed by ambitious and contentious men."⁶ So the tumults at Antioch in choosing a bishop after Eustathius; at Rome, after Liberius; at Constantinople, after Alexander; at Milan, when St Ambrose was chosen.⁷

So Stephanus, bishop of Ephesus, in justification of himself, says, "Forty bishops of Asia, by the suffrage of the most noble and substantial citizens, and of all the most reverend clergy, and of all the rest of the whole city, ordained me;"⁸ and his competitor Bassianus, "With great constraint and violence, the people, and the clergy, and the bishops installed me."⁹

In the synod of Chalcedon, Eusebius, bishop of Ancyra, says that "the whole city of Gangra came to him, bringing their suffrages."¹⁰ Posidius tells us of St Augustine that "in ordaining priests and

¹ — μετὰ κοινης ἑανοίας, ὑπ' ὅψει καὶ Διοφιλιστάτου βασιλῆως Θεοδοσίου, πάντες τε τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησιαζομένης τῆς πόλεως.

² — ἐπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν οἱ τε τῆς ἱσαρχίας, καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἰχυροτένησαν, πάσης συμψήφου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμησάσης.

³ Athan. Apol. ii. p. 726.

⁴ Μὴ αἰσθένοντα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, μὴ παρ' ἐπισκόπων, μὴ παρὰ λαῶν.—Athan. *ibid.*, p. 749.

⁵ Orat., xix. 310; Ep. xxi.

⁶ Scio post obitus episcoporum per ambitiosos aut contentiosos solere ecclesias perturbari, &c.—Aug., Ep. cx.

⁷ Euseb. de Vit. Const., iii. 59, 60. Socr., i. 24. Μισομένης τοῦ πλήθους, &c. Soz. vi. 23. Marcell., lib. 27. Διχῶ διακρινθὲν τὸ πλῆθος, &c. Socr., i. 24. Soz., iii. 4. Theod., iv. 6.

⁸ Ἐμὶ τισσαράκοντα ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀσίας ψήφῳ καὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, καὶ τῶν λογάδων, καὶ τοῦ ὑπερβαστάτου παντὸς κλήρου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων τῆς πόλεως πάσης ἰχυροτένησαν.—Conc. Chalced., Act. xi. p. 404.

⁹ Ἐμὶ δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας ἰθρυίζουσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν Ἐφίονος ὁ λαὸς, καὶ ὁ πλῆθος, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι.—*Ibid.*

¹⁰ Ἀπασα γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ εἰς Ἀγκύραν καὶ ἐκόμεσαν τὰ ψήφισματα.—Syn. Chalced., Act. xvi. p. 462.

clergyman, he deemed the greater consent of Christians and the custom of the church was to be followed."¹

So Celestine I.: "Let no bishop be given them against their wills; let the consent and will of the clergy, the people, and the order be demanded."² And Pope Leo I.: "When there shall be an election of a bishop, let him be preferred who has the unanimous consent of the clergy and people, so that if the votes be divided, and part for another person, let him, by the judgment of the metropolitan, be preferred whose merits and interest are greatest; only, let none be ordained against their will or without their desire, lest the unwilling people condemn or hate a bishop whom they never desired, and become less religious than they should be, because they could not have such a bishop as they desired."³ And in other of his epistles: "There is no reason that they should be accounted bishops who were neither chosen by the clergy nor desired by the people, nor with the metropolitan's order consecrated by the provincial bishops,"⁴ &c. "Certainly let the wishes of the citizens, and the testimonies of the people be waited for, and let the judgment of the honourable be sought, and the choice of the clergy; which in the ordinations of priests use to be observed by those who knew the rules of the fathers."⁵ "Peaceably, and with such harmony as God loves, he who is to be a teacher of peace is ordained by the agreement of all."⁶ "Let priests who are to be ordained be peaceably and quietly petitioned; let the subscription of the clergy, the testimony of the honourable, the consent of the order and people, be attended to; let him who is to preside over all be chosen by all."⁷ And Pope Nicholas I.: "We know the custom of your royal city, that none can arrive at the summit of hierarchical power

¹ In ordinandis vero sacerdotibus et clericis consensum majorem Christianorum, et consuetudinem ecclesiæ sequendam esse arbitrabatur.—*Posid. in Aug. Vit.*, cap. xx.

² Nullus invitus detur episcopus; cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensum ac desiderium requiratur, &c.—*Celest. I.*, Ep. ii.

³ Cum ergo de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postulârint; ita ut si in aliam forte personam partium se vota dividerint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis, tantum ut nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur; ne civitas episcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut auderit, et fiat minus religiosa quam convenit, cui non licuit habere quem voluit.—*P. Leo I.*, Ep. lxxxiv. ad Anastas.

⁴ Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a provincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani judicio consecrati.—*P. Leo I.*, Ep. xcii.

⁵ Expectarentur certe vota civium, testimonia populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum, quæ in sacerdotum solent ordinationibus ab his qui norunt patrum regulas custodiri.—*P. Leo*, Ep. lxxxix.; *Dist. lxxiii.* cap. 27.

⁶ Quum per pacem, et Deo placitam concordiam consonis omnium studiis qui doctor pacis futuris est ordinatur.—*Ibid.*

⁷ Per pacem et quietem sacerdotes qui præfuturi sunt postulentur; teneatur subscriptio clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus et plebis; qui præfuturis est omnibus ab omnibus eligatur.—*Ibid.*

without the assent of the ecclesiastical people and the emperor's suffrage.¹

Now, in all these proceedings it is most apparent that there was no regard had to the pope, or any thought of him out of his particular territory, [the government of] which he had as metropolitan, or afterwards as primate in some parts of the west. No-where else had he the least finger in the constitution of a bishop anywhere through the whole church; no, not of the least clergyman.²

When by St Cyprian, so largely and punctually, the manner of constituting bishops is declared; when the Nicene canons, and those of other synods, so carefully prescribe about the ordination of them; when so many reports concerning the election of bishops occur in history,—why is there not a tittle of mention concerning any special interest of the Roman bishops about them?

So true is that of Alb. Crantzius: "There was no need, then, of apostolical confirmation; it was sufficient if the election were approved by the archbishop. Now the church of Rome has assumed to herself the rights of all churches."³

We may by the way observe, that in the first times they [the popes] had not so much as an absolute power of ordaining a presbyter in the church of his [their] own city without leave of the clergy and people; as may be inferred from that passage in Eusebius, where Pope Cornelius relates that the bishop who ordained Novatus, "being hindered from doing it by all the clergy and by many of the laity, requested that it might be granted to him to ordain that one person;"⁴ and he that so hardly could ordain one priest in his own church, what authority could he have to constitute bishops in all other churches?

To all these evidences of fact our adversaries⁵ oppose some instances of popes meddling in the constitution of bishops; as Pope Leo I. says that Anatolius, "by the favour of his assent, obtained the bishopric of Constantinople."⁶ The same pope is alleged as having confirmed Maximus of Antioch. The same writes to the bishop of Thessalonica, his vicar, that he should "confirm the elections of

¹ P. Nic. I. Ep. v. Quia consuetudinem vestram novimus in regia urbe, minimo apicem archieraticæ potestatis aliquem posse habere sine ecclesiasticæ plebis assensu atque imperiali suffragio, &c.—*P. Joh. VIII., Ep. lxx; Dist. lxii.*

² Vid. P. Leo, Ep. lxxxiv. ci. cvii.

³ Nihil tum opus erat apostolica confirmatione; satis erat electionem ab archiepiscopo comprobari. Nunc ad se omnium ecclesiarum jura traxit Romana ecclesia.—*Crantz., Metrop. vii. 45.*

⁴ Διακωλύμενος ὑπὸ πάντες τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἤξισεν συγχωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι.—*P. Cornel., apud Euseb. vi. 43.*

⁵ Bell. ii. 18, 20.

⁶ Satis est quod vestræ pietatis auxilio, et mei favoris assensu episcopatum tantæ urbis obtinuit.—*P. Leo, Ep. liv.; De Marc. iii. 14, § 1.*

bishops by his authority."¹ He also confirmed Donatus, an African bishop: "We will that Donatus preside over the Lord's flock, upon condition that he remember to send us an account of his faith."² Also, Gregory I. complains of it, as of an inordinate act, that a bishop of Salonæ was "ordained without his knowledge."³ Pope Damasus confirmed the ordination of Peter Alexandrinus: "The Alexandrians," says Sozomen, "rendered the churches to Peter, having returned from Rome with the letters of Damasus, which confirmed both the Nicene decrees and his ordination."⁴ But what, I pray, does confirmation here signify but approbation? for did he otherwise confirm the Nicene decrees? did they need other confirmation?

To the former instances we answer, that, being well considered, they do much strengthen our argument, in that they are so few, so late, so lame, so impertinent: for if the pope had enjoyed a power of constituting bishops, more instances of its exercise would have been producible; indeed, it could not be but that history would have been full of them, the constitution of bishops being a matter of continual use, and very remarkable. At least, they might have found one instance or other to allege before the times of that busy Pope Leo, in whose time, and by whose means, papal authority began to overflow its banks. And those which they produce do no wise reach home to the point. Anatolius obtained the bishopric of Constantinople "by the help of the emperor, and by the assent of the pope's favour."⁵ What then? Anatolius being put into that see in the room of Flavianus by the influence of Dioscorus, whose responsal he had been [for whom he had been responsible], and having favoured the Eutychian faction, Pope Leo might thence have had a fair colour to disavow him as incapable of that function and dignity, he being so obnoxious, both having such a flaw in his ordination and having been guilty of great faults,—adherence to the party of Dioscorus, and irregularly ordaining the bishop of Antioch;⁶ but he, "out of regard to the emperor's intervention," acknowledged Anatolius for bishop. This

¹ Ut ordinationem rite celebrandam tua quoque firmet autoritas.—*P. Leo, Ep. lxxxiv. ad Anastas.*

² Donatum—ita Dominico volumis gregi præsidere, ut libellum fidei suæ ad nos meminerit dirigendum, &c.—*P. Leo, Ep. lxxxvii.*

³ Salonitanæ civitatis episcopus ne ac responsali meo nesciente ordinatus est, et facta res est, quæ sub nullis anterioribus principibus evenit.—*Greg., Ep. iv. 84.*

⁴ Ἀλιξανδρίαις ἱεραιλλόντι δι τῶτι Πέτρος ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμασκίου τάς ἐν Νίκαιᾳ δέξαντα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν κυρούντων, παρίδωκεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.—*Soz. vi. 39.*

⁵ Nos enim vestræ fidei et interventionis habentis intuitum, cum secundum suæ consecrationis authores ejus initia titubarent, benigniores erga ipsum quam justiores esse voluimus, &c.—*P. Leo, Ep. lv. ad Marc.*

⁶ Decessore enim tuo B. memoriæ Flaviano propter defensionem catholicæ veritatis ejecto, non immerito credebatur quod ordinatores tui contra sanctorum canonum constituta viderentur sui similem consecrasse. . . . Post illa itaque ordinationis tuæ non inculpata principia, &c.—*P. Leo, Ep. liii. ad Anatol.; Liber. cap. 12.*

was the "favourable assent" with which he upbraids Anatolius, having displeased him; and what does this signify?

Again; Pope Leo did not reject Maximus, bishop of Antioch, from communion, nor disclaim his ordination, although liable to exception.¹ What then? is this a confirmation of him? No such matter; it was only,—which in such a vixenly [quarrelsome] pope was a great favour,—a forbearance to quarrel with him as not duly ordained, which any other bishop might have done. If a pope had a flaw in his ordination, another bishop might refuse him.

Again; Pope Leo enjoined the bishop of Thessalonica to confirm ordinations. What is that to the purpose? It belonged to that bishop as a "metropolitan," by the canons, to confirm those in his "province," or, as a "primate," to confirm those in his "diocese;" it belonged to him, as the pope's vicar, in those territories to which the pope had stretched his jurisdiction, to execute the pope's orders. But what is this to universal authority? It is certain that Illyricum was then in a more special manner subjected to the pope's jurisdiction than any of the other eastern churches; what, therefore, he did there cannot be drawn into consequence as to other places.

The same may be said in answer to the complaint of Pope Gregory, and to any the like instances.

Moreover, surreptitious, presumptuous, pragmatical intrusions, or usurpations of power, do not suffice to found a right in this or any other case; to which purpose, and wholly to invalidate any such pleas, these observations may be considered.

1. There occur divers instances of bishops who meddled in ordinations of other bishops, so as to bear great stroke in constituting them, who did not thereby pretend to universal jurisdiction; and it would be extremely ridiculous thence to infer they had any reasonable claim thereto.

Thus, it was objected to Athanasius that "he presumed to ordain in cities which did not belong to him."² Eusebius of Constanti-
nople obtruded Eusebius Emissenus to be bishop of Alexandria.³ Eustathius of Antioch ordained Evagrius bishop of Constantinople.⁴ Euzoios delivered unto Lucius the bishopric of Alexandria.⁵ Lucifer, a Sardinian bishop, ordained Paulinus bishop of Antioch.⁶ They, for a salvo, say, "As the pope's legate;" but upon what ground or

¹ Quod nos amore reparandæ fidei, et pacis studio retractare cessavimus.—*P. Leo, Ep. liv., ad Marc.; Conc. Chal., Act. x.*

² Ἀμίλι τοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἱπῆγον, ὅτι ἐν πόλεσι μὴδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας χιροτονίᾳ ἐτέλεσεν.—*Soz. iii. 21.*

³ Ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρίαν προεβλήθη Σόζιον ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου.—*Soz. ii. 5.*

⁴ *Socr. iv. 14.*

⁵ Ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόντι Δουκίῳ τῇ Ἀριανῇ τὰς ἐκτὶ ἐκκλησίας.—*Socr. iv. 21.*

⁶ Ἐχιροτονίσθη τὸν Παυλῖνον ἐπίσκοπον.—*Socr. iii. 6, vi. 2.*

testimony? Why did not historians tell us so much? The pope had then been hissed at, if he had sent legates about such errands. It was, indeed, out of presumption and pragmatical zeal to serve a party, then ordinary in persons addicted to all parties, right and wrong, it not being then so expressly forbidden by the canons as afterward.

Theognis and Theodorus made Macedonius bishop of Constantinople.¹ Theophilus of Alexandria ordained St Chrysostom.² The Egyptian bishops surreptitiously constituted Maximus, the Cynic philosopher, bishop of Constantinople.³ Acacius, who had as little to do there as the pope, thrust Eudoxius into the throne of Constantinople.⁴ Meletius of Antioch constituted St Gregory Nazianzen to the charge of Constantinople.⁵ Acacius and Patrophilus, extruding Maximus, "in his room constituted Cyril" bishop of Jerusalem.⁶ Pope Leo complains of Anatolius, that, "against the canonical rule, he had assumed to himself the ordination of the bishop of Antioch."⁷

2. To obviate these irregular and inconvenient proceedings, having crept in upon the dissensions in faith, and especially upon occasion of Gregory Nazianzen being constituted bishop of Constantinople by Meletius, and Maximus being thrust into the same see by the Egyptians, whose party for a time the Roman church countenanced, the second general synod ordained that no bishop should intermeddle about ordinations without the bounds of his own diocese.

3. In pursuance of this law, or upon the ground of it, the pope was sometimes checked when he presumed to make a sally beyond his bounds in this or the like cases.

As when Pope Innocent I. sent some bishops to Constantinople for procuring a synod to examine the cause of St Chrysostom, those of Constantinople "caused them to be dismissed with disgrace, as molesting a government beyond their bounds."⁸

4. Even in the western parts, after that the pope had wriggled himself into most countries there, so as to obtain sway in their transactions, yet he in divers places did not meddle in ordinations. "We do not," says Pope Leo I., "arrogate to ourselves a power of ordaining in your provinces."⁹

¹ Soz. ii. 6.

² Θεόφιλος Ἰωάννην ἱεροποιήσας.—Soz. vi. 2.

³ Τοῦτου κλέψαντες τὴν χειροτονίαν ἱερέας οὖν Κωνσταντινουπόλιν κατέστησαν οἱ τοῦτο ἐξ αἰγυπτίου συνιληλυθότες.—Soz. vii. 9.

⁴ Τῶν περὶ Ἀκάκιον ἱεροποιούντων αὐτόν.—Soz. ii. 13.

⁵ Ἢδη πρῶτον εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν Γρηγορίου κατάστασιν ἀφικόμενοι.—Soz. vii. 2, 3.

⁶ Ἀκάκιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πατροφίλος Μάξιμον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξοθήσαντες Κύριλλον ἀντικατέστησαν.—Soz. ii. 238.

⁷ Post consecrationem Antiocheni episcopi, quam tibimet contra canonicam regulam vendicasti, &c.—P. Leo I., Ep. liii., ad Anatol.

⁸ Τοὺς μὲν ὑπερρίας ἀρχὴν ἱεροποιήσαντας ἀτίμως ἐκπιμψθῆναι παρεκίνησαν.—Soz. viii. 28.

⁹ Non enim nobis ordinationes vestrarum provinciarum defendimus.—P. Leo, Ep. lxxxix.

Even in some parts of Italy itself the pope did not confirm bishops till the times of Pope Nicholas I.; as may be collected from the submission then of the bishop of Ravenna to that condition, "that he should have no power to consecrate bishops canonically elected in the regio Flaminia, unless it were granted him by letters from the apostolic see."¹

And it was not without great opposition and struggling that he got that power elsewhere than in his original precincts, or where the juncture of things afforded him special advantage.

5. If examples would avail to determine right, there are more and more clear instances of emperors interposing in the constitution of bishops than of popes; as they had ground in reason, and authority in holy Scripture: "And Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar," 1 Kings ii. 35. Constantine interposed at the designation of a bishop at Antioch in the room of Eustathius.² Upon Gregory Nazianzen's recess from Constantinople, Theodosius, that excellent emperor, who would not have infringed right, "commanded the bishops present to write on paper the names of those whom each approved worthy to be ordained, and reserved to himself the choice of one;"³ and accordingly they obeying, he, out of all that were nominated, elected Nectarius. "Constantius delivered the see of Constantinople to Eusebius Nicomediensis."⁴ Constantius was angry with Macedonius, "because he was ordained without his licence."⁵ He "rejecting Eleusius and Sylvanus, ordered others to be substituted in their places."⁶ When, before St Ambrose, the see of Milan was vacant, a synod of bishops "there entreated the emperor to declare one."⁷ Flavianus said to the Emperor Theodosius, "Give, O king, the see of Antioch to whom you shall think good."⁸ The emperor called Nestorius from Antioch to the see of Constantinople;⁹ and he was, says Vincentius Lir. [of Lirens], "elected by the emperor's judgment."¹⁰ The favour of Justinian advanced

¹ — et ne electos etiam canonice in Flaminia episcopos consecrandi facultatem haberet, nisi id sibi a sede apostolica literis concederetur.—*Plat. in P. Nic. I.*

² Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 59, 60.

³ Προστάξαντες τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἠγγράψαι χάριτι τὰς προσηγορίας ὧν ἕκαστος δοκιμάζουσιν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἁγίων, ταυτῇ δὲ φυλάξαντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν αἵρεσιν—καὶ Νεκτάριον αἰρίναι.—*Soz. vii. 8.*

⁴ Εὐσεβίῳ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον παρίδωκεν.—*Id. iii. 4.*

⁵ "Οσοι πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτερίψαι, ἐχειροτονήθη.—*Id. iii. 6.*

⁶ Τοὺς μὲν ἐξήλασε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἱερείους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν καταστήσαι προέταξε.—*Theod. ii. 27.*

⁷ Αὐτὸν ἡ σύνοδος ἤξιον ψηφίσασθαι, &c.—*Id. iv. 7.*

⁸ Τοι γὰρ σοὶ δὲς ὃ βούλει τὸν Ἀντιοχείου θρόνον ὁ βασιλεῦς, &c.—*Id. v. 23.*

⁹ Visum est imperatoribus nullum ordinare de Constantinopolitana ecclesia pontificem, &c. Nestorium quasi utilem ad docendum Constantinopolin principes evocaverunt.—*Lib. Brev. vi.; Socr. vii. 29.*

¹⁰ Quem tanto imperii judicio electum, tanto sacerdotum studio prosecutum, &c.—*Vinc. Lir. p. 330.*

Menas to the see of Constantinople,¹ and the same preferred Euty-chius thereto.² He put in Pope Vigilius, &c.

In Spain the kings had the election of bishops, by the decrees of the council of Toledo.³

That the Emperor Charles used to confirm bishops, Pope John VIII. testifies, reproving the archbishop of Verdun for rejecting a bishop "whom the clergy and people of the city had chosen, and the Emperor Charles had confirmed by his consent."⁴

When Macarius, bishop of Antioch, for Monothelitism was deposed in the sixth synod, the bishops under that throne requested the presidents of the synod to suggest another to the emperor to be substituted in his room.⁵

In Gratian there are divers passages wherein popes declared that they could not ordain bishops to churches, even in Italy, without the emperor's leave and licence: as, indeed, there are also in later times other decrees (made by popes of another kidney, or in other junctures of affairs), which forbid princes to meddle in the elections of bishops; as in the seventh synod, and in the eighth synod as they call it, upon occasion of Photius being placed in the see of Constantinople by the power of the court;⁶ and that of Pope Nicholas I.;—by which discordance in practice we may see the consistence and stability of doctrine and practice in the Roman church.⁷

The emperors for a long time enjoyed the privilege of constituting or confirming the popes; for, says Platina, in the Life of Pelagius II., "nothing was then done by the clergy in electing a pope, unless the emperor approved the election."⁸ He confirmed Pope Gregory I. and Pope Agatho.

"Pope Adrian, with his whole synod, delivered to Charles the Great the right and power of electing the pope and ordaining the apostolic see. He, moreover, defined that archbishops and bishops

¹ Tunc papa principis favore Menam pro eo (Anthimo) ordinavit antistitem.—*Lib. cap. xxi.*

² — ἀνέβησεν τὸν Εὐτύχιον.—*Evag. iv. 38.*

³ Conc. Tolet. xii. cap. 6; apud Gr. Dist. lxxiii. cap. 25.

⁴ Quem clerus et populus civitatis eligerat, plæque memoriæ Carolus imperator suo consensu firmaverat, &c.—*P. Joh. VIII., Ep. lxx.*

⁵ Αἰταῦμαι τὴν ὑμῶν ἐκτίμησιν τοῦ ἀναγὰγει τῷ εὐσεβιστάτῳ καὶ . . . ἡμῶν διακρίτῃ καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ Ἰερὸν ἀντὶ Μαρκαρίου—διὰ τὸ μὴ χρηρῆναι τὸν ταῦτον θρόνον.—*Syn. VI., Act. xii. p. 208.*

⁶ Dist. lxxiii. cap. 9; Greg. I. Ep. iv. 15, cap. 15–18; P. Leo. IV. et Steph. Dist. lxxiii. cap. 6, 7; Ibid. cap. i. ii.

⁷ Ibid. cap. iv. [It is a notorious thing that most princes in the west, in Germany, France, England, did invest bishops till the time of Pope Gregory VII., when that boisterous man did raise so much stir in Christendom to dispossess them of that right; which they enjoyed not only as princes, but as founders, patrons, benefactors, protectors of churches.]

⁸ Nihil a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset.—*Plat. in Pelagio II., p. 154, Dist. lxxiii.; Plat., p. 155; Vid. Joh. Diac. et Anastas. Dist. lxxiii. cap. 21.*

in every province should receive investiture from him, and that if a bishop were not commended and invested by the king, he should be consecrated by none; and whoever should act against this decree, him he did noose in the band of anathema."¹

The like privilege Pope Leo VIII. attributed to the emperor Otho I. "We give him," says he, "for ever power to ordain a successor and bishop of the chief apostolic see, and change archbishops," &c.² And Platina, in his Life, says, "That being weary of the inconstancy of the Romans, he transferred all authority to choose a pope from the clergy and people of Rome to the emperor."³

Now, I pray, if this power of confirming bishops by divine institution belong to the pope, how could he part with it or transfer it on others? Is not this a plain renunciation in popes of their divine pretence?

6. General synods, by an authority paramount, have assumed to themselves the constitution and confirmation of bishops.⁴ So the second general synod confirmed the ordination of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, and of Flavianus, bishop of Antioch ("This ordination," say they, "the synod generally have admitted,") although the Roman church did not approve the ordination of Nectarius, and for a long time after opposed that of Flavianus. So the fifth synod, it seems, confirmed the ordination of Theophanius, bishop of Antioch. So the synod of Pisa constituted Pope Alexander V.; that of Constance, Pope Martin V.; that of Basil, Pope Felix V.

7. All catholic bishops in old times might, and commonly did, confirm the elections and ordinations of bishops, to the same effect as popes may be pretended to have done,—that is, by signifying their approbation or satisfaction concerning the orthodoxy of their faith, the attestation to their manners, the legality of their ordination, no canonical impediment, and, consequently, by admitting them to communion of peace, and charity, and correspondence in all good offices; which they express by returning *κοινωνικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ* in answer to their synodical-communicatory letters.

Thus St Cyprian and all the bishops of that age confirmed the ordination of Pope Cornelius, being contested by Novatian, as St

¹ Hadrianus autem papa cum universa synodo tradiderunt jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem, et ordinandi apostolicam sedem . . . insuper archiepiscopos et episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere definivit; et nisi a rege laudetur et investiat episcopus, a nemine consecratur; et quicumque contra hoc decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit.—*Dist.* lxiii. cap. 22.

² Largemur in perpetuum facultatem successorum, atque summæ sedis apostolicæ pontificem ordinandi, ac per hoc archiepiscopos seu episcopos, &c.—*Ibid.* cap. xxiii.

³ Qui statim Romanorum inconstantie pertæsus auctoritatem omnem eligendi pontificis a clero populoque Romano ad imperatorem transtulit, &c.—*Plat. in Leo VIII.*, p. 291.

⁴ Conc. Const., sess. xl.; Conc. Bas., sess. xxxvii. p. 98.

⁵ "Πᾶσι τῶν ἐκείνου χειροτονῶν ἰδιώκται τὸ εὖ εὐνοῦν αὐτὸν, &c.—*Theod.* v. 9.

Cyprian in terms affirms: "When the see of St Peter, the sacerdotal chair, was vacant, which by the will of God being occupied, and by all our consents confirmed,"¹ &c.;—"To confirm thy ordination with a greater authority."²

To which purpose each bishop wrote epistles to other bishops, or at least to those of highest rank, acquainting them with his ordination and instalment, and making a profession of his faith, so as to satisfy them of his capacity of the function.

8. But bishops were complete bishops before they gave such an account of themselves; so that it was not in the power of the pope or of any others to reverse their ordination, or dispossess them of their places. There was no confirmation importing any such matter. This is plain, and one instance will serve to show it, that of Pope Honorius, and of Sergius, bishop of Constantinople, who speak of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, that he was constituted bishop before their knowledge and receipt of his synodical letters.³

9. If the designation of any bishop should belong to the pope, then especially that of metropolitans, who are the chief princes of the church; but this anciently did not belong to him. In Africa, the most ancient bishop of the province, without election, succeeded unto that dignity. Where the metropoles [mother cities] were fixed, all the bishops of the province convened, and with the consent of the clergy, persons of quality, and the commonalty, elected him.⁴ So was St Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, elected. So Nectarius of Constantinople, Flavianus of Antioch, and Cyril of Jerusalem, as the fathers of Constantinople tell us. So Stephanus and Bassianus, rival bishops of Ephesus, pretended to have been chosen, as we saw before.

And for confirmation, there did not need any, there is no mention of any, except that confirmation of which we spake, a consequent approbation against [of] them from all their fellow-bishops, as having no exception against them rendering them unworthy of communion. In the synod of Chalcedon it was defined that the bishop of Constantinople should have equal privileges with the bishop of Rome; yet it is expressly cautioned there that he shall not meddle

¹ Cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato.—*Cypr., Ep. lii. ad Anton.*

² Ad comprobendam ordinationem tuam factam auctoritate majore, &c.—*Ep. xlv., ad Corn.*

³ Ὡς ἔξ ἀποῆς καὶ μόνης μεμεθήκαμεν τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χριστεπωνθὺς πρόεδρος· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ ἔξ ἑαυτοῦ συνεδιᾷ μίχην τοῦ νῦν ιδιζάμεθα.—*Syn. VI., Act. xii. 198.* Νυνὶ δὲ ἀκούομεν ἰσχυρίσθαι καθιστῶσας τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, &c.—*P. Honor., ib. p. 198.*

⁴ Metropolitanus defuncto, cum in locum ejus alius fuerit subrogandus, provinciales episcopi ad civitatem metropolitanam convenire debebunt, ut omnium clericorum atque omnium civium voluntate discussa ex presbyteris ejusdem ecclesiæ, vel ex diaconibus optimus eligatur.—*P. Leo, Ep. lxxxviii.* "The metropolitan being dead, when another is to be put in his place, the provincial bishops ought to meet in the metropolitan city, that by the votes of the whole clergy and citizens, out of the priests or deacons of the same church the fittest person may be chosen."

in ordination of bishops in any province, that being left to the metropolitan. For a good time, even in the western parts, the pope did not meddle with the constitution of metropolitans,¹ leaving the churches to enjoy their liberties.² Afterwards, with all other rights, he snatched the *collation, confirmation, &c.*, of metropolitans.

VII. Sovereigns have a power to censure and correct all inferior magistrates in proportion to their offences; and in case of great misdemeanour or of incapacity, they can wholly discharge and remove them from their office.

This prerogative, therefore, he of Rome claims as most proper to himself, by divine sanction:—

“God Almighty alone can dissolve the spiritual marriage between a bishop and his church.”³ “Therefore those three things premised,” the confirmation, translation, and deposition of bishops, “are reserved to the Roman bishop, not so much by canonical constitution as by divine institution.”⁴

This power the convention of Trent allows him, thwarting the ancient laws and betraying the liberties of the church thereby, and endangering the Christian doctrine to be inflected and corrupted to the advantage of papal interest.⁵

But such a power anciently did not, by any rule or custom, in a peculiar manner belong to the Roman bishop.⁶

Premising what was generally touched about jurisdiction, in reference to this branch we remark,—

1. The exercising of judgment and censure upon bishops, when it was needful for general good, was prescribed to be done by synods, provincial, or patriarchal, or diocesan. In them causes were to be discussed, and sentence pronounced against those who had deviated from faith or committed misdemeanours. So it was appointed in the synod of Nice,⁷ as the African synod, wherein St Augustine was one bishop, observed and urged in their epistle to Pope Celestine, in these notable words: “Whether they be clergy of an inferior degree, or whether they be bishops, the Nicene decrees have most plainly

¹ Μὴδὲν ἐπιχειροῦντες ταῖς ἐκείνων χειροτονίαις τοῦ δευτέρου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος, &c.—*Act. xvi.* p. 464.

² *Vid. Conc. Aur., can. vii.; apud de Maro. VI., iv. § 8.*

³ *Vid. Gelas., Ep. xiii., p. 640.*

⁴ Et ideo tria hæc quæ præmissimus non tam constitutione canonica, quam institutione divina soli sunt Romano pontifici reservata.—*P. Innoc. III., in Gregor. Decret., lib. i., tit. 7, cap. 2.*

⁵ Causes criminales graves contra episcopos, etiam hæresis quod abest, quæ depositione aut privatione dignæ sunt, ab ipso tantum summo Romano pontifice cognoscantur, et terminentur.—*Conc. Trid., sess. xxiv. cap. 5.*

⁶ Ἐπίσκοπος καθαιρῇ πάντα κληρικὸν ἄξιον ὅσα καθαιρίσῃς, πλὴν ἐπίσκοπον, μόνος γὰρ ὁὐχ οἷός τε.—*Const. Ap., viii. 28.* “A bishop may depose any clerk who deserves it, except he be a bishop, whom to deprive, one bishop alone is not sufficient.”

⁷ *Syn. Nic., can. v.*

committed them to the metropolitan's charge; for they have most prudently and justly discerned, that all matters whatsoever ought to be determined in the places where they first begin, and that the grace of the Holy Spirit would not be wanting to every particular province."¹ The same law was enacted by the synod of Antioch, by the synods of Constantinople, Chalcedon, &c.²

Thus was Paulus Samosatenus, for his error against the divinity of our Lord, and for his scandalous demeanour, deposed (anno 269) by the synod of Antioch. Thus was Eustathius, bishop of Antioch (being accused of Sabellianism and of other faults), removed by a synod of the same place; the which sentence he quietly bore.³ Thus another Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia, for his uncouth garb and fond conceits against marriage, was discarded by the synod of Gangra. Thus a synod of Constantinople abdicated Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, for heterodoxy on the point concerning our Lord's divinity. For the like cause was Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, deposed by a synod there, "gathered by the emperor's command." So was Athanasius tried and condemned (although unjustly, as to the matter and cause) by the synod of Tyre. So was St Chrysostom (although most injuriously) deposed by a synod at Constantinople. So the bishops at Antioch, according to the emperor's order, deposed Stephanus, bishop of that place, for a wicked contrivance against the fame of Euphratas and Vincentius.⁴

In all these condemnations, censures, and depositions of bishops, whereof each was of high rank and great interest in the church, the bishop of Rome had no hand, nor so much as a little finger. All the proceedings went on supposition of the rule and laws that such judgments were to be passed by synods.

2. "In some case a kind of deposing of bishops was assumed by particular bishops, as defenders of the faith and executors of canons;⁵ their deposition consisting in not allowing those to be bishops whom, for erroneous doctrine or disorderly behaviour, notoriously incurred, they deemed incapable of the office, presuming their places, *ipso facto*, void."⁷

¹ Decreta Nicene sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos suis metropolitans apertissime commiserunt: prudentissime enim justissimeque viderunt quæcunque negotia in suis locis ubi orta sunt finienda; nec unicuique provincie gratiam S. Spiritus defuturam.—*Syn. Afr., Ep. ad P. Celest. I.*

² *Syn. Ant., can. xv.*

³ *Ἐνυχῇ τῇ συνοφανείᾳ ἤνιχα.*—*Soz. ii. 9.*

⁴ *Euseb. vii. 30; Socr. i. 24, ii. 43; Soz. iii. 14; Socr. i. 36, ii. 29, i. 28; Theod. ii. 10.*

⁵ *Hæc § cum iv. jungenda.* [That is, "This paragraph to be joined with paragraph 4,"—evidently a private mark of the author, indicating his intention of making some alteration in the arrangement of the matter.—*Ed.*]

⁶ St Chrysostom *δικαίνοντες ιεροκήρυτους καθίλιαι*, "deposed fifteen bishops."—*Act. xi., Syn. Chal. p. 411.*

⁷ *Γίνωσκε ἀπὸ πάσης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι σιαυτὸν, καὶ ἀντιέργητον πρὸς πᾶν ὅστις τὸν ἐξ αἰτίας, ἱεροτικῆς.*—*P. Celest. in Nest. Sent. Eph. Act. p. 196.*

This Pope Gelasius I. proposed for a rule, "That not only a metropolitan, but every other bishop, has a right to separate any persons or any place from the catholic communion, according to the rule by which his heresy is already condemned."¹ And upon this account the popes for so long time quarrelled with the see of Constantinople, because they did not expunge Acacius from the roll of bishops, who had communicated with heretics.² So St Cyprian rejected Marcianus, bishop of Arles, for adhering to the Novatians; so Athanasius was said to have deposed Arian bishops, and substituted others in their places; so Acacius and his complices deposed Macedonius and divers other bishops.³ And the bishops of those times, factiously applying a rule taken for granted then, *καθεῖλον ἀλλήλους*, "deposed one another."⁴ So Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, deposed Athanasius; so Eusebius of Nicomedia threatened to depose Alexander of Constantinople if he would not admit Arius to communion.⁵ Acacius and his complices "extruded" Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem. He also deposed and "expelled" Cyril of Jerusalem, and deposed many other bishops at Constantinople.⁶ Cyril deposed Nestorius, and Nestorius deposed Cyril and Memnon. Cyril and Juvenalis deposed John of Antioch.⁷ John of Antioch, with his bishops, deposed Cyril and Memnon.⁸ Yea, after the synod of Ephesus, John of Antioch, "gathering together many bishops, deposed Cyril."⁹ Stephanus [says] concerning Bassianus, "Because he had entered into the church with swords, he was expelled out of it again by the holy fathers, both by Leo of Rome, the imperial city, and by Flavianus, by the bishop of Alexandria, and also by the bishop of Antioch."¹⁰ Anatolius of Constantinople rejected Timotheus of Alexandria. Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, rejected Petrus Fullo.

¹ Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque pontifici, ut quolibet et quemlibet locum secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discernant.—*Ep. iv.*

² Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἰχρὴν τὸν ἐπὶ κακοδοξίᾳ θεωρησέντα μὴτ' ἰτίμης ἔρχειν ἐκκλησίας, ἢ διδασκάλου ὄνομα περιφέρειν.—*Conc. sub. Men.*, p. 10.

³ Cypr. *Ep. lxxvii.*; Soz. iii. 21; Socr. ii. 42.

⁴ Πρώτους καθέλων.—*Socr. ii. 24.*

⁵ Εὐσεβίους πολλὰ διηπάειν αὐτῶν, λίγων ὅσον οὐδὲν καθεῖρσαι αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ εἰς κωνσταντινὴν διέξαι τὸν Ἀρμεν.—*Id. i. 37.*

⁶ Ἐξεθέσαντες. Socr. ii. 38; Theod. ii. 26; Soz. iv. 24.

⁷ Κύριλλος δὲ ἔμακ καὶ ἰουδαϊσμοῦ, ἀμυνόμενος τὸν Ἰωάννην καθαιρῖ καὶ αὐτόν.—*Id. vii. 34.*

⁸ Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος . . . τοῖσιν μὲν καθαιρῖ διὰ τὰ πειρημένα πάντα, Μίμωνα δὲ ὡς συντηρὸν αὐτοῦ.—*Act. Syn. Eph.*, p. 380. Ὡς τῶν κακῶν ἡγούμενος καθελὼν ἡμεγχεύσθημεν.—*Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁹ Ἰωάννης δὲ καταλαβὼν τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοὺς συναγαγὼν ἱεροσύτους καθαιρῖ Κύριλλον, ἣδη κατελιθότα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.—*Socr. vii. 34.*

¹⁰ Ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ ἔφθν . . . ἐξέστη διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων παρὰ τι τοῦ ἱερωτάτου τῆς βασιλευσῆς Ῥώμης Λιοντος, καὶ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Φλαυιανῶ . . . καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ.—*Syn. Chalc.*, Act. xi. p. 405. Ὁ μακάριος ἐν ἁγίῳις Φλαυιανὸς ἐξίωσατο αὐτόν.—*Ibid.*, p. 406; *Baron. ann. 457, § 34*; *P. Felix III., Ep. iv.*

3. St Cyprian asserts the power of censuring bishops upon needful and just occasion to belong to all bishops, for maintenance of common faith, discipline, and peace.

"Dear brother," says he, writing to Pope Stephanus himself, "the body of bishops is large, being coupled by the cement of concord and the bond of unity, so that if any of our college shall attempt to frame a heresy, or to tear and destroy the flock of Christ, the rest may come to the rescue, and, like useful and merciful shepherds, gather together the sheep of the Lord into the fold."¹

The like doctrine is that of Pope Celestine I. in his epistle to the Ephesine synod.²

In matter of faith any bishop might interpose judgment. Theophilus proceeded to condemn the Origenists without regard to the pope.³

Epiphanius demanded satisfaction of John of Jerusalem.

4. This common right of bishops in some cases is confirmed by the nature of such censures, which consisted in disclaiming persons notoriously guilty of heresy, schism, or scandal, and in refusing to entertain communion with them; which every bishop, as entitled to the common interests of faith and peace, might do.⁴

5. Indeed, in such a case every Christian had a right, yea, an obligation, to desert his own bishop.⁵ So John of Jerusalem having given suspicion of error in faith, St Epiphanius wrote letters to the monks of Palestine not to "communicate with him till they were satisfied of his orthodoxy."⁶ Upon which account, St Jerome, living in Palestine, declined communication with the patriarch thereof, asking him "if it were anywhere said to him, or commanded, that without satisfaction concerning his faith, they were bound to main-

¹ Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, concordie mutue glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresim facere, et gregem Christi lacerare, et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes oves Dominicas in gregem colligant.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxvii., ad Steph.*

² Ἀποῦσθε ταῦτα παρὰ πάντων εἰς τὸ κοινόν, κύριοι ἀδελφοί . . . ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φροντίδι σφιγγόμεθα ὡς πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων εὐκοιμῆται τῇ λαϊκῇ διαδοχῇ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου κηρύττοντες . . . &c.—*Conc. Eph., Act. ii. p. 824.* Τινος γὰρ περιουσίας ἔστι, καὶ πλεονεξίας κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἡμεῖς τοῦ νῦν συζητῶντα φυλάττομεν.—*Ibid., p. 825.*

³ *Vid. Hier. lxxvii. et lxxviii.*

⁴ *Cypr., Ep. lxxvii.* "Οσοὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πίστει τῶν πατέρων τύπους διαφέρονται, ἑαυτοὺς ἐκτρέφουσιν τὰ ἐν τῶν κανόνων ἰσχυρίσματα.—*Thalass. in Syn. Chalc., Act. i. p. 191.* Ἐχρὴν γὰρ τὸν ἡμεῖς ἀγάσσει μνηστῆρσιν τῶν πατρικῶν παραδόσεων μηδὲνα συγχωρεῖν τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κοινὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τις τελευτῇ φανερὴ πείσῃ δυνάμει ἰσχυρίζεται.—*P. Agapet. ad Petr. Hier., p. 24.*

⁵ Εἰσὶν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἰσχυόμενοι τὸν τῶν Σίμων κανόνα ἐκδικῆσαι ἀρχιερεῖσιν μόνον ἀρμόνται, ἐνδὲς τῆς ὁρῆς πίστεως οὐ μόνον ἱερομένους ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ἰσχυρίζῃ Χριστιανῷ.—*Menas., tom. iv. p. 10.* Plebs, &c. Deum metuens, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxviii.; Vid. P. Nic. I., Ep. viii. p. 506.*

⁶ Cunctis monachis ab eodem Epiphanio scripta venerunt, ut absque satisfactione fidei nullus ei temere communicaret.—*Hier., Ep. lxi., ad Pammach., cap. 15.*

tain communion with him."¹ So every bishop, yea, every Christian, has a kind of universal jurisdiction.

6. If any pope assumed more than was allowed in this case by the canons, or was common to other bishops of his rank, it was an irregularity and an usurpation. Nor would examples, if any were producible, serve to justify him or to ground a right thereto, any more than the extravagant proceedings of other pragmatistical and factious bishops in the same kind, whereof so many instances can be alleged,² can assert such a power to any bishop.

7. When the pope has attempted in this kind, his power has been disavowed, as an illegal, upstart pretence.³

8. Other bishops have taken upon them, when they apprehended cause, to discard and depose popes. So the oriental faction at Sardica deposed Pope Julius for transgressing, as they supposed, the laws of the church, in fostering heretics and criminal persons condemned by synods; so the synod of Antioch threatened deposition to the same pope; so the patriarch Dioscorus made show to reject Pope Leo from communion; so St Hilary anathematized Pope Liberius.⁴

9. Popes, when there was great occasion, and they had a great mind to exert their utmost power, have not yet presumed by themselves, "without joint authority of synods," to condemn bishops.⁵ So Pope Julius did not presume to depose Eusebius of Nicomedia, his great adversary, and so much obnoxious by his patronizing Arianism. Pope Innocent did not censure Theophilus and his complices, who so irregularly and wrongfully had extruded St Chrysostom, although much displeased with them, but endeavoured to get a general synod to do the business. Pope Leo I., though a man of spirit and animosity sufficient, would not, without assistance of a synod, attempt to judge Dioscorus, who had so highly provoked him, and given so much advantage against him, by favouring Eutyches, and persecuting the orthodox.

Indeed, often we may presume that popes would have deposed bishops if they had thought it regular, or if others commonly had received that opinion, so that they could have expected success in their attempting it. But they many times were angry when their horns were short, and showed their teeth when they could not bite.

10. What has been done in this kind by popes jointly with others, or in synods, especially upon advantage, when the cause was just and

¹ Alicubine dictum, aut tibi alicubi mandatam est, quod sine satisfactione fidei communionem tuam subiremus?—*Hier., Ep. lxi., ad Pammach., cap. 15.* Quod tibi non communicemus, fidei est.—*Ibid. cap. xvi.*

² Theophilus, John of Antioch, Dioscorus.

³ Novam legem, &c.; Vid. de Conc. Sard.

⁴ Soz. iii. 11; Soz. iii. 8; Evag. ii. 4; Hilar. fragm.

⁵ An qui in hominem imperatorem peccasse dicebatur, nulla interveniente synodo dejecti debuerunt?—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. xiii.*

plausible, is not to be ascribed to the authority of popes as such. It might be done with their influence, not by their authority. So the synod of Sardica (not Pope Julius) cashiered the enemies of Athanasius; so the synod of Chalcedon (not Pope Leo) deposed Dioscorus; so the Roman synod (not Pope Celestine) checked Nestorius, and that of Ephesus deposed him.¹ The whole western synod, whereof he was president, had a great sway.

11. If instances were arguments of right, there would be other pretenders to the deposing power. Particular bishops would have it, as we before showed.

12. The people would have the power; for they have sometimes deposed popes themselves with effect.

So of Pope Constantine, Platina tells us, "At length he is deposed by the people of Rome, being very much provoked by the heinousness of the matter."²

13. There are many instances of bishops being removed or deposed by the imperial authority. This power was, indeed, necessarily annexed to the imperial dignity; for all bishops being subjects of the emperor, he could dispose of their persons, so as not to suffer them to continue in a place, or put them from it, as they demeaned themselves, to his satisfaction or otherwise, in reference to public utility. It is reasonable, if they were disloyal or disobedient to him, that he should not suffer them to be in places of such influence, whereby they might pervert the people to disaffection. It is fit that he should deprive them of temporalities.

[We might refer to] the example of Solomon deposing Abiathar, 1 Kings ii. 35.

Constantine M. "commanded Eusebius and Theogonius to depart out of the cities over which they presided as bishops."³

Constantius deposed Paulus of Constantinople.⁴

Constantius ejected all that would not subscribe to the creed of Ariminum.⁵

¹ Ἡ ἁγία Ῥωμαίων σύνοδος φανερὰ τισύσκει.—Cyril. ad Joh. Ant. Conc. Eph. pp. 197, 332; Syn., pp. 11, 60. Ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος, καὶ ἡ σύνοδος αὐτοῦ.—Const. Sacr. in Syn. VI., p. 11. Ἀγάθειν ἱεριστοὺς ἐν χάσκει ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς ἀνηκούσαις τῇ συνόδῳ τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου, &c.—Ibid., p. 60. Ἀπάσας κατὰ δύσιν συνόδου.—Act. Eph., p. 332. Sit hæc in te fixa damnatio a me, et ab his qui sub me constituti episcopales sedes gubernare noscuntur, &c.—P. Felix ad Petrum Antioch., apud Baron., ann. 483, § lxviii.

² Tandem a sede dejicitur a populo Romano ira et indignitate rei percito.—Plat., p. 223; P. Leo VIII., p. 291; Anastas., Plat., p. 181.

³ Εὐθείσιον δὲ καὶ Θεογόσιον φύγειν προτίταξιν ἃς ἱεριστοὺς πόλεις.—Soz. i. 21. Τότε μὲν οὕτοι καθήρθσαν, καὶ τῶν πόλιν ἐκλήθησαν.—Theod. i. 20. He threatened Athanasius to depose him,—Idem γὰρ γινώσκεις καὶ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταπεισισμένους, ἢ ἀπειρήτας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀποσταλῶ παραχρῆμα τὸν καθαιρέσθαι σε ἐξ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῶν πόλιν μετασπένδοντα.—Socr. i. 27; Athanas. Apol. ii., p. 778.

⁴ Τὸν Παῦλον σχολάζειν ἱερίσκειν.—Socr. ii. 7.

⁵ Τὸν δὲ ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀναγνωστῆς ἐν Ἀρμίνι πίστης ἐκλήθειν εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ Ἱταλίαν ἐκκλησίας ἐκπέμπειν, προστάξας τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ὑπογράψαι αὐτῇ, ἐξίωσθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν ἱερίους ἀνταναθίστασθαι.—Id. ii. 37.

The Emperor Leo deposed Timotheus Ælurus; for which Pope Leo highly commended and thanked him.¹

The emperors discarded divers popes.

Constantius banished Pope Liberius, and caused another to be put in his room.

Otho put out John XII. .

Justinian deposed Pope Sylverius, and banished Pope Vigilius.²

Justinian banished Anastasius, bishop of Antioch; extruded Anthimus of Constantinople, and Theodosius of Alexandria.³

Neither, indeed, was any great patriarch effectually deposed without their power or leave.

Flavianus was supported by Theodosius against the pope.

Dioscorus subsisted by the power of Theodosius junior.

The deposition of Dioscorus, in the synod of Chalcedon, was voted with a reserve of, "If it shall please our most sacred and pious lord."⁴

In effect, the emperors deposed all bishops which were ordained beside [contrary to] their general laws; as Justinian, having prescribed conditions and qualifications concerning the ordinations of bishops, subjoins, "But if any bishop be ordained without using our forementioned constitution, we command you that by all means he be removed from his bishopric."⁵

14. The instances alleged to prove the pope's authority in this case are inconcludent [inconclusive] and invalid.

They allege the case of Marcian, bishop of Arles, concerning whom, for abetting Novatianism, St Cyprian exhorts Pope Stephen that he would direct letters to the bishops of Gaul [France] and the people of Arles, that he being, for his schismatical behaviour, removed from communion, another should be substituted in his room.⁶

The epistle grounding this argument is questioned by a great critic; but I willingly admit it to be genuine, seeing it has the style and spirit of St Cyprian, and suits his age, and I see no cause why it should be forged. Wherefore, omitting that defence, I answer that the whole matter being seriously weighed, makes rather against the pope's cause than for it; for if the pope had the sole or sovereign authority of rejecting bishops, why did the Gaulish [French] bishops refer the matter to St Cyprian? why had Marcian himself a recourse to him?

St Cyprian does not ascribe to the pope any peculiar authority of

¹ Evag. ii. 11; Lib. cap. 15; P. Leo I., Ep. xcix.

² Lib. cap. xxii.

³ Evag. iv. 41, 11.

⁴ *Εἰ ἀπαραιτὸν τῇ συνόδῳ, καὶ ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν διοίκησιν.*—*Act.* ii. p. 202.

⁵ Si quis autem citra memoratam observationem episcopus ordinetur, jubemus hunc omnibus modis episcopatu depelli.—*Justin. Novell.*, cxxiii. cap. 1.

⁶ Cypr. Ep. lxvii. Dirigantur in provinciam et ad plebem Arelate consistentem literæ, quibus abstituto Marciano alius in ejus locum substitutatur, &c.

judgment or censure, but a common one, which himself could exercise, which all bishops might exercise. "It is," says he, "our part to provide and succour in such a case;" for "therefore is the body of priests so numerous," that "by joint endeavour they may suppress heresies and schisms."¹

The case being such, St Cyprian earnestly moves Pope Stephen to concur in exercise of discipline on that schismatic, and to prosecute effectually the business by his letters, persuading his fellow-bishops in France "that they would not suffer Marcian to insult over the college of bishops,"² for to them, it seems, the transaction immediately belonged.

To do thus St Cyprian implies and prescribes to be the pope's special duty, not only out of regard to the common interest, but for his particular concernment in the case: "*Multo magis tu*," &c.,—"Much more thou;" that schism having been first advanced against his predecessors.

St Cyprian also, if we mark it, covertly taxes the pope of negligence, in not having soon enough joined with himself and the community of bishops in censuring that delinquent: "*Quod nedum videtur a nobis abstentus*."

We may add, that the church of Arles and Gaul, being near Italy, the pope may be allowed to have some greater sway there than elsewhere in more distant places; so that St Cyprian thought his letters, to quicken discipline there, might be proper and particularly effectual.

These things being duly considered, what advantage can they draw from this instance? does it not rather prejudice their cause, and afford a considerable objection against it?

We may observe, that the strength of their argumentation mainly consists in the words *quibus abstento*: which, as the drift of the whole epistle and parallel expressions therein show, signify no more than *quibus efficiatur ut abstento*, "which may procure him to be excommunicated;"—not *quæ contineant abstentionem*, "which [may] contain excommunication," as P. [Peter] de Marca glosses [the expression]; although, admitting that sense, it would not import much, seeing only thereby the pope would have signified his consent with other bishops: wherefore, De Marca has no great cause to blame us that we do "not deprehend any magnificent thing in this place for the dignity of the papal see."³ Indeed, he has, I must confess, better eyes than I, who can see any such mighty things there for that purpose.

As for the substitution of another in the room of Marcian, that was

¹ Cui rei nostrum est consulere, et subvenire, &c. Idcirco copiosum est corpus sacerdotum, &c. Quando ipse est ab universis sacerdotibus iudicatus, &c.

² Facere te oportet plenissimas literas ad coepiscopos nostros in Galliis constitutos, ne ultra Marcianum collegio nostro insultare patiantur, &c.

³ Marc. vii. 1, 6.

a consequent of the excommunication, and was to be the work of the clergy and people of the place; for when, by common judgment of catholic bishops, any bishop was rejected, the people applied themselves to choose another

I adjoin the resolution of a very learned writer of their communion in these words:—

“ In this case of Marcian, bishop of Arles, if the right of excommunication belonged solely to the bishop of Rome, wherefore did Faustinus, bishop of Lyons, advertise Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who was so far distant, concerning those very things touching Marcian, which both Faustinus himself, and other bishops of the same province, had before sent word of to Stephen, bishop of Rome, who lived nearest, being moreover of all bishops the chief? It must either be said that this was done because of Stephen’s negligence, or, what is more probable, according to the discipline then used in the church, that all bishops of neighbouring places, but especially those presiding over the most eminent cities, should join their counsels for the welfare of the church, and that the Christian religion might not receive the least damage in any of its affairs. Hence it was that in the case of Marcian, bishop of Arles, the bishop of Lyons wrote letters to the bishops of Rome and Carthage; and again, that the bishop of Carthage, as being most remote, wrote to the bishop of Rome, as being his brother and colleague, who, by reason of his propinquity, might more easily know and judge of the whole matter.”¹

The other instances are of a later date, after the synod of Nice, and therefore of not so great weight; yea, their having none more ancient to produce strongly makes against the antiquity of this right, it being strange that no memory should be of any deposed thereby for above three hundred years. But, however, such as they are, they do not reach home to the purpose.

They allege Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, deposed by Pope Damasus, as they affirm.² But it is wonderful they should have the face to mention that instance, the story in short being this: “The great Flavianus,”³ a most worthy and orthodox prelate, whom St Chrysos-

¹ In hac Marciani episcopi Arelatensis causa si jus abstinendi sive excommunicandi competeat soli episcopo Romano, cur Faustinus episcopus Lugdunensis Cypriano episcopo Carthaginensi longe diassito semel atque iterum significat ea de Marciano, quæ jam utique ipse Faustinus et alii ejusdem provinciæ episcopi nunciaverant Stephano proximiori, et omnium episcoporum principi? Dicendum igitur factum id fuisse aut per negligentiam Stephani; aut, quod magis videtur, per disciplinam quæ tunc in ecclesia vigeat, ut omnes quidem in circumpositis locis, sed præsertim urbium clarissimarum episcopi in commune consulerent ecclesiæ, viderentque ne quid detrimenti res Christiana catholica caperet. Itaque super isto Marciani Arelatensis facinore, Lugdunensem episcopum ad Romanum et Carthaginensem dedisse literas, istum vero ut remotissimum dedisse vicissim suas ad Romanum, ut fratrem et collegam, qui in propinquo facilius posset de negotio et cognoscere et statuere.—*Rigall. in Cypr., Ep. lxvii.*

² Bell. de Pont. R. ii. 18.

³ Τῷ μεγάλῳ Φλαβιανῷ χαλσιπαιντος, &c.—*Theod.*

tom, in his Statuary Orations, so highly commends and celebrates, being substituted in the place of "Meletius by the quire of bishops," a party adhered to Paulinus, and after his decease they set up Evagrius, ordaining him (as Theodoret, who was best acquainted with passages on that side of Christendom, reports) against many canons of the church.¹

Yet with this party the Roman bishops, "not willing to know any of these things," three of them in order, Damasus, Siricius, Anastasius, conspired, instigating the emperor against Flavianus, and reproaching him as "supporter of a tyrant against the laws of Christ."²

But the emperor having called Flavianus to him, and received much satisfaction in his demeanour and discourse, remanded and settled him in his place. "The emperor," says Theodoret, "wondering at his courage and his wisdom, commanded him to return home, and to feed the church committed to him;"³ at which proceeding when the Romans afterward grumbled, the emperor gave them such reasons and advices that they complied, and entertained communion with Flavianus.

It is true that, upon their suggestions and clamours, the emperor was moved at first to order that Flavianus should go to Rome, and give the western bishops satisfaction; but after that he understood the quality of his plea, he freed him of that trouble, and without their allowance settled him in his see.

Here is nothing of the pope's deposing Flavianus, but of his embracing, in a schism, the side of a competitor; it being, in such a case, needful that the pope or any other bishop should choose with whom he must communicate, and consequently must disclaim the other; in which choice the pope had no good success, not deposing Flavianus, but vainly opposing him: wherefore this allegation is strangely impertinent, and well may be turned against them.

Indeed, in this instance we may see how fallible that see was in their judgment of things, how rash in taking parties and fomenting discords, how pertinacious in a bad cause, how peevish against the common sense of their brethren,—especially considering that before this opposition of Flavianus the fathers of Constantinople had, in their letter to Pope Damasus and the occidental bishops, approved and commended him to them, highly asserting the legitimacy of his ordination; in fine, how little their authority availed with

¹ Theod. v. 23; Socr. v. 15; Soz. viii. 8.

² 'Αλλ' ἡμεις τούτων οὐδὲν εἶδέναι θύλοντες τὴν Εὐαγρίου μὲν κωνσταντίνου ἀπαράξοντο, κατὰ Φλαβιανὸν τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐκίνησαν ἀνομίας.—Theod., *ibid.*

³ Αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνδρίαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν Δαμασκὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν ἐπιγινώσκων καταλαβὼν, καὶ τὴν ἰσχυροσθέντα ποιμαίνειν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκάλειπεν.—Theod., *ibid.*

wise and considerate persons, such as Theodosius M. [the Great] was.¹

De Marca represents the matter somewhat otherwise out of Socrates;² but take the matter as Socrates has it, and it signifies no more than that both Theophilus and Damasus would not entertain communion with Flavianus, as being incapable of the episcopal order, for having violated his oath and caused a division in the church of Antioch. What is this to judicial deposition? And how did Damasus more depose him than Theophilus, who, upon the same dissatisfaction, in like manner forbore communion? whenas, indeed, a wiser and better man than either of them, St Chrysostom, held communion with him, and at length, says Socrates (not agreeing with Theodoret), reconciled him to them both.

They allege the deposition of Nestorius. But who knows not that he was for heretical doctrine deposed in and by a general synod? Pope Celestine, indeed, threatened to withdraw [from] his communion if he did not renounce his error;³ but had not any other bishop sufficient authority to desert a perverter of the faith? Did not his own clergy do the same, being commended by Pope Celestine for it?⁴ Did not Cyril, in writing to Pope Celestine himself, affirm that he might before have declared that he could not communicate with him?⁵ Did Nestorius admit the pope's judgment? No; as the papal legates complained, "he did not admit the constitution of the apostolical chair."⁶ Did the pope's sentence obtain effect? No, not any; for, notwithstanding his threats, Nestorius held his place till the synod. The emperor severely rebuked Cyril (and implicitly the pope) for his fierceness, and ordered that no change should be made till the synod should determine in the case, not regarding the pope's judgment. So that this instance may well be retorted, or used to prove the insignificancy of papal authority then.

They allege also Dioscorus of Alexandria, deposed by Pope Leo. But the case is very like to that of Nestorius, and argues the contrary to what they intend. He was, for his misdemeanours and violent countenancing of heresy, solemnly in a general synod accused, tried,

¹ Theod. v. 9. — οἱ τῆς ἰσπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες πανομίως ἱχυροτόνησαν . . . ἥσπερ ἐθέλοντες χυροτοσίαν ἰδίῃατο καὶ τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινόν.

² Socr. v. 15; Marc. iii. 14, § 1.

³ Γνωσκίτω, ὅτι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινωνίαν ἔχουσιν οὐ δυνήσεται, ἢ μὴ, &c.—*P. Celest. ad Cyril. in Conc. Eph.*, Act. p. 281. Παντιπῶς ἀπο τοῦ συνδρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν συνόδου ἀπεκλίσεως, ἂν μὴ εὐθὺς τὰ πακῶς εἰρημίνα ὑπὸ σοῦ διορθῇ.—*Ibid.*, *Ep. ad Nest.*, p. 186. Ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀποχωρίζομεν.—*Ad. Joh. Ant.*, p. 196.

⁴ Μακαρία δὲ ἡμεῖς ἡ ἀγία, ἥ παρίσχειν ὁ κύριος κρίνει περὶ τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς.—*P. Celest. ad Clerum*, &c.; *Const. Act. Eph.*, p. 190.

⁵ Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμολογῶ καὶ τοὶ βουλῆς συνοδικῆς γράμμασι φανερὸν αὐτῇ καταστῆσαι, ὅτι ταῦτα λίγοντι καὶ φρονεῖντι κοινωνίην οὐ δυνάμει.—*Cyrl. Ep. ad Celest. Act. Eph.*, p. 177.

⁶ Τὸν εὐσεβὲς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθίδρας οὐκ ἰδίῃατο.—*Conc. Eph.*, Act. iii., p. 381. *Vid. Theodos. ii.*; *Ep. in Conc. Eph.*, pp. 224, 225.

condemned, and deposed; which had been done long before if in the pope, his professed and provoked adversary, there had been sufficient power to effect it.

Bellarmino also alleges Pope Sixtus III. deposing Polycronius, bishop of Jerusalem. But no such Polycronius is to be found in the registers of bishops then, or in the histories of that busy time, between the two great synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon; and the Acts of Sixtus, upon which this allegation is grounded, have so many inconsistencies, and smell so rank of forgery, that no conscionable nose could endure them, and any "prudent man," as Binius himself confesses, "would assert them to be spurious:" wherefore Baronius himself rejects and despises them, who gladly would lose no advantage for his master.¹ Yet Pope Nicholas I. precedes Bellarmine in citing this trash; no wonder, that being the pope who avouched the wares of Isidore Mercator.²

They allege Timotheus, the usurper of Alexandria, deposed by Pope Damasus;³ and they have, indeed, the sound of words attesting to them: "These are heads upon which the blessed Damasus deposed the heretics Apollinarius, Vitalius, and Timotheus."⁴

The truth is, that Apollinarius [or Apollinaris], with divers of his disciples, in a great synod at Rome, at which Peter, bishop of Alexandria, together with Damasus, was present, was condemned and disavowed for heretical doctrine; whence Sozomen says that "the Apollinarian heresy was by Damasus and Peter, at a synod in Rome, voted to be excluded from the catholic church."⁵

On which account if we conclude that the pope had an authority to depose bishops, we may by like reason infer that every patriarch and metropolitan had a power to do the like, there being so many instances of their having condemned and disclaimed bishops supposedly guilty of heresy: as, particularly, John of Antioch, with his convention of oriental bishops, pretended to depose Cyril and Memnon as guilty of the same Apollinarian heresy, alleging that to "excise them was the same thing as to settle orthodoxy;"⁶ which deposition was at first admitted by the emperor.

The next instance is of Pope Agapetus in Justinian's time (for so deep into time is Bellarmine fain to dive for it) deposing Anthimus,

¹ Baron., ann. 433, § 38, 39.

² P. Nic. I., Ep. viii., ad Mich.

³ Fac. Herm., p. 150.

⁴ Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κεφάλαια ἰθ' οἷς ὁ τρισμακάριος Δάμασος καθίλει τ' Ἀπολινάριον, καὶ Βιτάλιον, καὶ Τιμόθειον τοὺς αἱρετικούς.—*Orient. ad Rufum*, apud *Bin.*, p. 396.

⁵ Μαθὼν οὖν ταύτην τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰς πολλοὺς ἱερῶν πρῶτος Δάμασος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Πίτρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, συνόδου γινομένης ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἄλλοτριαν τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας ἐψηφίσαντο.—*Soz.* vi. 25.

⁶ Τὸ γὰρ τοῦτον ἐκκέῖναι οὐδὲν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἢ ὁρθόδοξον στήσαι.—*Relat. Orient. ad Imp. in Act. Eph.* p. 380. "Ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὴν γενομένην παρὰ τῆς Εὐσεβείας ὑμῶν Νισσορίου καὶ Κυρίλλου, καὶ Μίμμωνος παθεῖσιν ἰδιεξάμεινα.—*Act.* p. 385.

bishop of Constantinople.¹ But this instance, being scanned, will also prove slender and lame. The case was this: Anthimus, having deserted his charge at Trebisonde, crept into the see of Constantinople, a course then held irregular and repugnant to the canons, and withal he had imbibed the Eutychian heresy. Yet, for his support, he had wound himself into the favour of the Empress Theodora, a countenancer of the Eutychian sect.² Things standing thus, Pope Agapetus, as an agent from Rome to crave succour against the Goths, pressing and menacing the city, arrived at Constantinople; whereupon the empress desired of him to salute and consort with Anthimus.³ But he, by petitions of the monks, &c., understanding how things stood, refused to do so, except Anthimus "would return to his own charge and profess the orthodox doctrine." Thereupon the emperor joined with him to extrude Anthimus from Constantinople, and to substitute Menas. "He," say the monks in their libel of request to the emperor, "justly thrust this Anthimus from the episcopal chair of this city, your grace affording aid and force both to the catholic faith and the divine canons."⁴ The act of Agapetus was, according to his share in the common interest, to declare Anthimus, in his judgment, incapable of catholic communion and of episcopal function, by reason of his heretical opinions and his transgression of ecclesiastical orders;⁵ which moved Justinian effectually to depose and extrude him. "You," say they, "fulfilling that which he justly and canonically judged, and by your general edict confirming it, and forbidding that hereafter such things should be attempted,"⁶ &c. And Agapetus himself says that it was done by "the apostolical authority, and the assistance of the most faithful kings;"⁷ which proceeding was completed by decree of the synod under Menas, and that again, was confirmed by the imperial sanction; whence Evagrius, reporting the story, says concerning Anthimus and Theodosius of Alexandria, that "because they crossed the emperor's commands, and did not admit the decrees of Chalcedon, they both were expelled from their sees."⁸

¹ Ann. 536., Vict. Tun.

² Evag. iv. 10.

³ Denique petentibus principibus, ut Anthimum papa in salutatione et communicatione susciperet; ille fieri inquit posse, si se libello probaret orthodoxum, et ad cathedram suam reverteretur.—*Lib. cap. xxi.* Τὰ κατὰ τῆς ἰακκλησίας ἀθέτως τοιμῶμενα μαθὼν, &c.—*Libell. Monach.*, p. 7.

⁴ Ἀλλὰ τοῦτον δικαίως ἐξέθεσας τοῦ τῆς δι τῆς πόλεως ἱερατικοῦ θρόνου, συνισπασμοῦσης, καὶ συνισχυούσης τῆτι καθολικῇ πίστιν καὶ τοῖς θείοις καίτοις τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐκκλησίας, &c.—*Ibid.*; et *Syn. Decr.*, p. 43; *Imper. Sanct.*, p. 128.

⁵ Ἀποφθιμένος . . . μήτις καθολικοῦ μήτις ἱερέως αὐτὸν ἔχῃν τὸ ὄνομα.—*Syn. Decr.*, p. 43.
⁶ Τὰ οὖν παρ' ἡμεῶν δικαίως καὶ κανονικῶς περὶ μὲν πληροῦντες, καὶ διὰ γενικῆς ὑμῶν νομοθεσίας κυροῦντες, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ λοιποῦ τοιμῶσθαι ἀπαγορεύοντες, &c.

⁷ Τῆς δι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καθίδρας τὴν ἕβριν βοηθοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ ἀποστολικῇ αὐθενσίᾳ, καὶ τῶν πιστοτάτων βασιλείων τῇ βοηθείᾳ διαβρώσαν.—*P. 24.*

⁸ Ὅμως δ' οὖν ὡς ἀντικρὺ τῶν (l. ἀντὶ τῶν τοῦ) βασιλέως κλινομένων ἰόντες, καὶ μὴ δεχόμενοι τὰ ἐν Χαλκηδὼν συντιμῶμενα ἀμφὶ τῶν οἰκίων ἐξελαθίστην θρόνων.—*Evag. iv. 11.*

It seems, by some passages in the Acts, pp. 10, 16, that before Agapetus' intermeddling, the monks and orthodox bishops had condemned and rejected Anthimus, according to the common interest which they assert all Christians to have in regard to the common faith.

As for the substitution of Menas, it was performed "by the choice and suffrage of the emperor, the clergy, nobles, and people conspiring;"¹ the pope only, which another bishop might have done, ordaining or consecrating him. "Then," says Liberatus, "the pope, by the emperor's favour, ordained Menas bishop, consecrating him with his hand."²

And Agapetus gloried in this, as being the first ordination made of an eastern bishop by the hands of a pope.³ "And this," said the pope, "we conceive adds to his dignity, because the eastern church never since the time of the apostle Peter received any bishop besides him, by the imposition of hands of those who sat in this our chair."⁴

If we compare the proceedings of Agapetus against Anthimus with those of Theophilus against St Chrysostom, they are (except the cause and qualities of persons) in all main respects and circumstances so like that the same reason which would ground a pretence of universal jurisdiction to one would infer the same to the other.

Baronius alleges Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, deposed by Pope Felix III. But Pope Gelasius asserts that any bishop might, in execution of the canons, have disclaimed Acacius, as a favourer of heretics; and Acacius not only refused to submit to the pope's jurisdiction, but slighted it.⁵ And the pope's act was but an attempt, not effectual, for Acacius died in possession of his see.⁶

VIII. If popes were sovereigns of the church, they could effectually, whenever they should see it just and fit, absolve,⁷ restore any bishop excommunicated from the church, or deposed from his office by ecclesiastical censure; for relief of the oppressed, or clemency to the distressed, are noble flowers in every sovereign crown.

Wherefore, the pope assumes this power, and reserves it to him-

¹ Κατ' ἐκλογὴν καὶ ψῆφον τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν ἡμῶν βασιλεῖον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀγιοτάτης κλήρου, &c.

² Tunc papa principis favore Menam pro eo ordinavit antistitem, consecrans eum manu sua, &c.—*Ibid.* cap. xxi.

³ Ὅτι τῶν γαληνοτάτων βασιλέων ἐπιγίλαται ἡ ἐκλογὴ, &c.—*Act.* p. 24.

⁴ Καὶ τοῦτο δι' πιστεύομεν εἰς αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν προστείναι, ὅτι πρὶν ἐν τῶν χρόνων τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου οὐδὲνα ἄλλον εὐαγγελίσσει ἐκκλησίαν ἀνατολικὴν ἰδίᾳ τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου τῆς ἡμετέρας καθέδρας χειροτονήσαντα, &c.—*Ibid.*

⁵ Ad cujus præcipue vocatus examen vel venire vel mittere non curavit.—*Gelas.* Ep. xiii.

⁶ Baron., ann. 484, § 19; Vid. P. Felici. III., Ep. vi.; P. Gelas., Ep. iv.

⁷ When a bishop was unjustly censured upon malice or mistake . . . when he did repent of his error or miscarriage . . . when the case would, upon any account, bear favour or pity, &c.

self as his special prerogative. "It is," says Baronius, "a privilege of the church of Rome only, that a bishop deposed by a synod may without another synod of a greater number be restored by the pope."¹ And Pope Gelasius I. says, "That the see of St Peter the apostle has a right of loosing whatever the sentences of other bishops have bound," &c.² "That the apostolic see, according to frequent ancient custom, had a power, without the precedence of any synod, to absolve those whom a synod had unjustly condemned, and, without a council, to condemn those who deserved it."³

It was an old pretence of popes, that bishops were not condemned except the pope consented renouncing communion with them. So Pope Vigilius says of St Chrysostom and Flavianus that "although they were violently excluded, yet were they not looked upon as condemned, because the bishops of Rome always inviolably kept communion with them."⁴

And, before him, Pope Gelasius says that "the pope, by not consenting to the condemnation of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Flavianus, absolved them."⁵

But such a power of old did not belong to him; for,—

1. There is not extant any ancient canon of the church nor apparent footsteps of custom allowing such a power to him.

2. Decrees of synods (*provincial* in the former times, and *diocesan* afterwards) were inconsistent with or repugnant to such a power; for judgments concerning episcopal causes were deemed irrevocable, and appointed to be so by decrees of divers synods, and consequently no power was reserved to the pope of thwarting them by restitution of any bishop condemned in them.

3. The apostolical canons, which at least serve to prove or illustrate ancient custom, and divers synodical decrees, prohibited entertaining communion with any person condemned or rejected by canonical judgment, without exception, or reservation of power of infringing or relaxing that prohibition.⁶ And Pope Gelasius himself

¹ Privilegium quidem solius ecclesiæ Romanæ esse reperitur, ut depositus a synodo episcopus absque alia synodo majoris numeri restitui possit per Romanum pontificem.—*Baron.*, ann. 449, § 127.

² Quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum sedes B. Petri apostoli jus habet resolvendi.—*P. Gelas I., Ep. xiii.*

³ Sedes apostolica frequenter more majorum, etiam sine ulla synodo præcedente et absolvendi quos synodus inique damnaverat, et damnandi nulla existente synodo quos oportuit habuit facultatem, &c.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. xiii.*

⁴ Qui licet violenter exclusi sunt, non tamen pro damnatis sunt habiti, eo quod semper inviolatam eorum communionem Rom. pontifices servaverant.—*P. Vigilius in Constit. Athan., &c.*

⁵ Quem (Johannem Chrys.) sedes apostolica etiam sola, quia non consensit, absolvit.—*P. Gelas., Ep. iii.*

⁶ Can. Apost. x., xi., xii., xiii.; Conc. Nic., can. v.; Sard. xvi., xvii.; Cod. Afr. ix.; Conc. Antioch. vi. xv.; Bvag. ii. 4.

says, "That he who had polluted himself by holding communion with a condemned person partook of his condemnation."¹

4. Whence, in elder times, popes were opposed and checked when they offered to receive bishops rejected in particular synods. So St Cyprian declared the restitution of Basilides by Pope Stephanus to be null;² so the fathers of the Antiochene synod reprehended Pope Julius for admitting Athanasius and Marcellus to communion, or avowing them for bishops, after their condemnation by synods. And the oriental bishops of Sardica excommunicated the same pope for communicating with the same persons. Which instances show that the pope was not then undoubtedly, or according to common opinion, endowed with such a power.

But whereas they allege some instances of such a power, I shall premise some general considerations apt to clear the business, and then apply answers to the particular allegations:—

1. Restitution commonly signifies no more than acknowledging a person, although rejected by undue sentence, to be *de jure* worthy of communion, and capable of the episcopal office; upon which may be consequent an obligation to communicate with him and to allow him his due character, according to the precept of St Paul, "Follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call upon the Lord out of a pure heart," 2 Tim. ii. 22.

This may be done when any man is notoriously persecuted for the truth and righteousness; or when the iniquity and malice of pretended judges are apparent, to the oppression of innocence; or when the process is extremely irregular, as in the cases of Athanasius, of St Chrysostom, &c. And this is not an act of jurisdiction, but of equity and charity, incumbent on all bishops; and there are promiscuous instances of bishops practising it. Thus Socrates says that Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, "restored communion and dignity to Athanasius."³ And so Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch, being reconciled and reduced to a good understanding of each other, "restored to each other their sees,"⁴ rescinding the censures which in heat they had denounced each on other. Which show that restitution is not always taken for an act of jurisdiction, wherein one is superior to another; for those persons were in rank and power co-ordinate.

2. Restitution sometimes imports no more than a considerable influence toward the effect of restoring a person to communion or office, no judicial act being exercised about the case: "The emperor writ-

¹ *Damnati hominis communione pollutus, damnationis ejus factus est particeps.*—*P. Gelas., Ep. xiii. p. 640.*

² *Cypr., Ep. lxviii.*

³ *Ἀποδίδωσι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐξίαν.*—*Socr. ii. 24.*

⁴ *Ἀλλήλοις τοὺς θρόνους ἀπέδωκαν.*—*Socr. vii. 33.*

ing that Paulus and Athanasius should be restored to their sees, availed nothing."¹ That was a restitution without effect.

Thus, a pope's avowing the orthodoxy, or innocence, or worth of a person, after a due information about them, by reason of the pope's eminent rank in the church, and the regard duly had to him, might sometimes much conduce to restore a person, and might obtain the name of restitution by an ordinary scheme of speech.

3. Sometimes persons said to be restored by popes are also said to be restored by synods, with regard to such instance or testimony of popes in their behalf; in which case the judicial restitution, giving right of recovery and completion thereto, was the act of the synod.²

4. When cases were driven to a legal debate, popes could not effectually resolve without a synod, their single acts not being held sufficiently valid. So, notwithstanding the declarations of Pope Julius in favour of Athanasius, for the effectual resolution of his case the great synod of Sardica was convened. So, whatever Pope Innocent I. endeavoured, he could not restore St Chrysostom without a general synod.

Nor could Pope Leo restore Flavianus, deposed in the second Ephesine synod, without convocation of a general synod, which he so often sued for to the Emperor Theodosius for that purpose. Pope Simplicius affirmed that Petrus Moggus, "having been by a common decree condemned as an adulterer," or usurper of the Alexandrian see, "could not without a common council be freed from condemnation."³

5. Particular instances do not ascertain right to the person who assumes any power, for busy-bodies often will exceed their bounds.

6. Emperors sometimes restored bishops. Constantine, as he banished Eusebius of Nicomedia and others, so he revoked and restored them. So says Socrates, "They were recalled from banishment by the emperor's command, and received their churches."⁴ Theodosius asserted to Flavianus his right,⁵ of which the popes pretended to deprive him, which amounted to a restitution, at least [it will amount to this] to the Romanists, who assert Flavianus to be deposed by the pope. Instantius and Priscillianus were, by the "rescript of the Emperor Gratianus, restored to their churches."⁶ Justinian or-

¹ Γράψαντες τοῦ βασιλείου, ὅτι ἀποδίδημι Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τοὺς εἰκείους τόπους, οὐδὲν πλὴν ἠνέκα. — Socr. ii. 20.

² Note.—It is an ordinary style of votes in synods for the restitution of a bishop, *I restore*.—Vid. *Conc. Chal.*, Act. i. p. 165. That is, "I give my vote for his restitution."

³ Oportebat communi decreto damnatum tanquam adulterum communi concilio damnatione liberari.—*Lib.*, cap. xviii.

⁴ Ἀνακληθέντες τε τῆς ἰζούρας ἐκ βασιλικῶν προσητάγματος, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτῶν ἀπελάττω. — Socr. i. 14.

⁵ Rescriptum eliciunt, quo calcatis quæ prius decreta erant, restitui ecclesiis jubebantur. Hoc freti Instantius et Priscillianus repetivere Hispanias.—*Sulp. Sev.* ii. 63. Revocari Romam Silverium jussit, et de literis illis judicium fieri, ut—si falsæ fuissent probatæ, restitueretur sedi suæ.—*Liberat. Breviar.*, cap. xxii.

dered Pope Sylverius to be restored, in case he could prove his innocence.

7. Commonly restitution was not effectual without the emperor's consent; whence Theodoret, although allowed by the great synod, acknowledged his restitution especially due to the emperor, as we shall see in reflecting on his case.

Now, to the particular instances produced for the pope, we answer,—

1. They pretend that Pope Stephanus restored Basilides and Martialis, Spanish bishops, who had been deposed; for which they quote St Cyprian's epistle, where he says, "Basilides going to Rome, imposed upon our colleague Stephen, who lived a great way off, and was ignorant of the truth of the matter, seeking unjustly to be restored to his bishopric, from which he had justly been deposed."¹

But we answer, The pope attempted such a restitution by way of influence and testimony, not of jurisdiction: wherefore the result of his act, in St Cyprian's judgment, was null and blamable, which could not be so deemed if he had acted as a judge; for a favourable sentence, passed by just authority, is valid, and hardly liable to censure.² The clergy of those places, notwithstanding that pretended restitution, conceived those bishops incapable, and requested the judgment of St Cyprian about it; which argues the pope's judgment not to have been peremptory and prevalent then in such cases. St Cyprian denies the pope or any other person to have power of restoring in such a case, and exhorts the clergy to persist "in declining the communion of those bishops."³ Well does Rigaltius ask why they should write to St Cyprian if the judgment of Stephanus were decisive;⁴ and he adds, that indeed "the Spaniards appealed from the Roman bishop to him of Carthage."⁵ No wonder, seeing the pope had no greater authority, and probably St Cyprian had the fairer reputation for wisdom and goodness. Considering which things, what can they gain by this instance? which, indeed, considerably makes against them.

¹ Romam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum, et gestæ rei ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum, de quo fuerat juste depositus.—*Cypr., Ep. lxviii.*

² — quare etsi aliqui de collegis nostris extiterunt, qui deificam disciplinam negligendam putant, &c. (Nec censura congruit sacerdotum mobilis atque inconstantis animi levitate reprehendi.—*Id., Ep. lv.*) — episcopatum gerere, et sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere. Desiderastis sollicitudinem vestram vel solatio vel auxilio sententiæ nostræ sublevari. Nec personam in ejusmodi rebus accipere, aut aliquid cuiquam largiri potest humana indulgentia; ubi intercedit et legem tribuit divina præscriptio.

³ — quantum possumus adhortamur, ne vos cum profanis et maculatis sacerdotibus communicatione sacrilega misceatis.

⁴ Sed cur ad Cyprianum si potestas infinita penes Romanum?—*Rigalt., ibid.*

⁵ — datis ad Cyprianum literis appellavere Carthaginensem adversus Romanum. *Rigalt.*

2. They allege the restitution of Athanasius, and of others linked in cause with him, by Pope Julius. "He," says Sozomen, "as having the care of all, by reason of the dignity of his see, restored to each his own church."¹

I answer, The pope did not restore them judicially, but declaratively,—that is, declaring his approbation of their right and innocence, admitted them to communion. Julius, in his own defence, alleged that Athanasius was not legally rejected, so that, without any prejudice to the canons, he might receive him; and the doing it upon this account plainly did not require any act of judgment.²

Nay, it was necessary to avow those bishops, as suffering in the cause of the common faith. Besides, the pope's proceeding was taxed and protested against as irregular; nor did he defend it by virtue of a general power that he had judicially to rescind the acts of synods. And, lastly, the restitution of Athanasius and the other bishops had no complete effect till it was confirmed by the synod of Sardica, backed by the imperial authority, which in effect restored them. This instance, therefore, is in many respects deficient as to their purpose.

3. They produce Marcellus being restored by the same Pope Julius.³ But that instance, beside the forementioned defects, hath this, that the pope was grievously mistaken in the case; whence St Basil much blames him for his proceeding therein.⁴

4. They cite the restitution of Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, by Pope Liberius, out of an epistle of St Basil, where he says, "What the most blessed bishop Liberius proposed to him, and to what he consented, we know not; only that he brought a letter to be restored, and, upon showing it to the synod at Tyana, was restored to his see."⁵

I answer, That restitution was only from an invalid deposition by a synod of Arians at Melitene,⁶ importing only an acknowledgment of him, upon approbation of his faith professed by him at Rome; which had such influence, to the satisfaction of the diocesan synod at Tyana, that he was restored;—although, indeed, the Romans were abused by him, he not being sound in faith; for "he now," says St Basil, "destroys that faith for which he was received,"⁷ &c.

5. They adjoin that Theodoret was restored by Pope Leo I., for in

¹ Οἱ αὖ πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῶν προσηκούσης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θ' ἱεροῦ, ἐκάστη τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέδωκε.—Soz. iii. 8.

² Ὡς ἀποδείξουσ αὐτοὺς εἰς κοινωνίαν προσήκατο.—Soz. iii. 8. *Julii Ep.*, apud *Athanasium in Apol.* ii.

³ Soz. i. 36.

⁴ Bas., *Ep.* x.

⁵ Τίνα μὲν ἴστωι ἡ προτίθη αὐτῶ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριστάτου ἱεροκλήτου Λιβηρίου, εἴνα δὲ αὐτῶ συνέλθοι ἀγνοοῦμεν· πλὴν οἷοι ἰσχυροτέρῃ ἐκτίμωσιν ἀποκαθιστῶσαι αὐτὸν, ἢ ἀποδείξουσ τῇ κατὰ Τύαναν συνόδῳ ἀποκατάστασιν τῇ εἰσῳγῇ, &c.—Bas., *Ep.* lxxiv.

⁶ Soz. iv. 24.

⁷ Οὐδὲς γὰρ περὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἢ φ' ἢ ἰδίχθη.—Bas., *Ep.* lxxiv.

the Acts of the synod of Chalcedon it is said that "he received his place from the bishop of Rome."¹

I answer, The act of Leo consisted in an approbation of the faith which Theodoret professed to hold, and a reception of him to communion thereon;² which he might well do, seeing the ground of Theodoret's being disclaimed was a misprision, that he, having opposed Cyril's writings (judged orthodox), erred in faith, consenting with Nestorius.

Theodoret's state before the second Ephesine synod is thus represented in the words of the emperor: "Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, whom we have before commanded to mind only his own church, we charge not to come to the holy synod, until, to the whole synod assembled, it shall seem good that he come and bear his part in it."³

He was not perfectly deposed, as others were, who had others substituted in their places.⁴ He was deposed by the Ephesine synod.

The pope was, indeed, ready enough to assume the patronage of so very learned and worthy a man, who in so very suppliant and respectful a way had addressed to him for succour; for whom does not courtship mollify? And the majority of the synod, being inflamed against Dioscorus and the Eutychian party, was ready enough to allow what the pope did in favour of him. Yet a good part of the synod (the bishops of Egypt, of Palestine, of Illyricum), notwithstanding the pope's restitution,—that is, his approbation in order thereto,—did stickle against his admission into the synod, crying out, "Have mercy on us! the faith is destroyed! the canons proscribe this man! cast him out, cast out Nestorius' master!"⁵ so that the imperial agents were fain to compromise the business, permitting him to sit in the synod as one whose case was dependent, but not in the notion of one absolutely restored: "Theodoret's presence shall prejudice no man, each one's right of impleading being reserved both to you and him."⁶

He therefore was not entirely restored till, upon a clear and satisfactory profession of his faith, he was acquitted by the judgment of

¹ Τὸν οἰκίον ἀπολαβὼν τόποι παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγαλειότης Ῥώμης.—*Act. i.* p. 58.

² Εἰς κοινωνίαν ἰδίᾳ.—*Syn. Chalc.*, *Act. viii.* p. 368.

³ Θεωδῶρετον μὲν τοι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Κύρου πόλεως, δι' ἣν ἐκλιύσαμεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ μόνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐσχολάζειν. Διοσιζομεν μὴ πρότερον ἰδῆναι εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν συνέδον, ἵνα μὴ πάσῃ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ συνιλεύσῃ δι᾽ ἣν καὶ αὐτὸν παραγινώσκει, καὶ κοινωνίᾳ γινώσκει τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας συνόδου.—*Imp. Theod. Ep. ad Diosc. in Syn. Chalc.*, *Act. i.* p. 58.

⁴ Pro Theodoro et Eusebio nullus ordinatus est.—*Liberat. xii.* *Vid. Conc. Chalc.* part iii. p. 490. Excludi vero ab episcopatu, &c. in imperatoria.—*Theod. rescript.*

⁵ Ἐξέβησαν, ἰλιέσθη, ἡ κρίσις ἀπώλλεται, οἱ κανόνες τοῦτον ἐκβάλλουσιν, τοῦτον ἔξω βάλε, τὸν διδάσκαλον Νεστορίῳ ἔξω βάλε.—*Ibid.* p. 64.

⁶ Πᾶν ἔργον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοδώρου οὐδὲν γινώσκεται, φυλαττομῆναι δηλοῖται μετὰ ταῦτα παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἔργου, καὶ ἐκείνου, &c.—*Ibid.*

the synod. The effectual restitution of him proceeded from the emperor, who repealed the proceedings against him, as himself doth acknowledge: "All these things," says he, "has the most just emperor evacuated¹ . . . To these things he premised the redressing of my injuries."² And the imperial judges in the synod of Chalcedon join the emperor in the restitution: "Let the most reverend Theodoret enter, and bear his part in the synod, since the most holy archbishop Leo and sacred emperor have restored his bishopric to him."³ Hence it may appear that the pope's restitution of Theodoret was only opinionative, dough-baked, [unfinished] incomplete; so that it is but a slim advantage which their pretence can receive from it.

IX. It belongs to sovereigns to receive appeals from all lower judicatures for the final determination of causes; so that no part of his subjects can obstruct resort to him, or prohibit his revision of any judgment.

This power, therefore, the pope most stiffly asserts to himself. At the synod of Florence, this was the first and great branch of authority, which he demanded of the Greeks explicitly to avow. "He will," said his three cardinals to the emperor, "have all the privileges of his church, and will have appeals made to him."⁴ When Pope Alexander III. was advised not to receive an appeal in Becket's case, he replied in that profane allusion, "This is my glory, which I will not give to another."⁵ He has been wont to encourage all people, even upon the slightest occasions, *iter arripere*, as the phrase is, obvious in their canon law, to run with all haste to his audience: "Concerning appeals for the smallest causes, we would have you hold that the same deference is to be given them for however slight a matter they be made, as if they were for a greater."⁶ See, if you please, in Gratian's decree,⁷ where many papal decrees (most, indeed, drawn out of the spurious epistles of ancient popes, but ratified by their successors, and obtaining for current law) are made for appeals to the see of Rome.

It was, indeed, one of the most ancient encroachments, and that which served most to introduce the rest, inferring hence a title to

¹ Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα λίλυκεν ὁ δικαιοτάτος βασιλεὺς, &c.—*Theod., Ep. cxxxix. ad Asperam.*

² Προτίθειμι τοῦτοις τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδικίας τὴν ἴασην, &c.—*Ep. cxxxviii. ad Anatol.*

³ Εἰσὶτω καὶ ὁ ἐλαχίστατος Θεοδώρητος κοινοῦνται τῇ συνόδῳ, ἵνα δὲν καὶ ἀπεινασθέντων αὐτῶ τὴν ἰασησὴν ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Λέων, καὶ θιότατος βασιλεὺς.—*Act. i. p. 63.*

⁴ Θέλω τὰ πρῶτα πάντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θίλω ἔχων τὴν ἰουλατον, &c.—*Syn. Flor., sess. xxv. p. 846.*

⁵ Hæc est gloria mea, quam alteri non dabo.

⁶ De appellationibus pro minimis causis volumus te tenere, quod eis pro quacunque levi causa fiant, non minus est, quam si pro majoribus fierent, deferendum.—*Alex. III. Ep. ad Vigorn. Episc. in Decret. Greg. lib. ii. tit. 28, cap. 11.*

⁷ Caus. ii. qu. 6; iii. 6; ix. 3, cap. 16.

an universal jurisdiction. "Such are the canons," says Pope Nicholas I., "which will that all appeals of the whole church be brought to the examination of this see, and have decreed that no appeal be made from it; and that thus she judge of the whole church, but herself to be judged by no one."¹ And the same pope, in another of his epistles, says, "The holy statutes and venerable decrees have committed the causes of bishops, as being weighty matters, to be determined by us,"² &c. "As the synod has appointed and usage requires, let greater and difficult cases be always referred to the apostolic see,"³ says Pope Pelagius II. "These are the canons, which will have the appeals of the whole church tried by this see,"⁴ says Pope Gelasius I.

But this power is, upon various accounts, unreasonable, grievous, and vexatious to the church; as has been deemed, and upon divers occasions declared, by the ancient fathers, and grave persons in all times, upon accounts not only blaming the horrible abuse of appeals, but implying the great mischiefs inseparably adherent to them.

The synod of Basil thus excellently declared concerning them: "Hitherto many abuses of intolerable vexations have prevailed, whilst many have frequently been called and cited from the most remote parts to the court of Rome, and that sometimes for so small and trifling matters, and so worn out with charges and vexations, that they often think it their best policy to recede from their right, or redeem their trouble with great loss, rather than be at the cost of suing in so remote a country."⁵

St Bernard complains of the mischiefs of appeals in his times in these words: "How long will you be deaf to the complaints of the whole world, or make as if you were so? Why sleep you? When will you awake to the consideration of the enormous confusion and abuse in appeals? These are made without right or equity, without due order, and against custom. Neither place, nor manner, nor time, nor cause, nor person is considered; they are everywhere made

¹ *Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri; ab ipsa vero nusquam prorsus appellari debere sanxerunt, ac per hoc illam de tota ecclesia judicare ipsam ad nullius commovere judicium.*—*P. Nic. I., Ep. viii.*

² *Sacra statuta, et veneranda decreta, episcoporum causas, utpote majora negotia nostræ definiendas censure mandarunt.*—*P. Nic. I., Ep. xxxviii.*

³ *Majores vero et difficiles questiones (ut sancta synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exegit) ad sedem apostolicam semper referantur.*—*P. Pelag. II., Ep. viii.*

⁴ *Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri.*—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. iv.*

⁵ *Conc. Basil., sess. xxxi. p. 86. Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abusus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotissimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari, et evocari consueverunt, atque ita expensis et laboribus fatigari, ut nonnunquam commodius arbitrentur juri suo cedere, aut vexationem suam gravi damno redimere, quam in tam longinqua regione litium subire dispendia, &c.*—*Vide Opt.*

light of, and, for the most part, treated unjustly;"¹ with much more passionate language to the same purpose.

But in the primitive church the pope had no such power.

1. In the first times many causes and differences arose, wherein they who were condemned and worsted would readily have resorted where they might have hoped for remedy. If Rome had been such a place of refuge, it would have been very famous for it, and we should find history full of such examples, whereas it is very silent about them.

2. The most ancient customs and canons of the church are flatly repugnant to such a power, for they ordered causes finally to be decided in each province.

So the synod of Nice decreed, as the African fathers alleged, in defence of their refusal to allow appeals to the pope: "The Nicene decrees," said they, "most evidently committed both clergymen of inferior degrees and bishops to their metropolitans."²

So Theophilus in his epistle: "I suppose you are not ignorant what the canons of the Nicene council command, ordaining that a bishop should judge no cause out of his own district."³

3. Afterward when the *diocesan* administration was introduced, the last resort was decreed to the synods of them, or to the *primate*s in them, all other appeals being prohibited "as dishonourable to the bishops of the diocese, reproaching the canons, and subverting ecclesiastical order;"⁴ to which canon the Emperor Justinian referred: "It is decreed by our ancestors that against the sentence of these prelates there should be no appeal."⁵ So Constantius told Pope Liberius, "That those things which had a form of judgment passed on them could not be rescinded."⁶ This was the practice, at least in the eastern parts of the church, in the time of Justinian, as is evident by the constitutions extant in the Code and in the Novels.*

¹ Bern. de Consid. lib. iii. cap. 2. Quousque murmur universæ terræ aut dissimulas, aut non advertis? &c.

² Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive episcopos suis metropolitani apertissime commiserunt.—*Syn. Afr. in Ep. ad P. Celest.*

³ Arbitror te non ignorare quid præcipiant Niceni concilii canones, sancientes episcopum non judicare causam citra terminos suos . . . nam, &c.—*Pallad.* cap. vii.

⁴ Note, that the synod of Constantinople (can. vi.), mentioning appeals to the emperor, secular judicatories, a general synod, says, Ἀριμάνας τοῖς τοῖς δικαστέοις ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, &c.—*Syn. Const.*, can. vi.; *Conc. Constantinop.*, can. ii. vi.; *Conc. Chalced.*, can. ix. xvii.

⁵ Nam contra horum antistitum sententias non esse locum appellationi a majoribus nostris constitutum est.—*Cod.*, lib. i. tit. 4, cap. 29.

⁶ Τὰ ἅθ' ἑσέως ἐσχνηότα ἀναλύσθαι οὐ δύναται.—*Theod.* xi. 16.

⁷ Nov. cxliii. cap. 22; *Cod.*, lib. i. tit. 4, § 29. Vid. Græc.

* The Justinian Code is often used to denote the whole system of laws digested by the Roman emperor Justinian about the year 529, which formed the ground-work of the civil law in the greater part of modern Europe. But the collection was divided into four parts,—the Institutes, the Digests or pandects, the new Code, or digest of imperial decrees, and the Novels, or new constitutions, posterior to the other books.—*En.*

4. In derogation to this pretence, divers provincial synods expressly prohibited all appeals from their decisions.¹

That of Milevis: "Let them appeal only to African councils or the primates of provinces; and he who shall think of appealing beyond sea, let him be admitted into communion by none in Africa."²

"For if the Nicene council took this care of the inferior clergy, how much more did they intend it should relate to bishops also!"³

5. All persons were forbidden to entertain communion with bishops condemned by any one church; which is inconsistent with their being allowed relief at Rome.

6. This is evident in the case of Marcion, by the assertion of the Roman church at that time.

7. When the pope has offered to receive appeals, or to meddle in cases before decided, he has found opposition and reproof. Thus, when Felicissimus and Fortunatus, having been censured and rejected from communion in Africa, applied themselves to Pope Cornelius, with supplication to be admitted by him, St Cyprian maintains that fact to be irregular and unjust, and not to be countenanced, for divers reasons.⁴ Likewise, when Basilides and Martialis, being for their crimes deposed in Spain, had recourse to Pope Stephanus for restitution, the clergy and people there had no regard to the judgment of the pope; the which their resolution St Cyprian commended and encouraged.⁵

When Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, &c., having been condemned by synods, applied themselves for relief to Pope Julius, the oriental bishops highly taxed this course as irregular, disclaiming any power in him to receive them or meddle in their cause. Nor could Pope Julius by any law or instance disprove their plea; nor did the pope assert to himself any peculiar authority to revise the cause, or otherwise justify his proceeding than by right common to all bishops of vindicating right and innocence which were oppressed, and of asserting the faith for which they were persecuted. Indeed, at first the oriental bishops were contented to refer the cause to Pope Julius as arbitrator, which signifies that he had no ordinary right; but afterward, either fearing their cause or his prejudice, they started, and stood to the canonicalness of the former decision.

The contest of the African church with Pope Celestine, in the

¹ Can. xii.; Conc. Ant., can. xv.; Con. Carth., can. xxxi.

² Non provocent nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum; ad transmarinas autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo infra Africam in communionem suscipiatur.—*Conc. Milev.*, cap. xxii.; *Conc. Afr.*, can. lxxii.

³ Nam si de inferioribus clericis in concilio Niceno hoc præcaverunt; quanto magis de episcopis voluit observari!—*Conc. Afr.*, can. cv. (*vel. Epist.*)

⁴ Cypr., Ep. lv. ad Cornelium.

⁵ Cypr., Ep. lxxviii.

cause of Apiarius, is famous; and the reasons which they assign for repelling that appeal are very notable and peremptory.

8. Divers of the fathers allege like reasons against appeals. St Cyprian alleges these:—¹

Because there was an ecclesiastical law against them.

Because they contain iniquity, as prejudicing the right of each bishop granted by Christ in governing his flock.

Because the clergy and people should not be engaged to run gadding about.

Because causes might better be decided there where witnesses of fact might easily be had.

Because there is everywhere a competent authority, equal to any that might be had elsewhere.

Because it derogated from the gravity of bishops to alter their censure, &c.

Pope Liberius desired of Constantius that the judgment of Athanasius might be made in Alexandria for such reasons, "Because there the accused, the accusers, and their defender were."²

St Chrysostom's argument against Theophilus meddling in his case may be set against Rome as well as Alexandria.

9. St Augustine, in matter of appeal, or rather of reference to candid arbitration (more proper for ecclesiastical causes), conjoins other apostolical churches with that of Rome: "For the business," says he, "was not about priests and deacons, or the inferior clergy, but the colleagues" (bishops); "who may reserve their cause entire for the judgment of their colleagues, especially those of the apostolical churches."³ He would not have said so if he had apprehended that the pope had a peculiar right of revising judgments.

10. Pope Damasus (or rather Pope Siricius) affirms himself incompetent to judge in a case which had been afore determined by the synod of Capua: "But," says he, "since the synod of Capua has thus determined it, we perceive we cannot judge it."⁴

11. Anciently there were no appeals, properly so called, or jurisdictional, in the church. They were, as Socrates tells us, introduced by Cyril of Jerusalem, who "first appealed to a greater judicature,

¹ Refer ad sect. vii. Vid. supr. Oportet utique eos quibus præsumus non circumcursare, nec episcoporum concordiam coherentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere, sed agere illic causam suam, ubi et accusatores habere, et testes sui criminis possint.—*Cypr., Ep. lv.*

² — ἵνα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος, καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλούμενός τινος, καὶ ὁ ἀντιπαινούμενος ἀβέωτος, &c.—*Theod. xi. 16.*

³ Neque enim de presbyteris aut diaconis, aut inferioris ordinis clericis, sed de collegis agebatur qui possunt aliorum collegarum iudicio, præsertim apostolicarum ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare.—*Aug., Ep. clix.*

⁴ Sed cum huiusmodi fuerit concilii Capuensis iudicium advertimus quod a nobis iudicandi forma competere non possit.

against ecclesiastical rule and custom."¹ This is an argument that about that time (a little before the great synod of Constantinople) greater judicatories, or *diocesan* synods, were established, whereas before *provincial* synods were the last resorts.

12. Upon many occasions appeals were not made to the pope, as in all likelihood they would have been if it had been supposed that a power of receiving them belonged to him. Paulus Samosatenus appealed to the emperor. The Donatists did not appeal to the pope, but to the emperor.² Their cause was by the emperor referred, not to the pope singly (as it ought to have been, and would have been by so just a prince, if it had been his right), but to him and other judges, as the emperor's commissioners.³ Athanasius first appealed to the emperor. St Chrysostom requested the pope's succour, but he did not appeal to him as judge, although he knew him favourably disposed, and the cause sure in his hand; but he appealed to a general council, which Innocent himself conceived "necessary" for decision of that cause.⁴

There are in history innumerable instances of bishops being condemned and expelled from their sees, but few of appeals; which is a sign that was no approved remedy in common opinion.

Eutyches appealed to all the patriarchs. Theodoret intended to appeal to all the western bishops.—*Infra*.^{*}

13. Those very canons of Sardica† (the most unhappy that ever were made to the church) which introduced appeals to the pope, yet upon divers accounts prejudice his claim to an original right, and

¹ Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ τὸ συνέδριον τῶ ἰκκλησιαστικῇ καὶνῇ Κύριλλος ἰσχύισεν, ἰκκλητίαις ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ δικαστηρίῳ χρησάμενος.—*Socr.* ii. 40. Καθαιρούς δ' οὖν ὅμως ἰκκλητίου βιβλίῳ τοῖς καθιλούσι διαπισφάμενος μᾶλλον ἰπικαλίστατο δικαστήριον.—*Ibid.* "Being deposed, he sent a libel of appeal to them who deposed him, appealing to a greater judicature."

² Illos vero ab ecclesiastico judicio provocasse, &c.—*Aug., Ep.* clxii. Ad imperatorem appellaverunt.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl., cap.* xvi.

³ Quid quod nec ipse usurpavit; rogatus imperator judices misit episcopos qui cum ipso sederent, et de tota illa causa quod justum videretur statuerent.—*Aug., Ep.* clxii.

⁴ Ἀναγκαῖα ἵστί διάγωμεν συνεδιῆ.—*Socr.* viii. 26.

^{*} The word *infra* is added to these cases, as they are noticed at greater length afterwards. See pp. 330–332.—*Ed.*

† The council of Sardica in Illyricum, to which frequent references are made by our author under the designation of Sardican, was called by Julius, bishop of Rome, in 347. Though designed to be a general council, it was, in point of fact, merely a council of the west. "Not to mention," says Mosheim, "that the authority of this council is very dubious, and that, not without reason, the existing enactments of this council are regarded by some as corrupted, and by others as forged, it cannot be made to appear that the bishops assembled at Sardica decided that in all cases an appeal might be made to the Roman pontiff as the supreme and final judge."—*Mosh. Eccl. Hist.*, cent. iv. p. 130, (Reid's edit.) There can be no doubt, however, that it was by this council that the practice of appealing to the pope was first introduced. Julius was very thankful for it, though his successors, regarding this obligation as a diminution of their pretended sovereignty, have claimed it as their original right. See Bower's *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. i. p. 122.

upon no account favour that use of them to which, to the overt of all ecclesiastical liberty and good discipline, they have been verted; for,—

(1.) They pretend to confer a privilege on the pope; which as that he before had no claim thereto.

(2.) They qualify and restrain that privilege to certain cases forms; which is a sign that he had no power therein flowing absolute sovereignty, for it is strange that they who pretended intended so much to favour him should clip his power.

(3.) It is not really a power which they grant of receiving ap in all causes, but a power of constituting judges, qualified accor to certain conditions, to revise a special sort of causes, concerning judgment and deposition of bishops. Which considerations sul his pretence to original and universal jurisdiction upon appeals.

14. Some popes challenged jurisdiction upon appeals, as g them by the Nicene canons,—meaning thereby those of Sard which shows they had no better plea, and therefore no original i And otherwhere we shall consider what validity those canons be allowed to have.

15. The general synod of Chalcedon (of higher authority that of Sardica) derived appeals, at least in the eastern chur into another channel,—namely, to the *primate* of each *diocese*, the patriarch of Constantinople.¹ That this was the last r appears from [the fact] that otherwise they would have menti the pope.

16. Appeals in cases of faith or general discipline were, ind sometimes made to the consideration of the pope; but not on him, but to all other patriarchs and primates, as concerned in common maintenance of the common faith or discipline. So E ches appealed to the patriarchs.

17. The pope, even in later times, even in the western parts, found rubs in his trade of appeals. Consider the scuffle betw Pope Nicholas I. and Hincmarus, bishop of Rhemes [Rheims].²

18. Christian states, to prevent the intolerable vexations and chiefs arising from this practice, have been constrained to make against them, particularly England.³

In the twelfth age, Pope Paschal II. complained of King Hen “that he deprived the oppressed of the benefit of appealing to apostolic see.”⁴ It was one of King Henry I.’s laws, “None is mitted to cry from thence, no judgment is thence brought to

¹ Can. ix. 17.

² Baron. ann. 865, &c.; P. Nic. I., Ep. xxxvii. &c.

³ Vid. Matt. Paris, ann. 1094; Statutes of provisors, premunire, &c.

⁴ Vos oppressis apostolicæ sedis appellationem subtrahitis.—*Eadm.* p. 118.

apostolic see."¹ "Foreign judgments we utterly remove,"²—"There let the cause be tried where the crime was committed."³ It was one of the grievances sent to Pope Innocent IV., "That Englishmen were drawn out of the kingdom by the pope's authority, to have their causes heard."⁴

Nor in after-times were appeals by law in any case permitted without the king's leave; although sometimes, by the facility of princes or difficulty of times, the Roman court, ever importunate and vigilant for its profits, obtained a relaxation or neglect of laws inhibiting appeals.

19. There were appeals from popes to general councils very frequently. Vid. [viz.] the senate of Paris after the concordats between Louis XI. and Pope Leo X.

20. By many laws and instances it appears that appellations have been made to the emperors in the greatest causes, and that without popes reclaiming or taking it in bad part. St Paul appealed to Cæsar.⁵ Paulus Samosatenus appealed to Aurelianus.⁶ So the Donatists appealed to Constantine; Athanasius to Constantine;⁷ the Egyptian bishops to Constantine;⁸ Priscillianus to Maximus;⁹ Idacius to Gratian. So that canons were made to restrain bishops from recourse *ad comitatum*.

21. Whereas they allege instances for appeal, those well considered prejudice their cause: for, they are few in comparison to the occasions of them that ever arose; they are near all of them late, when papal encroachments had grown; some of them are very impertinent to the cause; some of them may strongly be retorted against them; all of them are invalid.

If the pope originally had such a right, known, unquestionable, prevalent, there might have been producible many ancient, clear, proper, concluding instances.

All that Bellarmine,¹⁰ after his own search and that of his predecessors in controversy, could muster, are these following, upon which we shall briefly reflect, adding a few others which may be alleged by them.

¹ Nullus inde clamor, nullum inde iudicium ad sedem apostolicam destinantur.—*Eadm.* p. 113.

² Peregrina iudicia modis omnibus submovemus.—*Hen. I. Leg.*, cap. xxxi.

³ Ibi semper causa agatur, ubi crimen admittitur.—*Ibid.*

⁴ Quod Anglici extra regnum in causis auctoritate apostolica trahuntur.—*Matt. Paris.* p. 699, 10.

⁵ Πᾶσα ψυχὴ, Rom. xiii. 1; Acts xxv. 11.

⁶ Ad imperatorem appellaverunt.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. xvi.

⁷ Apol. ii. p. 804.

⁸ Athan. Apol. ii. pp. 797, 798.

⁹ Ad principem provocavit.—*Sulp. Sev.* ii. 64; *Id.* ii. 63; *Conc. Ant. Can. P. de Marca.* iv. 4, &c.

¹⁰ Bell. ii. 21.

He alleges Marcion as appealing to the pope, anno 142.

The truth was, that Marcion, for having corrupted a maid, was by his own father, bishop of Sinope, "driven from the church,"¹ whereupon he thence fled to Rome, there "begging admittance to communion, but none granted it;"² at which he expostulating, they replied, "We cannot without the permission of thy honourable father do this; for there is one faith and one concord, and we cannot cross thy father, our good fellow-minister."³ This was the case and issue. And is it not strange this should be produced for an appeal, which was only a supplication of a fugitive criminal to be admitted to communion, and wherein is utterly disclaimed any power to thwart the judgment of a particular bishop or judge, upon account of unity in common faith and peace? Should the pope return the same answer to every appellant, what would become of his privilege? So that they must give us leave to retort this as a pregnant instance against their pretence.

He alleges the forementioned address of Felicissimus and Fortunatus to Pope Cornelius, anno 252, which was but a factious circumscription [running about] of desperate wretches; which, or any like it, St Cyprian argues, the pope in law and equity obliged not to regard,⁴ because a definitive sentence was already passed on them by their proper judges in Africa, from whom, in conscience and reason, there could be no appeal. So Bellarmine would filch from us one of our invincible arguments against him.

He also alleges the case of Basilides; which also we before showed to make against him, his application to the pope being disavowed by St Cyprian, and proving ineffectual.⁵

These are all the instances which the first three hundred years afforded; so that all that time this great privilege lay dormant.

He alleges the recourse of Athanasius to Pope Julius, anno 350; but this was not properly to him as to a judge, but as to a fellow-bishop, a friend of truth and right, for his succour and countenance against persecutors of him, chiefly for his orthodoxy.⁶ The pope undertook to examine his plea; partly as arbitrator upon reference of both parties; partly for his own concern, to satisfy himself whether he might admit him to communion. And having heard and weighed things, the pope denied that he was condemned in a legal way by competent judges, and that therefore the pretended sentence was null; and consequently he did not undertake the cause as

¹ Epiph. Hær. xlii. 'Εξισῦται τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

² 'Αποδιδράσκαι καὶ ἄνισιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.

³ Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἔνιο τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γὰρ ἐστὶ πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμολογία, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἑναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ πατρὶ τῷ σὺ.

⁴ Cypr., Ep. lv.

⁵ Cypr., Ep. lxxviii.

⁶ Διδέσκοντες ἐκ καταλύσεως τῆς πίστεως τὰς καθαιρέτους γινώσκειν.—Socr. ii. 20.

upon appeal. But whereas his proceeding looked like an exercise of jurisdiction, derogatory to a synodical resolution of the case, he was posed by the oriental bishops, as usurping an undue power. Unto which charge he does not answer directly, by asserting to himself any such authority by law or custom, but otherwise excusing himself.¹ In the issue, the pope's sentence was not peremptory, until, upon examining the merits of the cause, it was approved for just, as to matter, by the synod of Sardica.² These things elsewhere we have largely showed; and, consequently, this instance is deficient.

He alleges St Chrysostom as appealing to Pope Innocent I.; but if you read his epistles to that pope, you will find no such matter.³ He only complains and declares to him the iniquity of the process against him, not as to a judge, but as to a friend and fellow-bishop, concerned that such injurious and mischievous dealings should be stopped;⁴ requesting from him, not judgment of his cause, but succour in procuring it by a general synod; to which, indeed, he appealed, as Sozomen expressly tells us, and as, indeed, he himself affirms.⁵ Accordingly, Pope Innocent did not assume to himself the judgment of his cause, but endeavoured to procure a synod for it, affirming it to be "needful." Why so, if his own judgment, according to his privilege, sufficed? Why, indeed, did not Pope Innocent, being well satisfied in the case, yea, passionately touched with it, presently summon Theophilus and his adherents, undertaking the trial? Did Pope Nicholas I. proceed so in the case of Rhotaldus? Why was he content only "to write consolatory letters to him and to his people,"⁶ not pretending to undertake the decision of his cause? If the pope had been endowed with such a privilege, it is morally impossible that it should not have shone forth clearly upon this occasion. It could hardly be that St Chrysostom himself should not in plain terms avow it; that he should not formally apply to it, as the most certain and easy way of finding relief; that he should not earnestly mind and urge the pope to use his privilege. Why should he speak of that tedious and difficult way of a "general synod," when so short and easy a way was at hand? But the truth is, he did not know any such power the pope had by himself. St Chrysostom

¹ Socr. ii. 20.

² "Ὅστι (Athanasius et Paulus) τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐκείνου καὶ οἰκουμένης συνίδον τίλους λαβοῦν.—*Ibid.*

³ Tom. vii., Ep. 122, 128. Πρὸς τὴν ὁμοτίραν ἀναδραμῶν ἀγάσθη.

⁴ Παρακαλῶ τὴν ὁμοτίραν ἀγάσθη διαμαρτυρεῖσθαι, καὶ συναλγεῖσθαι, καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι, ὥστε εὐθὺς αὐτὰ τὰ κακὰ.

⁵ Οἰκουμένην ἀπεκαλιῖ τὸ συνέδριον.—Socr. viii. 17. 'Ἄλλ' ἀπείκταν ἡμῶν καὶ συνέδριον ἐκπαλουμένον.—Theod. v. 34. Οἰκουμένην δὲ συνέδριον συναγῶμαι συνιδέζων.—Socr. viii. 26.

⁶ 'Ἰννοκέντιος δὲ ὁ Ῥώμης, καὶ Φαβιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας οὐα ἐπειρήσαντο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἰακύνθου, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων τῆς πίστεως τὸν κληρὸν παρημύθησαν, καὶ ἰδυσχίρατον ταῖς τοιμήμασι.—*Theoph. Socr. viii. 26.*

rather conceived all such foreign judicatures to be unreasonable and unjust, for the argument which he darts at Theophilus does as well reach the papal jurisdiction upon appeals: for, "It was," says he, "not congruous that an Egyptian should judge those in Thrace."¹ Why not an Egyptian as well as an Italian? And, "If," says he, "this custom should prevail, and it become lawful for those who will to go into the parishes of others, even from such distances, and to cast out whom any one pleases, doing by their own authority what they please, know that all things will go to wreck."² Why may not this be said of a Roman as well as of an Alexandrian? St Chrysostom also, we may observe, not only applied himself to the pope, but to other western bishops,³ particularly to the bishops of Milan and Aquileia, whom he called "Beatissimi domini;" did he appeal to them?

He alleges Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, appealing to Pope Leo;⁴ but let us consider the story. Flavianus, for his orthodoxy, or upon other accounts, very injuriously treated and oppressed by Dioscorus, who was supported by the favour of the imperial court, having in his case no other remedy, appealed to the pope, who alone among the patriarchs had dissented from those proceedings. The pope was himself involved in the cause, being of the same persuasion, having been no less affronted and hardly treated (considering their power, and that he was out of their reach), and condemned by the same adversaries.

To him, therefore, as to the leading bishop of Christendom, in the first place interested in defence of the common faith, together with a synod, not to him as sole judge, Flavianus appealed. "He," says Placidia, in her letter to Theodosius, "appealed to the apostolic see, and to all the bishops of these parts;"⁵—that is, to the rest of Christendom which were not engaged in the party of Dioscorus. And to whom else could he have appealed?

Valentinian, in his epistle to Theodosius in behalf of Pope Leo, says that he appealed *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν συνόδων*, p. 25,—“according to the manner of synods:” and whatever these words signify, that could not be to the pope as a single judge; for before that time in what synod

¹ Οὐ γὰρ ἀκρίβους ἦν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ δικάζειν.

² Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσῃ τὸ ἔθος καὶ ἔξω γίνωτο τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς ἄλλοιᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πατριᾶς, καὶ ἐν τοσούτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλει οὗς ἂν ἴθιλοι τις, κατ' ἑξουσίαν ἰδίου πράττοντας ἅπαν ἂν ἴθιλωσιν, ὅτε ὅτι πάντα εἰσέχεται, &c.—*Ep.* cxxii.

³ Scripsimus ista et ad Venerium Mediolanensem, et ad Chromatium Aquilegiensem episcopum.—*Pallad.* cap. ii.

⁴ Flavianus autem contra se prolata sententia per ejus legatos sedem apostolicam appellavit libello.—*Liber.* cap. xii. Necessitate coactus fuit ita agere, eo quod reliqui patriarchæ adessent, &c.—*Marc.* vii. 7.

⁵ Ὅς ἀποκηρύσσονται, &c.—*Placidia.* Πρὸς τὸν ἀπασταλινὸν Θρόνον καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐπισκόπους τῶν μερῶν τούτων.—*Syn. Chalc.* Act. i. p. 26.

was such an appeal made? what custom could there be favourable to such a pretence?

But what his appeal imported is best interpretable by the proceeding consequent, which was, not the pope's assuming to himself the judicature, either immediately or by delegation of judges, but endeavouring to procure a general synod for it; which endeavour appears in many epistles to Theodosius and to his sister Pulcheria, soliciting that such a synod might be indicted by his order. "All the bishops," says Pope Leo, "with sighs and tears supplicate your grace, that because our agents faithfully reclaimed, and bishop Flavianus presented them a libel of appeal, you would command a general synod to be celebrated in Italy."¹

Dioscorus and his party would scarce have been so silly as to condemn Flavianus if they had known (which, if it had been a case clear in law or obvious in practice, they could not but have known) that the pope, who was deeply engaged in the same cause, had a power to reverse and revenge their proceedings. Nor would the good Emperor Theodosius so pertinaciously have maintained the proceedings of that Ephesine synod if he had deemed the pope duly sovereign governor and judge, or that a right of ultimate decision upon appeal appertained to him. Nor had the pope needed to have taken so much pains in procuring a synod, if he could have judged without it. Nor would Pope Leo, a man of so much spirit and zeal for the dignity of his see, have been so wanting to the maintenance of his right as not immediately to have proceeded unto trial of the cause, without precarious attendance for a synod, if he thought his pretence to such appeals as we now speak of to have been good or plausible in the world at that time.

The next case is that of Theodoret. His words, indeed, framed according to his condition, needing the patronage of Pope Leo, being then high in reputation, sound favourably; but we, abstracting from the sound of words, must regard the reason of things. His words are these: "I expect the suffrage of your apostolic see, and beseech and earnestly entreat your holiness to succour me, who appeal to your right and just judicature."²

He never had been particularly or personally judged, and therefore did not need to appeal as to a judge; nor, therefore, is his application to the pope to be interpreted for such, but rather as to a cha-

¹ Omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus et lachrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut quia et nostri fideliter reclamarunt, et eisdem libellum appellationis Flavianus episcopus dedit, generalem synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari, &c.—*P. Leo, Ep. xiv.*

² Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ ὑμῶν θρόνου περιμένω τὴν ψῆφον, καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ ἀντιβαλὼ τὴν εἰς ἀγιότητα ἱκαμένους μοι τὸ ἐφ' ὧν ὑμῶν καὶ δίκαιον ἱσχυαλουμένην κητέμεν.—*Theod., Ep. cxlii. ad P. Leonem.*

ritable succourer of him in his distress, by his countenance and endeavour to relieve him.¹

He only was supposed erroneous in faith and a perilous abettor of Nestorianism, because he had smartly contradicted Cyril; which prejudice caused him to be prohibited from coming to the synod of Ephesus, and there in his absence to be denounced heterodox.²

His appeal, then, to the pope (having no other recourse [resource] in whom he confided, finding him to concur with himself in opinion against Eutychianism) was no other than (as the word is often used in common speech, when we say, "I appeal to your judgment in this or that case") a referring it to the pope's consideration whether his faith were sound and orthodox,³ capacitating him to retain his office: which, upon his explication and profession thereof, presented in terms of extraordinary respect and deference, the pope approved; thereby, as a good divine rather than as a formal judge, acquitting him of heterodoxy;—which approbation, in regard to the great opinion then had of the pope's skill in those points, and to the favour he had obtained by contesting against the Eutychians, bore great sway in the synod; so that, although not without opposition of many, and not upon absolute terms, he was permitted to sit among the fathers of Chalcedon.

OBSERVATIONS [ON THE CASE OF THEODORET.]

1. We do not read of any formal trial the pope made of Theodoret's case,—that he was cited, that his accusers appeared, that his cause was discussed; but only a simple approbation of him.

2. We may observe, that Theodoret wrote to Flavianus in like terms: "We entreat your holiness to fight in behalf of the faith, which is assaulted; and to defend the canons, which are trampled under foot."⁴

3. We may observe, that Theodoret expecting this favour of Pope Leo, and thence being moved to commend the Roman see to the height, and to reckon its special advantages, does not yet mention his supremacy of power or universality of jurisdiction; for these words, "It befits you to be prime" [*πρωτεύειν*, to have the first place] "in all

¹ Vid. Ep. cxii. ad Domnum. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντα ἡμῶν καλὸν κατέσφαξεν, ὅτι καλῶς εἰς δικαστήριον, οὐκ ἀπόντος ἰδῶντος καὶ πόντος μὴ δικασάμενος κατεκρίθη. Οἱ δὲ δικαιοτάτω δικασταὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντα κατεκρίναν οὐ δικάσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν ἱκανίσαντες τὰ δῆθεν εἰς κατηγορίαν ἡμῶν ἱσχυόμενα συγγράμματα.—Ep. cxixviii.

² Βασιλικῆς γὰρ ἡμῶν τῇ Κύρῳ προδόντος γράμμασιν, &c.—Ep. cxlv. Vid. Theod. Ep. surr. et Ep. cxvii. cxix. Καὶ μὴ νόμος ἰσχύει καθίργει βασιλικῆς. Βασιλικῆς γράμμασι κωλυθῆναι καταλαβὼν τὴν Ἐφῆσον, &c.—Ep. cxixviii. cxix. Μαθὺν ἀντιβόλῳ παρ' ἡμῶν εἶτε χρὴ μὴ στρέχει τὴν ἀδικον ταύτην καθαίρειν, ἢ μή.—Ep. cxliii. Ὅστι καὶ τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπελευθεῖν κηδεμονίας.—Ep. cxviii.

³ Τὰ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν κηδεμονίᾳ στρέφομαι ὅσα ἂν ᾖ.

⁴ Τὴν σὺν ἀγιωσύνῃ παρακαλοῦμαι τῆς πολυμαχῆς πίστεως ὑπερμαχῆσαι, καὶ τῶν ποσειδόντων ὑπερμαχῆσθαι καίνοιν.—Theod., Ep. lxxvi.

things,"¹ are only general words relating to the advantages which he subjoins; of which he says, "for your throne is adorned with many advantages,"² in a florid enumeration whereof he passes over that of peculiar jurisdiction. He names the magnitude, splendour, majesty, and populousness of the city; the early faith praised by St Paul; the sepulchres of the two great apostles, and their decease there:³ but the pope's being universal sovereign and judge, which was the main advantage of which that see could be capable, he does not mention;—why? because he was not aware thereof, else surely he would not have passed it in silence.

4. We may also observe, that whatever the opinion of Theodoret was now concerning the pope's power, he not long before hardly took him for such a judge, when he opposed Pope Celestine, concurring with Cyril at the first Ephesine synod. He then, indeed, looking on Pope Celestine as a prejudiced adversary, did not write to him, but to the other bishops of the west, as we see by these words in his Epistle to Dominus: "And we have written to the bishops of the west about these things,—namely, to him of Milan, to him of Aquileia, and him of Ravenna, testifying,"⁴ &c.

5. Yea, we may observe that Theodoret intended, with the emperor's leave, to appeal or refer his cause to the whole body of western bishops, as himself expresses in these words to Anatolius: "I pray your magnificence that you would request this favour of our dread sovereign, that I may have recourse to the west, and may be judged by the most religious and holy bishops there."⁵

Bellarmino farther alleges the appeal of Hadrianus, bishop of Thebes, to Pope Gregory I., which he received and asserted by excommunicating the archbishop of Justiniana Prima for deposing Hadrianus without regard to that appeal.⁶ I answer,—

1. The example is late, when the popes had extended their power beyond the ancient and due limits. Those maxims had got in before the time of that worthy pope, who thought he might use the power of which he found himself possessed.

¹ Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν πρωτεύουσιν ἀρμόνται, &c.

² Πολλοὶς γὰρ ὁ ὑμῶντος θρόνος κοσμεῖται πλειονότημασι. Ἐχει γὰρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ταῖς τῶν πατρὶν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, διὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ἵτι αἰρετικῆς μίμνηται δυσωδίας ἀμόνητος, καὶ οὐδὲς τάναντία θροῶν εἰς ταῖς ἐκδόσεις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν χάριν ἀκράτως διφυλάξει.—*Theod., Ep. cxvi. ad Renatum. Presb.*

³ "That holy see has the principality over the churches in all the world for many reasons, but especially because she continued free from the taint of heresy, and none otherwise minded ever sat in her, she having kept the apostolic state always unmixed."

⁴ Καὶ τοῖς Διοφιλιστάτοις διὰ τῆς δύσεως ἰσικρότοις, τῇ Μιδικαίου φημι, καὶ τῇ Ἀκυλίας καὶ τῇ Ραβίνης, περὶ τούτων ἰγράψαμαι, διαμαρτυρόμενοι ὡς τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς ταῦτα κατιστομίας πιστὰ ῥηται.—*Theod., Ep. cxii.*

⁵ Ἀντιβελῶ τὴν ὑμῶνται μεγαλοπρίσμιον, ταύτην αἰτῆσαι τὴν χάριν τὴν παλλίνιστον παρὰ τὴν, ὥστε με τὴν ἰστίαν καταλαβῶν, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ Διοφιλιστάτοις καὶ ἀγωντάτοις ἰσικρότοις διατάσσεται.—*Theod., Ep. cxix. ad Anatol.*

⁶ Greg. lib. ii. Indict. 11, Ep. 6.

2. It is impertinent, because the bishop of Justiniana had then a special dependence upon the Roman see, from whence an universal jurisdiction upon appeal cannot be inferred.

3. It might be an usurpation; nor does the opinion or practice of Pope Gregory suffice to determine a question of right, for good men are liable to prejudice and its consequences.

To these instances produced by Bellarmine some add the appeal of Eutyches to Pope Leo; to which it may be excepted that if he did appeal, it was not to the pope solely, but to him with the other patriarchs: so it is expressly said in the Acts of the Chalcedon synod, "His deposition being read, he appealed to the holy synod of the most holy bishop of Rome, and of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem, and of Thessalonica;"¹ which is an argument that he did not apprehend the right of receiving appeals solely or peculiarly belonged to him of Rome.

Liberatus says that "Johannes Talaida went to Calendion, patriarch of Antioch, and taking of him intercessory synodical letters, appealed to Simplicius, bishop of Rome, as St Athanasius had done, and persuaded him to write in his behalf to Acacius, bishop of Constantinople."²

In regard to any more instances of this kind, we might generally propose these following considerations:—

1. It is no wonder that any bishop, being condemned, especially in causes relating to faith or common interest, should have recourse to the Roman bishop, or to any other bishop of great authority, for refuge or for relief, which they may hope to be procured by them by the influence of their reputation and their power among their dependants.

2. Bad men, being deservedly corrected, will absurdly resort any whither, with mouths full of clamour and calumny, if not with hope of relief, yet with design of revenge; as did Marcion, as did Felicissimus, as did Apiarius to the pope.

3. Good men, being abused, will express some resentment and complain of their wrongs, where they may presume of a fair and favourable hearing: so Athanasius, Flavianus, St Chrysostom, Theodoret, applied themselves to the same bishops, flourishing in so great reputation and wealth.

So did the monks of Egypt, Ammonius and Isidorus, from the persecutions of Theophilus, fly to the protection and succour of St

¹ Ἀναγνωσκουμένης τῆς καταρίσεως, καταλίετο τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Ῥώμης, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ Θισσαλονίκης.—*Syn. Chalc.*, Act. i.

² Ingressus est ad Calendionem Antiochenum patriarcham, et sumptis ab eo intercessionis synodicalis literis Romanum pontificem Simplicium appellavit, sicut B. fecerat Athanasius, et suavit scribere pro se Acacio Constantinopolitano episcopo, &c.—*Liber.*, cap. xviii.; *Baron.*, ann. 483, § 1.

Chrysostom, which gave occasion to the troubles of that incomparable personage; which is so illustrious an instance that the words of the historian relating it deserve setting down:—

“They jointly endeavoured that the trains against them might be examined by the emperor as judge, and by the bishop John, for they conceived that he, having conscience of using a just freedom, would be able to succour them according to right; but he received the men applying to him courteously, and treated them respectfully, and did not hinder them from praying in the church. He also wrote to Theophilus to render communion to them, as being orthodox; and if there were need of judging their case by law, that he would send whom they thought good to prosecute the cause.”¹

If this had been to the pope, it would have been alleged for an appeal; and it would have had as much colour as any instance which they can produce.

4. And when men, either good or bad, resort in this manner to great friends, it is no wonder if they accost them in highest terms of respect, and with exaggerations of their eminent advantages; so inducing them to regard and favour their cause.

5. Neither is it strange that great persons should favourably entertain those who make such addresses to them, they always coming crouching in a suppliant posture and with fair pretences, it being also natural to men to delight in seeing their power acknowledged, and it being a glorious thing to relieve the afflicted; for “eminence is wont to incline toward infirmity, and with a ready good-will to take part with those who are under.”² So when Basilides, when Marcellus, when Eustathius Sebastenus, when Maximus the Cynic, when Apiarius, were condemned, the pope was hasty to engage for them, more liking their application to him than weighing their cause.

6. And when any person continues long in a flourishing estate, so that such addresses are frequently made to him, no wonder that an opinion of lawful power to receive them arises both in him and in others, so that of a voluntary friend he becomes an authorized protector, a patron, a judge of such persons in such cases.

X. The sovereign is fountain of all jurisdiction, and all inferior magistrates derive their authority from his warrant and commission, acting as his deputies or ministers, according to that intimation in

¹ Κοιῇ τι ἰσχυομένῳ παρὰ βασιλεῖ κριτῇ καὶ ἱεράτῃ τῇ ἰσχυόντῃ ἐλλογισθαι τὰς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἰσχυομένας· ὅντο γὰρ ἰδίου παρρησίας αὐτὸν ἱσχυομένον δύνασθαι τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν αὐταῖς· ὁ δὲ προσελθὼν αὐτῇ τοὺς ἀνδρας φιλοφρόνως ἰδίξατο, καὶ ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε, καὶ εὐχρισθαι ἰσὶ ἱερατείᾳ οὐκ ἐκέλευσε . . . Ἐγραψὶ δὲ Θεοφίλῳ ποιμαντὶ αὐταῖς ἀποδοῦναι, ὡς ἰσχυὸς κυρὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζουσιν· εἰ δὲ δίκην δέοι κρινέσθαι τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς, ἀποστείλλειν δὲ αὐτῷ δεσπὶ δίκασέμιον.—Soz. viii. 18.

² Φιλῶν μάλιστα κἀμπατισθαι τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τὸ ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ δι’ ὑποσίας ἰατροῦ τῇ ἰλαττωμένην προστίθεσθαι.—Greg. Naz., Orat. xxiii.

St Peter, "Whether to the king as supreme, or unto governors as sent by him," 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

Accordingly, the pope challenges this advantage to himself, that he is the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, pretending all episcopal power to be derived from him.

"The rule of the church," says Bellarmine, "is monarchical; therefore, all authority is in one, and from him is derived to others."¹ which aphorism he well proves from the form of "creating bishops," as they call it: "We provide such a church with such a person; and we prefer him to be father, and pastor, and bishop of the said church, committing to him the administration in temporals and spirituals, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."²

Pope Pius II., in his Bull of Retracting, thus expresses the sense of his see: "In the militant church, which resembles the triumphant, there is one moderator and judge of all, the vicar of Jesus Christ, from whom, as from the head, all power and authority is derived to the subject members, which immediately flows into it from the Lord Christ."³

A congregation of cardinals appointed by Pope Paulus III., speaking after the style and sentiments of that see, said to him, "Your holiness so bears the care of Christ's church that you have very many ministers, by which you manage that care; these are all the clergy, on whom the service of God is charged, especially priests, and more especially curates, and above all, bishops."⁴

Durandus, bishop of Mande [Mende], according to the sense of his age, says, "The pope is head of all bishops, from whom they as members from an head descend, and of whose fulness all receive; whom he calls to a participation of his care, but admits not into the fulness of his power."⁵

This pretence is seen in the ordinary titles of bishops, who style themselves bishops of such a place, "by the grace of God and of the apostolic see."⁶ O shame!*

¹ Regimen ecclesiæ est monarchicum; ergo, omnis auctoritas est in uno, et ab illo in alios derivatur.—*Bell.* iv. 24; *Epiph. Hæc.* xlii.

² Providemus ecclesiæ tali de tali persona; et præficimus eum in patrem, et pastorem, et episcopum ejusdem ecclesiæ, committentes ei administrationem in temporalibus et spiritualibus, in nomine, &c.—*Ibid.*

³ In ecclesia militanti, quæ instar triumphantis habet, unus est omnium moderator et arbiter Jesu Christi vicarius, a quo tanquam capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas et auctoritas derivatur, quæ a Christo Domino sine medio in ipsum infuit.—*P. Pius II. in Bull. Retract.*

⁴ Sanctitas vestra ita gerit curam ecclesiæ Christi, ut ministros plurimos habeat, per quos curam exerceat; hi autem sunt clerici omnes, quibus mandatus est cultus Dei; presbyteri præsertim, et maxime curati, et præ omnibus episcopi, &c.—*Apud Cham. de Pont. Œcum.* x. xlii.

⁵ Summus pontifex caput est omnium pontificum, a quo illi tanquam a capite membra descendunt, et de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt; quos ipse vocat in partem solitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis.—*Durand. Mimæ. Offic.* ii. 1, 17.

⁶ N. Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia episcopus Colon, &c.

* That is, How disgraceful, to place an apostolic see on a level with the grace of God,

The men of the Tridentine convention (those great betrayers of the church to perpetual slavery, and Christian truth to the prevalency of falsehood, till God pleases), upon divers occasions, pretend to qualify and empower bishops to perform important matters, originally belonging to the episcopal function, as the pope's delegates.¹

But contrariwise, according to the doctrine of holy Scripture and the sense of the primitive church, the bishops and pastors of the church immediately receive their authority and commission from God, being only his ministers.

The Scripture calls them the "ministers of God" and "of Christ" (so Epaphras, so Timothy, in regard to their ecclesiastical function, are named), the "stewards of God," the "servants of God," "fellow-servants" of the apostles.—Col. i. 7, iv. 7; 1 Thess. iii. 2; 1 Tim. iv. 6; Tit. i. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 24.

The Scripture says that "the Holy Ghost had made them bishops, to feed the church of God;" that "God had given them," and constituted them in the church, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ" (Acts xx. 28; Naz. Or. xxx.; Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 28),—that is, to all effects and purposes concerning their office: for "the work of the ministry" comprises all the duty charged on them, whether in way of order or of governance, as they now precariously [uncertainly] and groundlessly in reference to this case distinguish;² and "edifying the body" imports all the designed effects of their office, particularly those which are consequent on the use of jurisdiction, which St Paul affirms was appointed for edification: "According," says he, "to the authority which God hath given me for edification, and not for destruction," 2 Cor. x. 8, xiii. 10. They "preside in the Lord," *προϊστάμενοι ἐν Κυρίῳ*, 1 Thess. v. 12. They allow no other head but our Lord, "from whom the whole body is fitly joined together," &c., Eph. iv. 16.

The fathers clearly express their sentiments to be the same.

St Ignatius says that the bishop "presides in the place of God,"³ and that "we must look upon him as our Lord himself,"⁴ or as our Lord's representative; that, therefore, "we must be subject to him as unto Jesus Christ."⁵

and to acknowledge themselves as holding the high office of bishops by the favour of the Pope of Rome!—Ed.

¹ This was an expedient.—Vid. *Concil.*

² *Ordo confertur a Deo immediate, jurisdictio mediate.*—Bell. iv. 25. [That is, "Order is conferred by God immediately, jurisdiction mediate,"—a distinction which the author says is "precarious," or arbitrary, and "groundless."—Ed.]

³ Προκαθήμενος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Ign. *ad Magnes.*

⁴ Τὸν αὐτὸν ἱσχυόμενοι ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δι' ἀποδείξεως.—Ign. *ad Eph.* "Ὁραν ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν Κύριον."—Ign. *ad Trall.*

⁵ It is surprising that Dr Barrow should quote as genuine these extravagant expres-

St Cyprian affirms "each bishop to be constituted by the judgment of God and of Christ," and that "in his church he is for the present a judge in the place of Christ;" and that "our Lord Jesus Christ, one and alone, has a power both to prefer us to the government of his church and to judge of our acting."¹

St Basil, "A prelate is nothing else but one that sustains the person of Christ."²

St Chrysostom, "We have received the commission of ambassadors and come from God; for this is the dignity of the episcopal office."³

"It behoves us all, who by divine authority are constituted in the priesthood, to prevent,"⁴ &c.

Wherefore, the ancient bishops did all of them take themselves to be vicars of Christ, not of the pope, and no less than the proudest pope of them all; whence it was ordinary for them in their addresses and compellations to the bishop of Rome, and in their speeches about him, to call him their "brother," their "colleague," their "fellow-minister,"—which had not been modest or just if they had been his ministers or shadows. Yea, the popes themselves, even the highest and haughtiest of them (Leo, Ep. lxxxiv.), who of any in old times most stood on their presumed pre-eminence, yet vouchsafed to call other bishops their fellow-bishops and fellow-ministers.

Those bishops of France with good reason complained of Pope Nicholas I. "for calling them his clerks; whereas, if his pride had suffered him, he should have acknowledged them for his brethren and fellow-bishops."⁵

In fine, the ancient bishops did not allege any commission from the pope to warrant their jurisdiction, but from God: "If Moses' chair were so venerable that what was said out of that ought therefore to be heard, how much more is Christ's throne so! We suc-

sions, many of which have been shown to be mere interpolations. It is a remarkable fact, that, in the Syriac version of the Ignatian Epistles, lately discovered, those passages which magnify so highly the office and authority of the bishop are not to be found. Mosh. Eccl. Hist. p. 38, note, Reid's ed.—Ed.

¹ De Dei et Christi ejus judicio.—*Cypr.*, Ep. lii. et alibi sæpe. Unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex, vice Christi.—*Id.*, Ep. iv. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et proponendi nos in ecclesie sue gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi.—*Id.* in *Conc. Carthag.*

² 'Ο γὰρ καθολόγιστος οὐδὲν ἑνὸς ἐστιν, ἢ ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐκείνου ἐπίσκεψις.—*Bas. Const. Mon.*, cap. xxii.

³ 'Ημῖς τοίνυν ἀποστολῆς ἀντιθέμεθα λόγον καὶ ἀναμνην παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα.—*Chrys.* in *Coloss.*, *Orat.* iii.

⁴ Oportere nos omnes, qui Deo auctore sumus in sacerdotio constituti illius certaminibus obviare, &c.—*Anatol.* in *Syn. Chal.* p. 512.

⁵ Sciesque nos non tuos esse ut te jactas et extollis clericos, quos ut fratres et coepiscopos recognoscere si elatio permitteret, debueras.—*Ann. Pith.*

ceed him, from that we speak out, since Christ has committed to us the ministry of reconciliation."¹

"That which is committed to the priest, it is only in God's power to give."²

"Since we also, by the mercy of Christ, our king and God, were made ministers of the gospel."³

This is a modern dream, born out of ambition and flattery, which never came into the head of any ancient divine.

It is a ridiculous thing to imagine that Cyprian, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Augustine, &c., took themselves for the vicegerents or ministers of the popes. If they did, why did they not, so frequent occasion being given them in all their volumes, ever acknowledge it? Why cannot Bellarmine and his complices, after all their prying [prying], show any passage in them importing any such acknowledgment, but are fain to infer it by far-fetched sophisms, from allegations plainly impertinent or frivolous?

The popes, indeed, in the fourth century began to practise a fine trick, very serviceable to the enlargement of their power; which was, to confer on certain bishops, as occasion served, or for continuance, the title of their vicar or lieutenant, thereby pretending to impart authority to them: whereby they were enabled for performance of divers things, which otherwise, by their own episcopal or metropolitica power, they could not perform. By which device they engaged these bishops to such a dependence on them, by which they promoted the papal authority in provinces, to the oppression of the ancient rights and liberties of bishops and synods, doing what they pleased under pretence of this vast power communicated to them; and for fear of being displaced, or out of affection to their favourer, doing what might serve to advance the Papacy. Thus,—

Pope Celestine constituted Cyril in his room.⁴

Pope Leo appointed Anatolius of Constantinople.

Pope Felix [appointed] Acacius of Constantinople.⁵

Pope Hormisdas [appointed] Epiphanius of Constantinople.

Pope Simplicius [writes] to Zeno, bishop of Seville: "We thought it convenient that you should be held up by the vicariate authority of our see."⁶

¹ Ἡμεῖς οὖν, &c.—*S. Chrys. sup.* [formerly quoted.] Εἰ δὲ Μαρίας θρόνος οὗτος ἔσθ' ἀδίστατος, ὥς δι' ἐκείνου ἀποστέλλεται, πολλῇ μᾶλλον ὁ Χριστοῦ θρόνος; ἐκείνου ἡμεῖς διδιδάμεθα, ἀπὸ τοῦτου φηγγόμεθα, ἃ φ' οὐ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἴδισι ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς παταλλαγῆς.—*Chrys. in Coloss., Orat. iii.*

² "Α γὰρ ἰσχυρίσσαι ὁ ἱερὺς, Θεοῦ μόνου ἐσσι δαριῶθαι, &c.—*Chrys. in Joh. Orat. lxxxiii.*

³ Ἐπει οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἰδίῳ τοῦ σουμπασιλίου (ἰ. παμπασιλίου) ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱεροργγοῦ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐκκληρώμεθα, &c.—*Flavian. in Chalc., Act. i. p. 4.*

⁴ Evagr. Act. Eph., p. 184.

⁵ Act. Conc. sub Menna, p. 70.

⁶ Congruum duximus vicaria sedis nostrae te auctoritate fulciri.—*Baron., ann. 482, § 46.*

So Siricius and his successors constituted the bishops of Thessalonica to be their vicars in the diocese of Illyricum, wherein, being then a member of the western empire, they had caught [seized on] a special jurisdiction; to which Pope Leo referred in these words, which sometimes are impertinently alleged with reference to all bishops, but concern only Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica: "We have intrusted thy charity to be in our stead; so that thou art called into part of the solicitude, not into plenitude of the authority."¹

So Pope Zosimus bestowed a like pretence of vicarious power upon the bishop of Arles; which city was the seat of the temporal exarch in Gaul.²

So to the bishop of Justiniana Prima in Bulgaria (or Dardania Europæa) the like privilege was granted, by procurement of the Emperor Justinian, a native of that place.

Afterwards, temporary or occasional vicars were appointed, such as Austin in England, Boniface in Germany, who in virtue of that concession usurped a paramount authority, and by the exercise thereof advanced the papal interest, depressing the authority of metropolitans and provincial synods.

So at length legates, upon occasion despatched into all countries of the west, came to do there what they pleased, using that pretence to oppress and abuse both clergy and people very intolerably.

Whence divers countries were forced to make legal provision for excluding such legates,³ finding by much experience that their business was to rant and domineer in the pope's name, to suck money from the people, and to maintain luxurious pomp upon expense of the countries where they came.⁴

Of this John XXII. sorely complains, and decrees that all people should admit his legates, under pain of interdicts.⁵

In England, Pope Paschal finds the same fault in his letter to King Henry I.: "Nuncios, or letters from the apostolic see, unless by your majesty's command, are not thought worthy any admittance or reception within your jurisdiction; none complains thence, none appeals thence for judgment to the apostolic see."⁶

¹ Vices enim nostras ita tuæ credidimus charitati, ut in partem sis vocatus sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis.—*P. Leo, Ep. lxxxiv., ad Anastas. Thessal.*

² *P. Joh. VIII., Ep. xciii.*

³ *P. Pasch. II. Epist. apud Eadm., p. 113, &c.*

⁴ *Occulti inimici regni.—Matt. Paris, p. 524.* [That is, these legates were held, according to Matthew Paris, to be "secret enemies of the kingdom." This judgment is confirmed by all contemporary historians. Alexander II., king of Scotland, prohibited the legate of the pope in his day from entering into his kingdom. *Matt. Paris, p. 446; Hailes' Annals of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 188, 189; Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i., Appendix.—Ed.]*

⁵ *Extrav. commun. i. 1, p. 810.*

⁶ *Sedis apostolicæ nuncios vel literæ præter jussum regis majestatis nullum in potestate tua susceptionem aut aditum promerentur, nullus inde clamor, nullum judicium ad sedem apostolicam destinantur.—P. Pasch. II., Eadm., p. 113.*

The pope observing what authority and reverence the archbishops of Canterbury had in this nation, whereby they might be able to check his attempts, thought good to constitute those archbishops his Legates, of course [honorary legates,] (*legatos natos*); that so they might seem to exercise their jurisdiction by authority derived from him, and, owing to him that mark of favour or honour, with enlargement of power, might pay him more devotion, and serve his interests.

Bellarmino¹ from this practice proves the popes' sovereign power; but he might from thence better have demonstrated their great cunning. It might, from such extraordinary designation of vicegerents, with far more reason, be inferred that ordinarily bishops are not his ministers.

XI. It is the privilege of a sovereign that he cannot be called to account, or judged, or deposed, or debarred communion, or any wise censured and punished; for this implies a contradiction or confusion in degrees, subjecting the superior to inferiors. This were making a river run backwards; this were to dam up the fountain of justice, to behead the state, to expose majesty to contempt.

Wherefore, the pope pretends to this privilege, according to those maxims in the canon law, drawn from the sayings of popes (either forged or genuine, but all alike), obtaining authority in their court.² And according to what Pope Adrian let the eighth synod know: "Because," says he, "the apostolic church of Rome stoops not to the judgment of lesser churches."³ They cite, also, three old synods (of Sinuessa, of Rome under Pope Sylvester, of Rome under Sixtus III.), but they are palpably spurious, and the learned amongst them confess it.

But antiquity was not of this mind; for it supposed him no less obnoxious to judgment and correction than other bishops, if he should notoriously deviate from the faith or violate canonical discipline.

The canons generally oblige bishops, without exception, to duty; and, upon defaultance, to correction. Why is not he excepted, if to be excused or exempted?

It was not questioned of old but that a pope, in case he should notoriously depart from the faith or notably infringe discipline, might be excommunicated. The attempting it upon divers occasions shows their opinion, although it often had not effect, because the cause was not just and plausible, the truth and equity of the case appearing to be on the pope's side.

¹ Bell. ii. 10.

² Bell. ii. 26, de Conc. ii. 17; Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 6, xxi. 7; Caus. ix. qu. 3, cap. 10; Extrav. comm. lib. i. tit. 8, cap. 1; P. Leo IX., Ep. i. cap. 10, 17; P. Nich. I., Ep. viii. p. 504; P. Joh. VIII., Ep. lxxv. p. 81; P. Gelas., Ep. iv. p. 625, 626, Ep. xiii. p. 640; P. Greg. VII., Ep. viii. 21.

³ Διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ῥώμης τῇ τῶν ἱλαρύνων μὴ ὑπακούσκειν κρίσει.—P. Adrian. in Syn. VIII., Act. vii. p. 963.

St Isidore Pelusiota denies of any bishop's office that it is ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος,—["an irresponsible government."]

In the times of Polycrates and Pope Victor, the whole eastern church forbore communion with the pope.¹ Firmilian told Pope Stephanus that, by conceiting he might excommunicate all other bishops, he had excommunicated himself. The fathers of the Antiochene synod threatened to excommunicate and depose Pope Julius: "They promised to Julius peace and communion if he admitted the deposition of those whom they had expelled, and the constitution of those whom they had ordained; but if he resisted their decrees, they denounced the contrary."² The oriental bishops at Sardica excommunicated and deposed him.³ St Hilary anathematized Pope Liberius upon his defection to the Arians: *Anathema tibi, papa Liberi*.⁴ Dioscorus attempted to excommunicate Pope Leo.⁵ Acacius of Constantinople renounced the communion of Pope Felix. Timotheus Ælurus cursed the pope. The "African bishops synodically excommunicated Pope Vigilius."⁶ Pope Anastasius was rejected by his own clergy; Pope Constantine by the people; and so was Pope Leo VIII. Divers bishops of Italy and Illyricum abstained from the pope's communion for a long time, because they admitted the fifth synod. Photius excommunicated and deposed Pope Nicholas I.⁷ Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, anathematized Pope Vitalianus.⁸ The Emperor Otho II. having, with good advice, laboured to reclaim Pope John XII. without effect, "indicted a council calling together the bishops of Italy, by the judgment of whom the life of that wicked man should be judged;"⁹ and the issue was that he was deposed. Pope Nicholas I. desired to be judged by the emperor. The fifth synod in general terms condemned Pope Vigilius; and the Emperor Justinian banished him for not complying with the decrees of it. The sixth and seventh general synods anathematized Honorius by

¹ Ἐν τῇ χρόνῳ Πολυκράτους καὶ Βίκτωρος ὡς ἡ ἀνατελὴ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν διαφερομένη εἰρηναῖα παρ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἴδχοντο.—*Epirh. Hæc. lxx.* Audianorum. Dum enim putas omnes abs te abstinere posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti.—*Firm., apud Cyr. Ep.*

² Διακρίνῃ μὲν Ἰουλίῳ τὴν καθάρσει τῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἰληλαμένων, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν χειροτονήσεων, εἰρήνην καὶ κοινωνίαν ἰσχυγγίλλοντες ἀνέσταμιν δὲ τοῖς διδογμένοις σάβαντα προσηγόρευσαν.—*Soz. iii. 8.*

³ *Soz. iii. 11.*

⁴ *Hil. fragm.*

⁵ Ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ ἀποκηνοθεσίαν ὑπαγορεύσαι κατὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης Λιόντος.—*Evag. ii. 4.*

⁶ Africani antistites Vigilium Rom. episc. damnatorem capitulorum synodaliter a catholica communione, reservato ei poenitentis loco, recludunt. (l. excludunt).—*Vict. Tun. post Cons. Basilii V. C., ann. 10.*

⁷ Καθαίρειν ὡς ἰνύμει καὶ ἀναθεματισμὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν λόγῳ ποιῶνται Νικολαῦ.—*Vit. Ignatii. Patr., apud Bin., p. 892; Baron., ann. 868.*

⁸ — communi totius sancti concilii consensu depositus.—*Luitprand. vi. 6.* [Luitprandus, bishop of Cremona, wrote a history of the Roman council in which Pope John XII. was deposed.—*Ed.*]

⁹ — concilium indicit, convocatis episcopis Italise, quorum iudicio vita sceleratissimi hominis dijudicaretur.—*Plat. in Joh. XIII. (pro XII.), Vid. Baron., ann. 960, et Binium.*

name when he was dead, because his heresy was not before confuted; and they would have served him so if he had been alive. Divers synods (that of Worms, of Papia, of Brescia, of Mentz, of Rome, &c.) rejected Pope Gregory VII. Pope Adrian himself in the eighth synod (so called) confessed that a pope, being found deviating from the faith, might be judged as Honorius was. Gerbertus (afterward Pope Sylvester II.) maintained that popes might be held as ethnics and publicans if they "did not hear the church." The synod of Constance judged and deposed three popes.¹

The synod of Basil deposed Pope Eugenius,² affirming that "the catholic church has often corrected and judged popes, when they either erred from the faith, or by their ill manners became notoriously scandalous to the church."³

The practice of popes to give an account of their faith, when they entered upon their office, to the other patriarchs and chief bishops, approving themselves thereby worthy and capable of communion, implies them liable to judgment;⁴ of the neglect of which practice Euphemius [Euphremius], bishop of Constantinople, complained.⁵

Of this we have for example the Synodical Epistles of Pope Gregory I. Vid. Tract. de Unit. Ecol. [See Discourse on Unity of Church.]

XII. To the sovereign in ecclesiastical affairs it would belong to define and decide controversies in faith, discipline, moral practice; so that all are bound to admit his definitions, decisions, interpretations. He would be the supreme interpreter of the divine law and judge of controversies. No point or question of moment should be decided without his cognizance. This he therefore pretends to, taking upon him to define points, and requiring from all submission to his determinations. Nor does he allow any synods to decide questions.

But the ancients knew no such thing. In case of contentions, they had no recourse to his judgment; they did not stand to his opinion; his authority did not avail to quash disputes. They had recourse to the holy Scriptures, to catholic tradition, to reason; they disputed and discussed points by dint of argument.

¹ Niceph. xvi. 17; Baron., ann. 484, § 85; Baron., ann. 457, § 25; Plat., p. 181. et Dist. xix. cap. 21, 22; Plat., p. 228, Id., p. 291; P. Pelag. II., Ep. iii. 18; Baron., ann. 669, § 2; Grat. Caus. ii. qu. 7, cap. 41; Ann. 1076; Vid. Baron., ann. 1033, § 3; Baron., ann. 992, § 44. [These references authenticate the various statements made in the above paragraph.—Ed.]

² Conc. Bas., sess. xxxviii. p. 101.

³ Ecclesia catholica sæpenumero summos pontifices sive a fide delirantes sive pravis moribus notorie ecclesiam scandalizantes correxit et judicavit, &c.—*Conc. Bas.*, sess. xii.

⁴ Mos est Romanæ ecclesiæ sacerdoti noviter constituto formam fidei suæ ad sanctas ecclesias prærogare.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. i., ad Lau.*

⁵ Gelas. Ep. ix; Baron. ann. 492, § 10.

Irenæus, Tertullian, Vincentius Lirinensis, and others, discoursing of the methods to resolve points of controversy, did not reckon the pope's authority for one. Divers of the fathers did not scruple openly to dissent from the opinions of popes; nor were they wondered at or condemned for it.

So St Paul withstood St Peter.¹ So Polycarpus dissented from Pope Eleutherius; so Polycrates from Pope Victor; so St Cyprian from Pope Stephen; so Dionysius Alex. [bishop of Alexandria] from Pope Stephen;—all which persons were renowned for wisdom and piety in their times.

Highest controversies were appeased by synods out of the holy Scripture, catholic tradition, the analogy of faith, and common reason, without regard to the pope. Divers synods in Africa and Asia defined the point about *rebaptization* without the pope's leave, and against his opinion. The synod of Antioch condemned the doctrine of Paulus Samosatenus, without intervention of the pope, before they gave him notice. In the synod of Nice the pope had very small stroke. The general synod of Constantinople declared the point of the *divinity* of the Holy Ghost against Macedonius, without the pope, who did no more than afterward consent. This the synod of Chalcedon, in their compellation to the Emperor Marcian, observed: "The fathers met in Sardica to suppress the relics of Arianism, communicated their decrees to the eastern bishops; and they who here discovered the pestilence of Apollinarius made known theirs to the western."²

The synod of Africa defined against Pelagius before their informing Pope Innocentius thereof; not seeking his judgment, but desiring his consent to that which they were assured to be truth.

Divers popes have been incapable of deciding controversies, themselves having been erroneous in the questions controverted; as Pope Stephanus (in part), Pope Liberius, Pope Felix, Pope Vigilius, Pope Honorius, &c.;—and in our opinion all popes for many ages.

It is observable how the synod of Chalcedon, in their allocution to the Emperor Marcian, excuse Pope Leo for expounding the faith in his epistle; which, it seems, some reprehended as a novel method, disagreeable to the canons: "Let not them," say they, "object to us the epistle of the admirable prelate of Rome, as obnoxious to imputation of novelty; but if it be not consonant to the Scriptures, let them confute it, or if it be not consentaneous to the fathers who have preceded, or if it be not apt to confute the irreligious,"³ &c.

¹ Gal. ii. 11, Ἀντίστην.

² Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σαρδικῇ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρίου λεψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τῶς ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέτισκον, οἱ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τὴν Ἀπολλιναρίου λύμην φεράσαντες τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνωρίζον.—*Conc. Chalcedon. ad Marc. Orat.*, p. 468.

³ Ὡς ξίστην τινὰ καὶ τοῖς πατέσι οὐ νουμισμένοι τῆς ἰστορίας διαβάλλῃ τὴν σύνταξιν.—

It was not his judicial authority which they insisted upon to maintain his epistle, but the orthodoxy and intrinsic usefulness of it to confute errors; upon which account they embraced and confirmed it by their suffrage.

XIII. If the pope were a sovereign of the church, as they make him, it were at least expedient that he should be infallible; for why otherwise should he undertake confidently to pronounce in all cases, to define high and difficult points, to impose his dictates, and require assent from all? If he be fallible, it is very probable that often he obtrudes errors upon us for matters of faith and practice.

Wherefore, the true fast friends of papal interest assert him to be infallible when he dictates as pope, and setting himself into his chair, thence means to instruct the whole church.¹ And the pope, therefore, himself, who countenances them, may be presumed to be of that mind.

Pighius* said bouncingly [boastfully]: "The judgment of the apostolic see, with a council of domestic priests, is far more certain than the judgment of an universal council of the whole earth without the pope."²

This is the syllogism we propose:—

The supreme judge must be infallible;

The pope is not infallible:

Therefore [the pope is not the supreme judge.]

The *major*, [that the supreme judge must be infallible,] the Jesuits, canonists, and courtiers, are obliged to prove, it being their assertion; and they prove it very wisely and strongly.

The *minor*, [that the pope is not infallible,] is asserted by the French doctors; and they with clear evidence maintain it.

The *conclusion*, [that the pope is not the supreme judge,] we leave them to infer who are concerned.

It is, in effect, Pope Gregory's argumentation: *no* bishop can be universal bishop, or universal pastor and judge of the church, because no bishop can be infallible; for the lapse of such a pastor would

Act. Syn. Chalc., p. 465. Μὴ τοῖνοι ἡμῖν τοῦ Σαυματοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης προῖδρου τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὡς καινοτομίας ὑγκλημα, προσφερίτωσαν· ἀλλὰ εἰ μὴ σύμφωνος ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐλιγχίσωσαν· εἰ μὴ τῶς ἀρελαβῶνσι πατράσι ἡμῶδεος· εἰ μὴ πρὸς δυσσεβῶν κατηγορίαν γινίγηται, &c.

¹ Bell. lib. iv.

* Albertus Pighius, or Pighi, was a learned Dutchman of the sixteenth century, arch-deacon at Utrecht, and a violent opponent of Luther. He was more distinguished for the extent of his erudition than his judgment. So long as he confined himself to questions not affecting Rome, he was liberal and sensible; but even his admirers allow that he exaggerated the power of the pope beyond reasonable bounds, and can only plead for him that, in their day, this was the safer extreme.—*Weisman. Hist. Eccl.* tom. i. 1838.—Ed.

² Longe certius est unius apostolicæ sedis cum concilio domesticorum sacerdotum iudicium, quam sine pontifice iudicium universalis concilii totius orbis terrarum.—*Pighius de Hier.*, lib. vi.

throw down the church into ruin, by error and impiety. [He says,] "Therefore (which God forbid!) the universal church falls when he falls who is called universal." "The state and order of our Lord's family," [says Pope Leo,] "will decay when that which is required in the body is not to be found in the head."¹*

But that he is not infallible much experience and history abundantly show.

The ancients knew no such pretender to infallibility; otherwise they would have left disputing, and run to his oracular dictates for information. They would only have asserted this point against heretics. We should have had testimonies of it innumerable. It had been the most famous point of all.²

I will not mention Pope Stephanus universally approving the baptism of heretics, against the decrees of the synod of Nice and other synods; nor Pope Liberius complying with Arianism; nor Pope Innocent I. and his followers, at least till Pope Gelasius, first asserting the *communion of infants* for needful;³ nor Pope Vigilius dodging [playing fast and loose] with the fifth synod; nor Pope Honorius, condemned by so many councils and popes for monothelitism;—but surely Pope Leo and Pope Gelasius were strangely deceived when they condemned *partaking in one kind*; Pope Gregory was foully out when he condemned the *worship of images*, and when he so declaimed against the title of *Universal Bishop*, and when he avowed himself a subject to the Emperor Mauricius, and when he denied the books of Maccabees to be *canonical*, and when he asserted the perfection of holy Scripture;⁴ Pope Leo II. was mistaken when he charged his infallible predecessor Honorius of monothelitism;⁵ Pope Nicholas was a little deceived when he determined the *attrition of Christ's body*; Pope Urban II. was out when he allowed it lawful for good Catholics to commit murder on persons excommunicate;⁶ Pope Innocent IV. erred when he called kings "the pope's slaves."⁷ If many popes had been writers, we should have had more errors to charge them with.

¹ *Universa ergo ecclesia, quod absit, a statu suo corrui, quando is qui vocatur universalis cadit.—Greg. M., Ep. iv. 82. Totius familiæ Domini status et ordo nutabit, si quod requiritur in corpore, non inveniatur in capite.—P. Leo, Ep. lxxxvii.*

* The saying of Pope Gregory is hypothetical, and implies a solemn disavowal of infallibility; that of Pope Leo seems to be an argument for the infallibility of the pope, and added to show that this must be assumed in one who claims to be supreme in the church.—Ed.

² *In nullo aliter sapere quam res se habet angelica perfectio est.—Aug. de Bapt. contr. Don. ii. 5. "Not to think of a thing otherwise than it is, is an angelical perfection."*

³ *P. Gelas. I., Ep. ix. p. 636.*

⁴ *De Consecr., Dist. ii. cap. 12; Greg., Ep. vii. 110, ii. 62, iv. 82, 86, 88, vi. 30; In Job., lib. xix. cap. 13, xviii. 14.*

⁵ *Grat. de Consecr. ii., Dist. ii. cap. 42.*

⁶ *Grat. Caus. xxiii. qu. 5, cap. 47.*

⁷ *Mancipia papæ.—Matt. Paris., ann. 1253.*

Surely those popes erred who confirmed the synods of Constance and Basil, not excepting the determinations in favour of general councils being superior to popes.¹ All those popes have devilishly erred who have pretended to dispose of kingdoms, to depose princes, to absolve subjects of their oaths. Pope Adrian II. did not take the pope to be infallible when he said he might not be judged, excepting [in] the case of heresy; and thereby excuses the Orientals for anathematizing Honorius, he being accused of heresy.

There is one heresy of which, if all histories do not lie grievously, divers popes have been guilty, a heresy defined by divers popes,—the “heresy of simony.”² How many such heretics have sat in that chair! of which how many popes are proclaimed guilty with a loud voice in history! “Management,” says St Bernard, “does all the papal business. Show me a man, in all this great city, who would admit thee to be pope without the mediation of a bribe!”³ Yea, how few for some ages have been guiltless of this heresy! It may be answered, “They were no popes, because their election was null;” but then the church has often and long been without a *head*! then numberless acts have been void, and creations of cardinals have been null; and consequently there has not probably been any true pope for a long time!

In the judgment of so many great divines who constituted the synod of Basil, many popes (nearly all, surely) have been heretics, who have followed or countenanced the opinion that popes are superior to general councils; which there is flatly declared heresy. Pope Eugenius by name was there declared “a pertinacious heretic, deviating from the faith.”⁴

It often happens that the pope is not skilled in divinity, as Pope Innocent X. was wont to profess concerning himself, to waive discourse about theological points; he therefore cannot pronounce in use of ordinary means, but only by miracle, as Balaam’s ass. So Pope Innocent X. said that “the vicar of Jesus Christ was not obliged to examine all things by dispute; for that the truth of his decrees depended only on divine inspiration.”⁵ What is this but downright quakerism, enthusiasm, imposture?

¹ Joh. XXII. Gerson. Serm. in Pasch. Occam. Celestinus, &c.; Alph. à Castro., Hær. i. 4; Bin., tom. vii. p. 994.

² P. Greg. VII., Ep. lib. iii. 7. Simoniaca hæresis. P. Jul. II. Conc. Lat. sess. v. p. 57. Idem electus non apostolicus, sed apostaticus, et tanquam hæresiarcha, &c.—*Ibid. Tract. iv.* § 12–16. “Decernimus, quod . . . sed etiam contra dictum sio electum vel assumptum a simoniaca labe opponi et excipi possit sicut de vera et indubitata hæresi, &c.”

³ Omne papale negotium manus agunt; quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in papam receperit pretio non intercedente?—*Bern. de Consid. iv.* 2.

⁴ A fide devius, pertinax hæreticus, &c.—*Conc. Bas. sess. xxxiv.* p. 96, 107.

⁵ Le pape respondit que le vicaire de J. C. n'estoit point obligé d'examiner toutes choses par la dispute; que le vérité de ses décrets dépendoit seulement de l'inspiration divine.—*Memor. Hist. de 6 Propos.*

Pope Clement V. did not take himself to be infallible, when, in his great synod of Vienna, the question, Whether, beside remission of sin, also virtue were conferred on infants? he resolved thus very honestly, "The second opinion, which says that informing grace and virtues are in baptism conferred both upon infants and adult persons, we think fit, with the consent of the holy council, to be chosen, as being more consonant and agreeable to the divinity of the modern doctors."¹

Which of the two popes was in the right,—Pope Nicholas IV, who decided that our Lord was so poor that he had right to nothing, or Pope John XXII., who declared this to be a heresy, charging our Lord with injustice?"

XIV. A sovereign is in dignity and authority superior to any number of subjects, however conjoined or congregated, as a head is above all the members, however compacted. He is not supreme who is any wise subject or inferior to a senate, or any assembly in his territory.

Therefore the pope claims a superiority over all councils, pretending that their determinations are invalid without his consent and confirmation; that he can rescind or make void their decrees; that he can suspend their consultations, and translate or dissolve them.²

And Baronius reckons this as one error in Hincmarus, bishop of Rheims, "that he held as if the canons of councils were of greater authority in the church of God than the decrees of popes; which," says he, "is a most absurd and unreasonable opinion."³

"That the authority of the apostolic see in all Christian ages has been preferred before the universal church, both the canons of our predecessors and manifold tradition confirm."⁴

This is a question stiffly debated among the Romanists; but the most, as Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius II., acutely observed, with good reason, adhere to the pope's side, because the *pope* disposes of *benefices*, but *councils* give none.

But, in truth, anciently the pope was not understood superior to councils; for "greater is the authority of the world than of one city,"⁵ says St Jerome. He was but one bishop, that had nothing to do

¹ — opinionem secundam, quæ dicit tam parvulis quam adultis conferri in baptismo informantem gratiam et virtutes, tanquam probabiliorem ac doctorum modernorum theologiæ magis consonam et concordem sacro approbante concilio duximus eligendam.—*Clem. in tit. i.*

² Bell. iv. 14, p. 1818; Confer. Sext. lib. v. tit. xii. cap. 3; Extrav. Joh. XXII, tit. xiv. cap. 8-5.

³ Bell. de Conc. ii. 17.

⁴ Plane significat majoris esse auctoritatis in ecclesia Dei canones conciliorum decretis pontificum; hæc quam sint absurda et ab omni ratione penitus aliena, &c.—*Baron. ad ann. 992, § 56; Conc. Lat. V. sess. 11, p. 152; Th. Cajet. Orat. in Conc. Lat. p. 36.*

⁵ Apostolicæ vero sedis auctoritas, quod cunctis seculis Christianis ecclesiæ prælati sit universæ, et canonum serie patrum, et multiplici traditione firmatur.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. viii.* (O impudentiam!)

⁶ Major est auctoritas orbis quam urbis.—*Hier. ad Evag.*

out of his precinct. He had but his vote in them: he had the first vote, as the patriarch of Alexandria the second, of Antioch the third;—but that order neither gave to him nor them any advantage as to decision, but common consent, or the suffrages of the majority, prevailed. He was conceived subject to the canons no less than other bishops. Councils examined matters decreed by him, so as to follow or forsake them as they saw cause. The popes themselves professed great veneration and observance of conciliar decrees. Pope Leo I. opposed a canon of the synod of Chalcedon (not pretending his superiority to councils, but the inviolability of the Nicene canons); but it, notwithstanding that opposition, prevailed.

Even in the dregs of times, when the pope had clambered so high to the top of power, this question in great numerous synods of bishops was agitated, and positively decided against him, both in doctrine and practice.¹

The synod of Basil affirms the matter of these decrees to be a “verity of the catholic faith, which whoever pertinaciously resists is to be deemed a heretic.” Those fathers say that “none of the skilful ever doubted of this truth, that the pope, in things belonging to faith, was subject to the judgment of the same general councils;” “that the council has an authority immediately from Christ, which the pope is bound to obey.”² Those synods were confirmed by popes, without exception of those determinations.

Great churches, most famous universities, a mighty store of learned doctors of the Roman communion, have revered those councils and adhered to their doctrine, insomuch that the cardinal of Lorraine affirmed him to be an heretic in France who held the contrary.

These things sufficiently demonstrate that the pope cannot pretend to supremacy by universal tradition; and if he cannot prove it by that, how can he prove it? Not surely by Scripture, nor by decrees of ancient synods, nor by any clear and convincing reason.

XV. The sovereign of the church is by all Christians to be acknowledged the chief person in the world, inferior and subject to none, above all commands, the greatest emperor being his sheep and subject.

He therefore now doth pretend to be above all princes; as in Israel Saul was the head, 1 Sam. xv. 17. Divers popes have affirmed this superiority. They are allowed and most favoured by him who teach this doctrine. In their Missal he is preferred above all kings, being prayed for before them.

¹ Conc. Const. sess. iv. p. 1003.

² Veritas catholice fidei, cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus.—*Conc. Bas. sess. xxxiii.*

³ Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit summum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio eorundem conciliorum universalium esse subjectum.—*Conc. Bas. Decret. p. 117.* Concilium habet potestatem immediate a Christo, cui papa obedire tenetur, &c.—*Conc. Bas., sess. xxxviii. p. 101.*

But in the primitive times this was not held, for St Paul requires "every soul to be subject to the higher powers," Rom. xiii. 1. Then the emperor was avowed the first person, next to God; "to whom," says Tertullian, "they are second, after whom they are first, before all and above all gods. Worship the emperor as a man next to God, and less only than God."¹ And Optatus, "Since there is none above the emperor but God who made him." "While Donatus extols himself above the emperor, he raises himself as it were above humanity, and thinks himself to be God, and not man; for the king is the top and head of all things on earth."² Then even "apostles, evangelists, prophets, all men whatever, were subject to the emperor."³ The emperors commanded them, "even the blessed bishops and patriarchs of old Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis, and Jerusalem."⁴ Divers popes avowed themselves subject to the emperor.

XVI. The confirmation of magistrates, elected by others, is a "branch of supremacy" which the pope assumes.

Baronius says that this was the ancient custom, and that Pope Simplicius confirmed the election of Calendion, bishop of Antioch.⁵

"Meletius confirmed the most holy Gregory in the bishopric of Constantinople."⁶

But the truth is, that anciently bishops, being elected, only gave an account of their choice unto all other bishops, especially to those of highest rank, desiring their approbation and friendship, for preservation of due communion, correspondence, and peace. So the synod of Antioch gave account to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, "and all their fellow-ministers throughout the world," &c., of the election of Domnus after Paulus Samosatenus. So the fathers of Constantinople acquainted Pope Damasus and the western bishops with the constitution of Nectarius, Flavianus, &c.

This was not to request confirmation, as if the pope or other bishops could reject the election, if regular, but rather to assure whom they were to communicate with. "We have," say the fathers of

¹ — a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi ante omnes, et super omnes deos; quidni? cum super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt.—*Tertul. Apol.* cap. xxx. Colimus imperatorem ut hominem a Deo secundum, et solo Deo minorem.—*Tertul. ad Scap.* cap. ii.

² Cum super imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus, qui fecit imperatorem.—*Opt.* 3. Vid. *Tr.* v. sect. 14. Dum se Donatus super imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat modum, ut se ut Deum non hominem aestimaret.—*Id. ibid.* Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφή καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ὅσων τοῦ κυρίου ἰστέον ἀπάντων.—*Chrys.* Ἀντ. β., p. 463.

³ Chrys. in Rom. xiii. 1.

⁴ Jubemus igitur beatissimos episcopos et patriarchas, hoc est senioris Romæ, et Constantinopoleos, et Alexandriæ, et Theopoleos, et Hierosolymorum.—*Justinian. Novel.* cxxiii. cap. 3; *P. Greg. M., Ep.* ii. 62, *supra in praf.* sec. iv. tract. 5, sect. xiv.

⁵ Vid. § 5; *Dist.* lxiii. cap. 4; *P. Nic. I., Ep.*; ann. 482, § 1.

⁶ Ἐξέδικαισε τῷ Διοτάτῳ Γρηγορίῳ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀρχιερίαν.—*Theod.* v. 8.

⁷ Καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν εἰσπορεύσιν πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς, &c.—*Euseb.* vii. 30.

the synod against Paulus Samosatenus, "signified this (our choosing of Domnus into Paulus' room); that you may write to him, and receive letters of communion from him."¹ And St Cyprian, "That you and our colleagues may know to whom they may write, and from whom they may receive letters."²

Thus the bishops of Rome themselves acquainted other bishops with their election, their faith, &c.³ So did Cornelius; whom, therefore, St Cyprian asserts as established by the consent and approbation of his colleagues: "When the place of Peter and the sacerdotal chair was void, which by God's will being occupied, and with all our consents confirmed,"⁴ &c.; "and the testimony of our fellow-bishops, the whole number of which all over the world unanimously consented."⁵

The emperor confirmed bishops, as we see by that notable passage in the synod of Chalcedon, where Bassianus, bishop of Ephesus, pleading for himself says, "Our most religious emperor knowing these things, presently ratified it, and by a memorial published it, confirming the bishopric; afterwards he sent his rescript by Eustathius, the silentiary [gentleman usher], again confirming it."⁶

XVII. It is a privilege of sovereigns to grant "privileges, exemptions, dispensations."

This he claims, but against the laws of God and rights of bishops, against the decrees of synods, against the sense of good men in all times.⁷

XVIII. It is a prerogative of sovereign power to erect [and] translate spiritual presidences.

Wherefore, this the pope claims: "Cum ex illo," &c.⁸

But at first he had nothing to do therein, except in his own province or diocese.

As Christianity grew and entered into cities, so the neighbour bishops ordained bishops there.

Princes often, as they endowed so they erected episcopal sees, and did, as was suitable, change places.

Pope Paschal II., by complaining, attests to this, writing to the

¹ Ἐδηλώσαμεν τι ἡμῶν ἴσως τοῦτο γράφει, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦτου κοινοτικὰ διχηθεὶς γράμμαται, &c.—*Euseb.* vii. 30.

² Ut scires tu et collegæ nostri quibus scribere, et literas mutuo a quibus vos accipere oporteret, &c.—*Cypr., Ep.* lv., *ad Cornel.*

³ Vid. P. Greg.; Tract de Unit. Eccl.

⁴ Cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato, &c.—*Cypr., Ep.* lii.

⁵ — et coepiscoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordii unanimitate consensit.—*Ibid.*

⁶ Γινὼς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἐπισκοπικὸς ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς, εἶδὼς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἰσχυρίζεσθαι, καὶ εὐθὺς διὰ ὑπομνηστικῶν ἰδὼν ἡμῶν ἐν φανερῇ, βίβλαιον τὴν ἱερωσύνην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίστευτοι εἶναι πάλιν διὰ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ σιλουαρίου βίβλαιον τὴν ἱερωσύνην.—*Conc. Chal.*, Act xi. p. 404.

⁷ Vid. Bern.

⁸ P. Innoc. III. in Greg. Decr. lib. i., tit. 7, cap. 1, &c.

archbishop of Poland, "What shall I say of the translations of bishops, which among you are presumed to be made, not by apostolic authority, but the king's command?"¹

XIX. It is a great prerogative of sovereignty to impose taxes on the clergy or people.

Wherefore the pope assumes this; as, for instance, that decree of Pope Innocent IV. in the first synod of Lyons: "By the common consent of the council, we ordain that all the clergy, as well those who are under authority as the prelates, pay for three years a twentieth part of their ecclesiastical revenues, towards the assistance of the Holy Land, into the hands of those who shall be thereto appointed by the prudence of the apostolic see. And let all know that this they are bound faithfully to do, under pain of excommunication."²

But antiquity knew no such impositions, when the church, the clergy, the poor, were maintained and relieved by voluntary offerings, or obventions [incidental revenues.]

Even the invidious splendour of the Roman bishop was supported by the "oblations of matrons," as Marcellinus observes.³

This is an encroachment upon the right of princes, unto whom clergymen are subjects, and bound "to render tribute to whom tribute belongs," Rom. xiii. 7.

SUPPOSITION VII.

A FARTHER grand assertion of the Roman party is this, *That the papal supremacy is indefectible and unalterable.*

But good reasons may be assigned why, even supposing that the pope had an universal sovereignty in virtue of his succession to St Peter conferred on him, it is not assuredly consequent that it must always, or now belongs to him; for it might be settled on him, not absolutely, but upon conditions, which failing, his authority may expire. It might be God's will that it should only continue for a time. And there are divers ways whereby, according to common rules of justice, he might be disseized [dispossessed] thereof:—

¹ Quid super episcoporum translationibus loquar, quæ apud vos non auctoritate apostolica, sed nutu regis præsumuntur?—*P. Pasch. II., Ep. vi.* Præter auctoritatem nostram episcoporum translationes præsumitis, &c.—*Eadm.*, p. 115.

² Cæterum ex communi concilii approbatione statuimus, ut omnes omnino clerici, tam subditi quam prælati, vigesimam ecclesiarum proventuum usque ad triennium conferant in subsidium terræ sanctæ, per manus eorum qui ad hoc apostolica fuerint providentia ordinati. — sciantque se omnes ad hoc fideliter observandum per excommunicationis sententiam obligatos.—*Lugdun. Conc. I.*, anno 1245.

³ Ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum.—*Marcel. xxvii.*; Vid. *Const. Apost. ii. 25.* Nam qui constituerunt vel fundarunt sanctissimas ecclesias pro sua salute et communis reipublicæ, reliquerunt illis substantias, ut per eas debeant sacræ liturgiæ fieri, et ut illis a ministrantibus piis clericis Deus colatur.—*Cod.*, lib. 1., tit. 3, § 42.

1. If God had positively declared his will concerning this point, that such a sovereignty was by him granted irrevocably and immutably, so that in no case it might be removed or altered, then, indeed, it must be admitted for such; but if no such declaration appear, then to assert it for such is to derogate from his power and providence, by exemption of this case from it. It is the ordinary course of Providence so to confer power of any kind or nature on men, as to reserve to himself the liberty of transferring it, qualifying it, extending or contracting it, abolishing it, according to his pleasure, in due seasons and exigencies of things; whence no human power can be supposed absolutely stable, or immovably fixed in one person or place.

2. No power can have a higher source or firmer ground than that of the civil government has, for all such power is from heaven, John xix. 11; and in relation to that it is said, "There is no power but from God; the powers that are are ordained by God," Rom. xiii. 1;—but yet such power is liable to various alterations, and is like the sea, having ebbs and flows, and ever changing its bounds, either personal or local.

Any temporal jurisdiction may be lost by those revolutions and vicissitudes of things to which all human constitutions are subject, and which are ordered by the will and providence of the Most High, who "ruleth in the kingdom of men, appointing over it whom he pleaseth," "putting down one, and setting up another," Dan. v. 21; Ps. lxxv. 7.

Adam, by God's appointment, was sovereign of the world, and his first-born successors derived the same power from him; yet in course of time that order has been interrupted, and divers independent sovereignties do take place.

Every prince has his authority from God, or by virtue of divine ordination, within his own territory, and according to God's ordinance the lawful successor has a right to the same authority; yet by accidents such authority often fails, totally or in part changing its extent.

Why, then, may not any spiritual power be liable to the same vicissitudes? Why may not a prelate be degraded as well as a prince? Why may not the pope, as well as the emperor, lose all or part of his kingdom?

Why may not the successor of Peter, no less than the heir of Adam, suffer a defaulture of jurisdiction?

That spiritual corporations, persons, and places, are subject to the same contingencies with others, as there is like reason to suppose, so there are examples to prove. God removed his sanctuary from Shiloh: "Go ye now unto my place, which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at first," &c., Jer. vii. 12, 14. He deserted Jerusalem.

He removes the candlesticks, Rev. ii. 5. He placed Eli, of the family of Ithamar, in the high priesthood, and displaced his race from it. "I said indeed," says God, "that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever; but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me," &c., 1 Sam. ii. 30, 1 Kings ii. 27.

3. The reason and exigency of things might be sufficient ground for altering an universal jurisdiction; for when it should prove very inconvenient or hurtful, God might order such an alteration to happen, and men be obliged to allow it.

As God first instituted one universal monarchy, but that form, upon the multiplication of mankind and peopling of the earth, proving incommodious, Providence gave way for its change and the setting up of particular governments, to which men are bound to submit; so God might institute a singular presidency of the church, but when the church grew vastly extended, so that such a government would not conveniently serve the whole, he might order a division, in which we should acquiesce.

4. It has ever been deemed reasonable, and accordingly been practised, that the church, in its exterior form and political administrations, should be suited to the state of the world and constitution of worldly governments, that there might be no clashing or disturbance from each to other.

Wherefore, seeing the world is now settled under so many civil sovereignties, it is expedient that ecclesiastical discipline should be so modelled as to comply with each of them.*

And it is reasonable that any pretence of jurisdiction should vail to the public good of the church and the world.

That it should be necessary for the church to retain the same form of policy, or measure of power affixed to persons or places, can no wise be demonstrated by sufficient proof, and it is not consistent with experience, which shows the church to have subsisted with variations of that kind.

There has in all times been found much reason or necessity to make alterations, as well in the places and bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction as of secular empire.

Wherefore, St Peter's monarchy, reason requiring, might be canonized into divers spiritual supremacies; and as other ecclesiastical

* It is not easy to reconcile this, which has been called the *ambulatory* view of church government, with the strong sentiments expressed by Barrow in his thesis *De Regimine Episcopali*; in which he strives to prove that "the rejection of episcopal government, where there are orthodox and lawful bishops, properly constitutes a *mortal schism*." In his maturer age, he may, like many others, have come to view such matters with a more liberal eye. But it seems much more reasonable to hold that the right government of the church, so long as it employs only spiritual means, and aims only at spiritual ends, can never clash or come into collision with civil government, so long as that employs only secular means, and aims only at secular ends.—ED.

jurisdictions have been chopped and changed, enlarged or diminished, removed and extinguished, so might that of the Roman bishop. The pope cannot retain power in any state against the will of the prince; he is not bound to suffer correspondences with foreigners, especially such who apparently have interests contrary to his honour and the good of his people.

5. Especially that might be done, if the continuance of such a jurisdiction should prove abominably corrupt or intolerably grievous to the church.

6. That power is defectible which, according to the nature and course of things, sometimes fails.

But the papal succession has often been interrupted by contingencies (of *sedition, schism, intrusion, simoniacal election, deposition*, &c., as before showed), and is often interrupted by vacancies from the death of the incumbents.

7. If, leaving their dubious and false suppositions concerning divine institution, succession to St Peter, &c., we consider the truth of the case, and indeed the more grounded plea of the pope, that papal pre-eminence was obtained by the wealth and dignity of the Roman city, and by the collation or countenance of the imperial authority, then, by the defect of such advantages, it may cease or be taken away; for when Rome has ceased to be the capital city, the pope may cease to be head of the church. When the civil powers, which have succeeded the imperial, each in its respective territory, are no less absolute than it, they may take it away if they judge it fit; for whatever power was granted by human authority, by the same may be revoked, and what the emperor could have done, each sovereign power now may do for itself.

An indefectible power cannot be settled by man, because there is no power ever extant at one time greater than there is at another; so that whatever power one may raise, the other may demolish, there being no bounds whereby the present time may bind all posterity.

However, no human law can exempt any constitution from the providence of God, which at pleasure can dissolve whatever man has framed. And if the pope were divested of all adventitious power, obtained by human means, he would be left very bare, and hardly would take it worth his while to contend for jurisdiction.

8. However or whencesoever the pope had his authority, yet it may be forfeited by defects and defaults incurred by him.

If the pope encroaches on the rights and liberties of others, usurping a lawless domination, beyond reason and measure, they may, in their own defence, be forced to reject him and shake off his yoke.

If he will not be content to govern otherwise than by infringing the sacred laws, and trampling down the inviolable privileges of the

churches, either granted by Christ or established by the sanctions of general synods, he thereby deprives himself of all authority; because it cannot be admitted upon tolerable terms without greater wrong of many others, whose right outweighs his, and without great mischief to the church, the good of which is to be preferred before his private advantage.

This was the maxim of a great pope, a great stickler for his own dignity; for when the bishop of Constantinople was advanced by a general synod above his ancient pitch of dignity, that pope opposing him said, that "whoever affects more than his due, loses that which properly belonged to him;"¹—which rule, if true in regard to another's case, may be applied to the pope; "for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," Matt. vii. 2.

On such a supposition of the papal encroachment, we may return his words upon him: "It is too proud and immoderate a thing, to stretch beyond one's bounds, and, in contempt of antiquity, to be willing to invade other men's right, and to oppose the primacies of so many metropolitans, on purpose to advance the dignity of one."²

"For the privileges of churches, being instituted by the canons of the holy fathers, and fixed by the decrees of the venerable synod of Nice, cannot be plucked up by any wicked attempt, nor altered by any innovation."³

"Far be it from me that I should, in any church, infringe the decrees of our ancestors made in favour of my fellow-priests; for I do myself injury if I disturb the rights of my brethren."⁴

The pope, surely, according to any ground of Scripture, or tradition, or ancient law, has no title to greater principality in the church than the duke of Venice has in that state. Now, if the duke of Venice, in prejudice to the public right and liberty, should attempt to stretch his power to an absoluteness of command, or much beyond the bounds allowed him by the constitution of that commonwealth, he would thereby surely forfeit his supremacy, such as it is, and afford cause to the state of rejecting him. The like occasion would the pope give to the church by the like demeanour.

9. The pope, by departing from the doctrine and practice of St Peter, would forfeit his title of successor to him; for in such a case

¹ *Propria perdit, qui indebita concupiscit.—P. Leo I., Ep. lv.*

² *Superbum nimis est et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere; utque unius crescat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus, &c.—P. Leo I., Ep. lv.*

³ *Privilegia enim ecclesiarum, sanctorum patrum canonibus instituta, et venerabilis Nicenæ synodi fixa decretis, nulla possunt improbitate convelli, nulla novitate mutari.—Ibid.*

⁴ *Absit hoc a me, ut statuta majorum consacerdotibus meis in qualibet ecclesia infringam, quia mihi injuriam facio, si fratrum meorum jura perturbo.—Greg. I., Ep. ii. 37.*

no succession in place or in name could preserve it: "The popes themselves had swerved and degenerated from the example of Peter."¹

"They are not the sons of the saints who hold the places of the saints, but they that do their works;"²—which place is razed out of St Jerome!

"They have not the inheritance of Peter who have not the faith of Peter, which they tear asunder by ungodly division."³

So Gregory Nazianzen says of Athanasius, that "he was successor of Mark no less in piety than presidency, which we must suppose to be properly succession;"⁴ otherwise the mufti of Constantinople is successor to St Andrew, to St Chrysostom, &c., the mufti of Jerusalem to St James.

If, then, the bishop of Rome, instead of teaching Christian doctrine, propagates errors contrary to it; if, instead of guiding into truth and godliness, he seduces into falsehood and impiety; if, instead of declaring and pressing the laws of God, he delivers and imposes precepts opposite, prejudicial, destructive of God's laws; if, instead of promoting genuine piety, he (in some instances) violently opposes it; if, instead of maintaining true religion, he perverts and corrupts it by bold defalcations, by superstitious additions, by foul mixtures and alloys; if he coins new creeds, articles of faith, new scriptures, new sacraments, new rules of life, obtruding them on the consciences of Christians; if he conforms the doctrines of Christianity to the interests of his pomp and profit, "making gain godliness;" if he prescribe vain, profane, superstitious ways of worship, turning devotion into foppery and pageantry; if, instead of preserving order and peace, he foment discords and factions in the church, being a make-bate and incendiary among Christians; if he claims exorbitant power, and exercises oppression and tyrannical domination over his brethren, cursing and damning all that will not submit to his dictates and commands; if, instead of being a shepherd, he is a wolf, worrying and tearing the flock by cruel persecution;—he by such behaviour, *ipso facto*, deprives himself of authority and office; he becomes thence no guide or pastor to any Christian; there, in such case, rests no obligation to hear or obey him, but rather to decline him, to dis-cast* from him, to reject and disclaim him.⁵

¹ Pontifices ipsi a Petri vestigiis discesserant.—*Plat. in Joh. X.* p. 275.

² Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum, &c.—*Hieron. ad Heliod.*, apud *Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 2.*

³ Non habent Petri hæreditatem qui Petri fidem non habent, quam impia divisione discernunt.—*Ambr. de Pæn. i. 6.*

⁴ Οὐχ' ἦσαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἡ τῆς προεδρίας διάδοχοι . . . ἡ δὲ καὶ κυρίως ἀποληψίας διαδοχῆν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογούμεν καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ δὲ ἀντιδοξοῦν καὶ ἀντιθεῖν.—*Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi.*

* *Discast*—either a misprint for *discord*, or the opposite of *accost*. Fr., *S'accoster de quelq'un*, to frequent one's company.—Ed.

⁵ Non facit ecclesiastica dignitas Christianum.—*Hier.* "Ecclesiastical dignity makes

This is the reason of the case; this the holy Scripture prescribes; this is according to the primitive doctrine, tradition, and practice of the church: for,—

10. In reason, the nature of any spiritual office consisting in instruction in truth and guidance in virtue toward attainment of salvation, if any man leads into pernicious error or impiety, he thereby ceases to be capable of such office; as a blind man, by being so, ceases to be a guide, and much more he that declares a will to seduce, for “who so blind as he that will not see?”¹

No man can be bound to follow any one into the ditch, Matt. xv. 14, or to obey any one in prejudice to his own salvation, to “die in his iniquity,” Ezek. iii. 18; seeing God says in such a case, *Μάρτυσίζονται με*,—“In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the precepts of men,” Matt. xv. 9.

They themselves acknowledge that heretics cease to be bishops, and so to be popes. Indeed, they cease to be Christians; for *ἡξίστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος*,—“such a one is subverted.”

11. According to their principles, the pope has the same relation to other bishops and pastors of the church which they have to their people, he being pastor of pastors; but if any pastor should teach bad doctrine, or prescribe bad practice, his people may reject and disobey him: therefore, in proportion, the pastors may desert the pope, misguiding or misgoverning them. In such cases, any inferior is exempted from obligation to comply with his superior, either truly or pretendedly such.²

12. The case may be, that we may not hold communion with the pope, but may be obliged to shun him; in which case his authority fails, and no man is subject to him.

13. This is the doctrine of the Scripture. The high priest and his fellows, under the Jewish economy, had no less authority than any pope can now pretend unto. They “sat in the chair of Moses,” Matt. xxiii. 2, xv. 6, and therefore all their true doctrines and lawful directions the people were obliged to learn and observe; but their false doctrines and impious precepts they were bound to shun,³ and, consequently, to disclaim their authority, so far as employed in urging such doctrines and precepts. “*Ἀφετε αὐτοὺς*, “Let them alone,” says our Saviour, “they are blind leaders of the blind,” chap. xv. 14. Under the Christian dispensation the matter is no less clear. Our

not a Christian.” *Non omnes episcopi episcopi sunt.—Id.* “All bishops are not bishops.” *Οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῖς κατὰσκοποι, οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσκοποι.—Athan. Const. Ap. viii. 2.* “They with them are scouts or spies, not overseers or bishops.”

¹ Luke vi. 39, *Μήτι δύνανται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;*

² Bell. de P. R., 2, 30, p. 1083.

³ Matt. xvi. 6, *‘Ορᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης . . . ἀπὸ τῆς διδαχῆς*, verse 12. “Beware and take heed of the leaven . . . of the doctrine,” &c.

Lord commands us to "beware of false prophets," and to "see that no man deceive us," chap. vii. 15; although he wear the clothing of a sheep, or come under the name of a shepherd, "coming in his name," chap. xxiv. 4. St Paul informs us, Gal. i. 8, 9, that "if an apostle," if "an angel from heaven," preach beside the old apostolical doctrine (introducing any new gospel, or a divinity devised by himself), he is to be held "accursed" by us. He affirms that even the apostles themselves were not "lords of our faith," 2 Cor. i. 24, nor might challenge any power inconsistent with the maintenance of Christian truth and piety. "We," says he, "can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth," chap. xiii. 8; which an ancient writer well applies to the pope, saying that he "could do nothing against the truth more than any of his fellow-priests could do;"¹ which St Paul in practice showed, when he "resisted St Peter, declining from the truth of the gospel." He charges that if any one *ἱεροδιδασκαλῆς*, "teaches heterodoxies," we should "stand off from him;"² that "if any brother walketh disorderly, and not according to apostolical tradition, we should withdraw from him;"³ that if any one "raises divisions and scandals beside the doctrines received from the apostles, we should decline from him;"⁴ that we are to "refuse any heretical person," Tit. iii. 10. He tells us that "grievous wolves should come into the church, not sparing the flock;"⁵ that "from among Christians there should arise men speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them," Acts xx. 30; but no man, surely, ought to follow, but to shun them.

These precepts and admonitions are general, without any respect or exception of persons, great or small, pastor or layman; nay, they may, in some respect, more concern bishops than others, for that they declining from truth are more dangerous and contagious.

14. The fathers, in reference to this case, clearly accord, both in their doctrine and practice. St Cyprian tells us that "a people obedient to the Lord's commandments and fearing God ought to separate itself from a sinful bishop,"⁶—that is, from one guilty of such sins which unqualify him from Christian communion or pastoral charge. And, "Let not," adds he, "the common people flatter itself, as if it could be free from the contagion of guilt if it communicate with a sinful bishop,"⁷ whose irreligious doctrine or practice renders

¹ Nec aliquid contra veritatem, sed pro veritate, plus suis consacerdotibus potest.—*Fac. Hermian.*, ii. 6. Gal. ii. 11, 14, "Ὅτι οὐκ ἠθοποδοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

² 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5, *Εἴ τις ἱεροδιδασκαλῆ . . . ἀφίσταται ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.*

³ 2 Thess. iii. 6, *Στείλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ, &c.*

⁴ Rom. xvi. 17, *Ἐκκλίνοιο ἀπὸ αὐτῶν.*

⁵ Acts xx. 29, *Εἰσιλεύονται εἰς ἡμᾶς.*

⁶ Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis et Deum metuens a peccatore præposito separare se debet.—*Cypri., Ep. lxxiii.*

⁷ Nec sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse a contagio delicti possit cum sacerdote peccatore communicans.—*Ibid.*

him incapable of communion; "for how," says he elsewhere, "can they preside over integrity and continence, if corruptions and the teaching of vices begin to proceed from them?"¹

"They who reject the commandment of God and labour to establish their own tradition, let them be strongly and stoutly refused and rejected by you."²

St Chrysostom, commenting on St Paul's words, "If I, or an angel," &c., says that St Paul "means to show that dignity of persons is not to be regarded where truth is concerned;"³ that "if one of the chief angels from heaven should corrupt the gospel, he were to be accursed;"⁴ that "not only if they shall speak things contrary or overturn all, but if they preach any small matter beside the apostolical doctrine, altering the least point whatever, they are liable to an anathema."⁵

And otherwhere, very earnestly persuading his audience to render due respect and obedience to their bishop, he yet interposes this exception, "If he has a perverse opinion, although he be an angel, do not obey him; but if he teaches right things, regard not his life but his words."⁶

"Ecclesiastical judges, as men, are for the most part deceived."⁷

"For neither are catholic bishops to be assented to, if peradventure in any case they are mistaken, so as to hold any thing contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God."⁸

"If there be any church which rejects the faith, and does not hold the fundamentals of the apostolical doctrine, it ought to be forsaken, lest it infect others with its heterodoxy."⁹

If, in such a case, we must desert any church, then the Roman; if any church, then much more any bishop, particularly him of Rome.

This has been the doctrine of divers popes.

"Which not only the apostolical prelate, but any other bishop may do,—namely, discriminate and sever any men, and any place,

¹ Quomodo enim possunt integritati et continentiae praeesse, si ex ipsis incipiant corruptelae et vitiorum magisteria procedere?—*Cypri., Ep. lxii.*

² Qui mandatum Dei rejiciunt, et traditionem suam statuere conantur, fortiter a vobis et firmiter respuantur.—*Ibid., Ep. xl. p. 73.*

³ Ἀλλὰ δείξει βουλόμινος, ὅτι ἀξίωμα προσώπων οὐ προσίεται, ὅταν περὶ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ᾖ.—*Chrys. in Gal. i. 9.*

⁴ Καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων ἀγγέλων ἢ τις τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, διαφθείρων τὸ κήρυγμα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.—*Ibid. i. 8.*

⁵ Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἵνα ἑαυτῷ καταγγέλλωσιν, ἢ ἀντιτίθωσιν τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μικρόν τι εὐαγγελίζονται παρ' ὃ εὐαγγελισάμεθα, καὶ τὸ τυχόν παρακινήσωσι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν.—*Ibid.*

⁶ Εἰ μὴν γὰρ δόγμα ἔχει δισσεμίζον, καὶ ἀγγιλος ᾖ, μὴ πείθου· εἰ δὲ ἰσθὲ διδάσκει, μὴ σὺ βίῃ πρόσκει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασι.—*Chrys. in 2 Tim., Orat. ii.*

⁷ Ecclesiastici judices ut homines plerumque falluntur, &c.—*Aug. contr. Cresc., ii. 21.*

⁸ Quia nec catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, ut contra canonicas Dei scripturas aliquid sentiant.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl. cap. x.*

⁹ Si qua est ecclesia, quae fidem respuat, nec apostolicæ prædicationis fundamenta possideat, ne quam labem perfidiæ possit aspergere deserenda est.—*Ambr. in Luc. ix., p. 85.*

from the catholic communion, according to the rule of that fore-condemned heresy."¹

"Faith is universal, common to all, and belongs not only to clergymen, but also to laics, and even to all Christians."²

"Therefore, the sheep, which are committed to the cure of their pastor, ought not to reprehend him, unless he swerve and go astray from the right faith."³

15. That this was the current opinion common practice shows, there being so many instances of those who rejected their superiors, and withdrew from their communion, in case of their maintaining errors, or of their disorderly behaviour; such practice having been approved by general and great synods, as also by divers popes.

When Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, introduced new and strange doctrine, "divers of his presbyters rebuked him, and withdrew communion from him;"⁴ which proceeding is approved in the Ephesine synod.

Particularly, Charisius asserted this proceeding in these remarkable words, presented to that same synod: "It is the wish and desire of all well-affected persons to give always all due honour and reverence, especially to their spiritual fathers and teachers; but if it should so happen that they who ought to teach should instil into those who are set under them such things concerning the faith as are offensive to the ears and hearts of all men, then, of necessity, the order must be inverted, and they who teach wrong doctrine must be rebuked of those who are their inferiors."⁵

Pope Celestine I. in that case commended the people of Constantinople deserting their pastor. "Happy flock," said he, "to whom the Lord afforded to judge about its own pasture."⁶

St Jerome presumed to write very briskly and smartly in reproof of John, bishop of Jerusalem, in whose province he, a simple presbyter, resided:—

"Who maketh a schism in the church? We, whose whole house

¹ Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoslibet et quemlibet locum, secundum regulam hærescos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discernant.—*P. Gelas. I., Ep. iv.*

² Fides universalis est, omnium communis est, non solum ad clericos, veram etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos.—*P. Nic. I., Ep. viii.* p. 506.

³ Oves ergo quæ pastori suo commissæ fuerint, eum nec reprehendere, nisi a recta fide exorbitaverit, debent, &c.—*P. Joh. I., Ep. i., apud Bin., tom. iii.* p. 812.

⁴ Ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ πολλὰς τινὲς τῶν ὑλασιζήσαντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιθέσαν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπίθειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον, &c.—*Conc. Eph., part i.* p. 220.

⁵ Εὐχὴ μὴ ἄσπαι τοῖς ἐφρονέουσι, τιμὴν αἰεὶ καὶ πρίπουσαν αἰδῶ πνευματικοῖς μάστιγα πατέρσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἀσπόμεναι· εἰ δὲ που συμβῇ τοὺς διδάσκοντες ἐφίλοντας τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ περὶ τῆς πίστεως, οἷα τὰς ἀπάντων ἀποὺς καὶ καρδίας καταβλάπτουσι, ἀνάγκη τὴν ταῶν ἀνταλλάττεισθαι, καὶ τοὺς παπῶς διδάσκοντες ἰλομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσσόνων διελιγχεσθαι.—*Charis. in Conc. Eph., Act. vi.* p. 358.

⁶ Μακάριος δὲ ὁμοῦ ἡ ἀγία καὶ ἡσυχία ἡ ἐκείνου πρὸς τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς.—*Celest. I. in Conc. Eph., p. 190.*

in Bethlehem communicate with the church, or thou, who either believest aright, and proudly concealest the truth, or art of a wrong belief, and really makest a breach in the church? Art thou only the church? and is he who offendeth thee excluded from Christ?"¹

Malchion, presbyter of Antioch, disputed against Paulus Samosatenus, his bishop.²

Beatus, presbyter, confuted his bishop, Elipandus of Toledo.

"But if the rector swerve from the faith, he is to be reproved by those who are under him."³

16. The case is the same of the pope; for if other bishops, who are reckoned successors of the apostles, and vicars of Christ within their precinct,—if other patriarchs, who sit in apostolical sees, and partake of a like extensive jurisdiction,—by incurring heresy or schism, or committing notorious disorder and injustice, may be deprived of their authority, so that their subjects may be obliged to forsake them, then may the pope lose his, for truth and piety are not affixed to the chair of Rome more than to any other. There is no ground of asserting any such privilege either in holy Scripture or in old tradition; there can no promise be alleged for it having any probable show, that of *Oravi pro te* ["I have prayed for thee," &c.] being a ridiculous pretence; it cannot stand without a perpetual miracle; there is, in fact, no appearance of any such miracle. From the ordinary causes of great error and impiety,—that is, ambition, avarice, sloth, luxury,—the papal state is not exempt, yea, apparently, it is more subject to them than any other; all ages have testified and complained thereof.

17. Most eminent persons have in such cases withdrawn communion from the pope; as elsewhere we have showed by divers instances.

18. The canon law itself admits the pope may be judged if he be a heretic: "Because he that is to judge all persons is to be judged of none, except he be found to be gone astray from the faith."⁴

The supposition implies the possibility; and therefore the case may be put that he is such, and then he (according to the more current doctrine, ancient and modern) ceases to be a bishop, yea, a

¹ Quis scindit ecclesiam? Nos quorum omnis domus in Bethlehem in ecclesia communicat; an tu qui aut bene credis, et superbe de fide taces, aut male et vere scindis ecclesiam? . . . An tu solus ecclesia es? et qui te offenderit a Christo excluditur?—*Hier., Ep. lxi. cap. 16, Ep. lxii.*

² Malchion disertissimus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, adversus Paulum Samosatenum, qui Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus dogma Artemonis instaurarat, disputavit.—*Hieron. in Catal.*

³ Quod si a fide exorbitaverit rector. tunc arguendus erit a subditis.—*Isid. Hisp. de Offic. iii. 39; Vid. Thomam Aq. in 4 Dist. xix., Art. 2.*

⁴ Quia cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius.—*Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 6; Vid. P. Innoc. III., apud Laun. contra Baron., &c.*

Christian. Hence no obedience is due to him; yea, no communion is to be held with him.

19. This, in fact, was acknowledged by a great pope, allowing the condemnation of Pope Honorius for good, because he was erroneous in point of faith. "For," says he, in that which is called the eighth synod, "although Honorius was anathematized after his death by the oriental bishops, it is yet well known that he was accused for heresy; for which alone it is lawful for inferiors to rise up against superiors."¹

Now, that the pope (or papal succession) perverts the truth of Christian doctrine, in contradiction to the holy Scripture and primitive tradition; that he subverts the practice of Christian piety, in opposition to the divine commands; that he teaches falsehoods, and maintains impieties,—is notorious in many particulars, some of which we shall touch.

We justly might charge him with all those extravagant doctrines and practices which the high-flying doctors teach, and which the fierce zealots upon occasion act; for the whole succession of popes of a long time has most cherished and encouraged such folks, looking squintly on others, as not well affected to them;—but we shall only touch those new and noxious, or dangerous positions, which great synods, managed and confirmed by their authority, have defined, or which they themselves have magisterially decreed, or which are generally practised by their influence or countenance.

It is manifest that the pope supports and cherishes, as his special favourites, the venters of wicked errors; such as those who teach the *pope's infallibility*, his *power over temporal princes* to cashier and depose them, to *absolve subjects from their allegiance*, the doctrine of *equivocation*, *breach of faith with heretics*, &c.: which doctrines are heretical, as inducing pernicious practice; whence whoever does so much as communicate with the maintainers of them, according to the principles of ancient Christianity, is guilty of the same crimes.

The holy Scripture and catholic antiquity teach and enjoin us "to worship and serve God alone," our Creator; forbidding us to worship any creature, or "fellow-servant," not even angels: "For I who am a creature will not submit to worship one like to me."²—Matt. iv. 10; Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 9; Col. ii. 18; Rom. i. 25.

But the pope and his clients teach and charge us to worship angels and dead men; yea, even to venerate "the relics and dead bodies of the saints."³

¹ Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ τῇ Ὀσιότητι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν μετὰ Θάνατον ἀνάστημα ἡρίσθη, ὅμως γνωστὸν ἐστίν, ὅτι ἐπὶ αἰρίσει κατηγορήθη, δι' ἧν καὶ μόνον ἔχουσι τοὺς ὑποδιωκτικούς τῶν μιζήσαντων καταξιώσασθαι.—Syn. VIII., Act. vii. p. 968.

² Κτίσμα γὰρ ὢν οὐκ ἀνίσταμαι τὸν ὅμοιον προσκυτῆν.—Bas., apud Soz. vi. 16.

³ Similiter et sanctos una cum Christo regnantes venerandos atque invocandos esse;

The holy Scripture teaches us to “judge nothing” (about the present or future state of men, absolutely) “before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of hearts, and then each man shall have praise of God,” 1 Cor. iv. 5; Rom. xiv. 4.

But the pope notoriously (in repugnance to those precepts, anticipating God's judgment, and arrogating to himself a knowledge requisite thereto) presumes to determine the state of men, canonizing them, declaring them to be saints, and proposing them to be worshipped; and, on the other side, he damns, curses, and censures his fellow-servants.

God in his law commands us “not to bow down ourselves unto any image,” or worship “the likeness of any thing in heaven, or earth, or under the earth;”¹—which law, whether moral or positive, the gospel ratifies and confirms, charging us to “keep ourselves from idols, and to flee worshipping of idols,”—that is, to observe the second commandment; the validity of which the fathers most expressly assert, and divers of them were so strict in their opinion about it that they deemed it unlawful so much as to make any image.²

But the pope and his adherents (in point-blank opposition to divine law and primitive doctrine) require us to “fall down before” and to worship images: “Moreover, we decree that the images of saints be especially had and retained in churches, and that due honour and veneration be imparted to them, . . . so that by those images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and fall down, we adore Christ, and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear.”³

Neither is he satisfied to recommend and decree these unwarrantable venerationes, but with a horrible strange kind of uncharitableness and ferity [savageness], he “anathematizes those who teach” or think “any thing opposite to his decrees concerning them;”⁴ so that if the ancient fathers should live now, they would live under this curse.

The holy Scripture, under condition of repentance and amendment of life, upon recourse to God and trust in his mercy, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, offers and promises remission of sins, acceptance with God, justification, and salvation. This is the tenor of

atque horum reliquias esse venerandas.—*Pii IV. Profes. Fid.* Bonum atque utile esse eos invocare . . . sanctorum quoque corpora . . . a fidelibus veneranda esse.—*Conc. Trid.*

¹ Exod. xx. 4. Οὐ ποιήσεις σταντῶ εἰδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ἑμοίωμα, &c.

² 1 John v. 21; 1 Cor. x. 7, 14; Clem. Alex., Tertul.

³ Imagines porro . . . sanctorum in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas; eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam, . . . ita ut per imagines, quas osculamur, et coram quibus caput aperimus et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et sanctos quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt veneremur.—*Conc. Trid. sess. xxv.*

⁴ Siquis autem his decretis contraria docuerit aut senserit, anathema sit.—*Ibid.*

the evangelical covenant, nor did the primitive church know other terms.—Ezek. xviii.; Luke xv.; Rom. x. 9; Mark i. 15.

But the pope preaches another doctrine, and requires other terms as necessary for remission of sins and salvation; for he has decreed the confession of all and each mortal sin which a man by recollection can remember, to a priest, to be necessary thereto, anathematizing all who shall say the contrary, although the fathers (particularly St Chrysostom frequently) have affirmed the contrary.¹

Which is plainly preaching another gospel (forged by himself and his abettors), as offering remission upon other terms than God has prescribed, and denying it upon those which Christianity proposes.

He teaches that no sin is pardoned without absolution of a priest.

He requires satisfaction imposed by a priest, besides repentance and new obedience, as necessary; which is also another gospel.²

He dispenses pardon of sin upon condition of performances unnecessary and insufficient,—such as, undertaking *pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, visiting churches, making war upon infidels or heretics, contributing money, repeating prayers, undergoing corporal penances, &c.*; ³ which is likewise to frame and publish another gospel.

These doctrines are highly presumptuous, and well may be reputed heretical.

God has commanded that “every soul should be subject to the higher powers” temporal, “as to God’s ministers,” so as to obey their laws, to submit to their judgments, to pay tribute to them.⁴ And the fathers expound this law to the utmost extent and advantage: “If every soul, then yours; if any attempt to except you, he goes about to deceive you.”⁵

But the pope countermands and exempts all clergymen from those duties by his canon law, excommunicating lay judges who shall perform their office in regard to them: “Because, indeed, some lay

¹ Si quis dixerit in sacramento poenitentiae ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita et diligenti præmeditatione habeatur . . . anathema sit.—*Sess. xiv., de Pœn. can. vii.* “If any one shall say that in the sacrament of penance it is not necessary by divine right to confess all and singular mortal sins, the remembrance whereof may be had by due and diligent premeditation, let him be anathema.”

² Si quis negaverit ad integram et perfectam peccatorum remissionem requiri—contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem.—*Sess. xiv. can. 4.* “If any shall deny that contrition, confession, and satisfaction, are required to the entire and perfect remission of sin.”

³ Et qui Hierosolymam proficiscuntur, et ad Christianam gentem defendendam, et tyrannidem infidelium debellandum efficaciter auxilium præbuerint, quorum peccatorum remissionem concedimus, &c.—*Conc. Lat. I., can. 11.* “And whoever go to Jerusalem, and powerfully afford help to defend Christian people, and to subdue the tyranny of infidels, to them we grant forgiveness of their sins,” &c.

⁴ Rom. xiii. 1; Tit. iii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. *Καὶ ἀνίστασθε, &c.*—*Chrys.*

⁵ Si omnis et vestra . . . si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere.—*Bern., Ep. xlii.*

persons constrain ecclesiastics, yea, and bishops themselves, to appear before them, and to stand to their judgment, those that henceforth shall presume to do so, we decree that they shall be separated from the communion of the faithful."¹

The Scriptures represent the king, or temporal sovereign, as supreme over his subjects, to whom all are obliged to yield special respect and obedience; the fathers yield him the same place, above all, next to God, and subject to God alone; the ancient good popes acknowledged themselves servants and subjects to the emperor.²

But later popes, like "the man of sin" in St Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, have advanced themselves above all civil power, claiming to themselves a supereminency, not only of rank but of power, over all Christian princes, even to depose them: "Christ has committed the rights both of terrestrial and celestial government to that blessed man who bears the keys of eternal life."³

"If the secular powers be believers, God would have them subject to the priests of the church. Christian emperors ought to submit, and not prefer the execution of their laws to the rulers of the church."⁴

God, by indispensable law, has obliged us to retain our obedience to the king, even pagan; charging us, under pain of damnation, to be subject to him, and not to resist him, &c.

But the pope is ready, upon occasion, to discharge subjects from that obligation, to absolve them from their solemn oaths of allegiance, to encourage insurrection against him, to prohibit obedience: "We, observing the decrees of our holy predecessors, by our apostolical authority absolve those from their oath who were bound by their fealty and oath to excommunicated persons; and we enjoin them by all means that they yield them no allegiance till they come and make satisfaction."⁵

Thus he teaches and prescribes "rebellion, perjury," together with all the "murders" and "rapines" consequent on them; which is a far greater heresy than if he should teach "adultery, murder," or

¹ Lex canonica simpliciter eos eximit.—*Bell. de Cler.* cap. 1. Sane quia laici quidam ecclesiasticas personas et ipsos etiam episcopos suo iudicio stare compellunt, eos qui de cætero id præsumpserint, a communione fidelium decernimus segregandos.—*Conc. Lat. III.*, can. xiv.; *Ibid.* II. xv.; *Steph. VI.*, Ep. i. tom. i. p. 180; *Nic. I.*, Ep. viii. tom. vi. p. 513.

² Tertul., Opt., Cyril., &c. alibi; Greg. Ep. ii. 62; Agatho, &c.

³ Christus beato æternæ vitæ clavigero terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit.—*P. Nic. II.* apud *Grat. Dist.* xxii. cap. 1; *Greg. VII.*, Ep. viii. 21; *Caus.* xv. qu. 6, cap. 3.

⁴ Seculi potestates si fideles sunt, Deus ecclesiæ sacerdotibus voluit esse subjectas. Imperatores Christiani subdere debent executiones suas ecclesiasticis præsulibus, non præferre.—*P. Joh. VIII.*, apud *Grat. Dist.* xcvi. cap. 11.

⁵ Nos sanctorum prædecessorum nostrorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus; et ne eis fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus, quosque ipsi ad satisfactionem veniant.—*Greg. VII.*, in *Syn. Rom. Grat. Caus.* xv. qu. 6, cap. 4.

"theft" to be lawful: "For they are enjoined by no authority to perform the allegiance which they have sworn to a Christian prince who is an adversary to God and his saints, and contemns their commands."¹

Not only the holy Scriptures, Ezek. xiii. 3, &c., but common sense, shows it to be an enormous presumption to obtrude, for the inspirations, oracles, and dictates of God, any writings or propositions which are not really such.

This the pope does notoriously, charging us to admit, as sacred and canonical, divers writings which the greatest part of learned men in all ages have refused for such; anathematizing all those who do not hold each of them for such,² even as they are extant in a translation, not very exact, and framed partly out of Hebrew, partly out of Greek, upon divers accounts liable to mistake, as its author, St Jerome, avows.

According to which decree, all who consent with St Jerome, St Augustine, St Athanasius, &c., with common sense, with the author of the Second [Book] of Maccabees himself, must incur a curse! What can be more uncharitable, more unjust, more silly, than such a definition?

He pretends to infallibility, or encourages them who attribute it to him; which is a continual enthusiasm, and profane, bold imposture.

The Scripture avows a singular reverence due to itself, as containing the oracles of God.

But the pope obtrudes the "oral traditions" of his church (divers of which evidently are new, dubious, vain) to be worshipped with equal reverence as the holy Scripture: "And also receives and venerates, with the like pious respect and reverence, the traditions themselves, which have been preserved by continual succession in the catholic church."³

Among which traditions they reckon all the tricks and trumpery of their mass service, together with all their new notions about purgatory, extreme unction, &c.: "He also used several ceremonies, as mystical benediction, lights, incensings, garments, and many other such things, from apostolical discipline and tradition."⁴

¹ Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejusque sanctis adversanti, eorum præcepta calcanti, nulla cohibentur auctoritate persolvere, &c.—*P. Urb. II.*, apud *Grat. Caus.* xv. qu. 6, cap. 5.

² Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit . . . anathema sit.—*Conc. Trid.* sess. iv. "But if any shall not receive for sacred and canonical those whole books, with the parts of them, according as they have been wont to be read in the catholic church, and are had in the old vulgar Latin edition, let him be anathema."

³ — nec non traditiones ipsas . . . continua successione in ecclesia catholica conservatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit, et veneratur.—*Syn. Trid.*, sess. iv.

⁴ Ceremonias item adhibuit, ut mysticas benedictiones, lumina, thymiamata, vestes, aliaque id genus multa ex apostolica disciplina et traditione, &c.—*Conc. Trid.*, sess. xxii. cap. 5, 11, *de Sacr. Miss.*

The Scriptures affirm themselves to be written for common instruction, comfort, edification in all piety; they therefore recommend themselves to be studied and searched by all people, as the best and surest means of attaining knowledge and finding truth. The fathers also much exhort all the people (even women and girls) constantly to read and diligently to study the Scriptures.¹

But the pope keeps them from the people, locked up in languages not understood by them, prohibiting translations of them to be made or used.² The Scripture teaches, and common sense shows, and the fathers assert (nothing, indeed, more frequently or more plainly), that all necessary points of faith and good morality are, with sufficient evidence, couched in holy Scripture, so that "a man of God," or pious men, may thence "be perfectly furnished to every work," 2 Tim. iii. 17; but they contrariwise blaspheme the Scriptures, as obscure, dangerous, &c.

Common sense dictates that devotions should be performed with understanding and affection, and that, consequently, they should be in a known tongue; and St Paul expressly teaches that it is requisite for private and public edification: "From this doctrine of Paul it appears that it is better for the edification of the church that public prayers, which are said in the audience of the people, should be said in a tongue common to the clergy and the people, than that they should be said in Latin."³

This all ancient churches accordingly practised, and most others do so, beside those which the papé rides.

But the pope will not have it so, requiring the public liturgy to be celebrated in an unknown tongue, and that most Christians shall say their devotions like parrots. He anathematizes those who "think the mass should be celebrated in a vulgar tongue,"⁴—that is, all those who are in their right wits, and think fit to follow the practice of the ancient church.

The holy Scripture teaches us that there is but one Head of the church; and the fathers avow no other, as we have elsewhere showed.

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 15; Rom. xv. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 10, x. 11; 2 Pet. i. 20. *Ἐκείνων.* John v. 39; Acts xvii. 11; Ps. cxix.; Hier. ad Læst. Epitaph. Paul. Vit. Hilar., &c.; Chrys. in Colos. Or. ix.; Aug. Serm. 55, de temp.

² [Note.]—P. Pius IV. authorized certain rules for prohibition and permission of books, in which it is permitted to bishops to grant a faculty of reading the Scriptures translated; but to this rule there is added an observation, that *this power was taken from bishops by command of the Roman universal Inquisition.*—*Ind. Lib. Prohib. a Clem. VIII.*

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 14. *Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur, quod melius est ad ecclesiæ edificationem orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici lingua communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latine.*—*Cajet. in 1 Cor. xiv.*

⁴ — aut lingua tantum vulgari missam celebrari debere—anathema sit.—*Sess. xxii. can. 9.*

But the pope assumes to himself the headship of the church, affirming "all power and authority to be derived from him into the subject members of the church."¹

"We decree that the Roman pontiff is the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole church."²

The Scripture declares that God instituted marriage for remedy of incontinency and prevention of sin, Matt. xix. 11, forbidding the use of it to none who should think it needful or convenient for them;³ reckoning the "prohibition of it"⁴ among heretical doctrines, implying it to be "imposing a snare" upon men.⁵

But the pope and his complices prohibit it to whole orders of men, "priests," &c., engaging them into dangerous vows.⁶

Our Lord forbids any marriage lawfully contracted to be dissolved, otherwise than in case of adultery.⁷

But the pope commands priests married to be divorced: "And that marriages contracted by such persons should be dissolved."⁸

He dissolves matrimony agreed, by the profession of monkery of one of the espoused: "If any shall say that matrimony confirmed, not consummate, is not dissolved by the solemn profession of religion of either party, let him be anathema."⁹

Our Saviour instituted and enjoined us, under pain of damnation if we should wilfully transgress his order, to eat of his body and drink of his blood, in participation of the holy supper.¹⁰

This the fathers accordingly practised, with the whole church, till late times.

But "notwithstanding Christ's institution,"¹¹ as they express it, papal synods prohibit all laymen, and priests not celebrating, to partake of Christ's blood; so maiming and perverting our Lord's institution: "And yet they decline to drink the blood of our redemption."¹²

¹ A quo tanquam capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas et autoritas derivetur.—*P. Pius II. in Bull. Retract.*

² Definimus Romanum pontificem—verum Christi vicarium totiusque ecclesie caput, &c.—*Defin. Syn. Flor.*

³ Μὴ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἰσχυρίαν.—1 Cor. ix. 5.

⁴ Καλούμεται γαμήιον.—1 Tim. iv. 3.

⁵ Βρόχον παλάλλιον.—1 Cor. vii. 35.

⁶ Vid. tom. vii. Conc. p. 465; Syn. Trid., sess. xxiv. de Matr. can. 9.

⁷ Matt. v. 32, xix. 6; 1 Cor. vii. 10.

⁸ Contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi.—*Conc. Lat. I., cap. 21; Lat. II.; Trid., sess. xxiv. can. 9, &c.*

⁹ Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum, non consummatum, per solennem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, anathema sit.—*Sess. xxiv. can. 6.*

¹⁰ Πίστετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ σώσεσθε.—*Matt. xxvi. 27.* Ἐὰν μὴ—πίνῃτε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν.—*Joh. vi. 53.*

¹¹ Non obstante.—*Conc. Const., sess. xiii.; Conc. Trid., sess. xiii. cap. 8, can. 3; sess. xxi. cap. 4, can. 3.*

¹² This Pope Leo I. condemneth.—*De Quadr., Serm. iv. p. 38.* Sanguinem redemptionis nostræ haurire declinant, &c. P. Gelasius calleth the division of the sacrament a grand sacrilege.—*Gratian. in De Consecr. Dist. ii. cap. 12.*

In defence of which practice they confound body and blood, and under a curse would oblige us to believe that one kind contains the other, or that a part contains the whole.¹

Whereas our Lord says that "whoso eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood hath eternal life," John vi. 54, and consequently supposes that bad men do not partake of his body and blood, yet they condemn this assertion under a curse.²

The holy Scripture, and the fathers after it, commonly call the elements of the eucharist, after consecration, bread and wine, affirming them to retain their nature.³

But the popish cabal anathematizes those who say "that bread and wine do then remain:"—

"If any shall say that in the holy sacrament of the eucharist the substance of bread and wine remains, let him be anathema."⁴

The nature of the Lord's supper implies communion and company; but they forbid any man to say that a priest "may not communicate alone;" so establishing the belief of nonsense and contradiction.

The holy Scripture teaches us that our Lord has departed, and is absent from us in body, until that he shall come to judge, which is called his *presence*; that heaven, whither he ascended, and where he sits at God's right hand, must "hold him till the times of the resurrection of all things."⁵

But the pope, with his Lateran and Tridentine complices, draw him down from heaven, and make him corporally present every day, in numberless places here.

The Scripture teaches us that our Lord is a man, "perfectly like to us in all things."⁶

But the pope and his adherents make him extremely different from us, as having a body at once present in innumerable places, insensible, &c., divested of the properties of our body; thereby destroying his human nature, and in effect agreeing with Eutyches, Apollinarius, and other such pestilent heretics.

The Scripture represents him born once for us, but they affirm him every day made by a priest, uttering the words of consecration; as if that which before existed could be made! as if a man could make his Maker!

¹ Conc. Trid., sess. xxi. can. 8; sess. xiii. can. 8.

² Si quis dixerit tantum in usu, &c.—*Trid. Conc.*, sess. xiii. cap. 8, can. 4, &c.

³ ἄρτον αὐτόν.—1 Cor. xi. 26; *Theod.*, *Gelas.*, &c.

⁴ Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto eucharistiæ sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini . . . anathema sit.—*Trid. Conc. de Euch.*, sess. xiii. can. 2. Si quis dixerit missas in quibus sacerdos solus sacramentaliter communicat, illicitas esse, anathema sit.—*Sess. xxii. de Sacr. Miss.*, can. 8; sess. xiii. can. 8.

⁵ 2 Cor. v. 6; Acts ii. 33; Col. iii. 1. Εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἰκάνειν.—Heb. x. 12. "Ὁν οὐ οὐρανὸν διέσσει.—Acts iii. 21.

⁶ Ὁμοιωσι κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν.—Heb. ii. 17.

The Scripture teaches that our Lord was "once offered" for expiation of our sins; but they pretend every day to offer him up as a "propitiatory sacrifice." Ἐφάπαξ μὴ προσφορᾷ.—Heb. ix. 26, x. 10, 12, 14.

These devices, without other foundation than a figurative expression, which they resolve to expound in a proper sense, although even in that very matter divers figurative expressions are used, as they cannot but acknowledge, they with all violence and fierceness obtrude upon the belief, as one of the most necessary and fundamental articles of the Christian religion.

The Scripture teaches us humbly to acknowledge the rewards assigned by God to be gratuitous and free, and that we, "after we have done all, must acknowledge ourselves unprofitable servants."—Eph. ii. 8, 9; Tit. iii. 5; Rom. iii. 24; Luke xvii. 10.

But the Papists curse those who, although out of humility and modesty, will not acknowledge the good works of justified persons to be truly meritorious, "deserving the increase of grace, eternal life, and augmentation of glory;"¹ so forcing us to use saucy words and phrases, if not impious in their sense.

The Scripture teaches one church diffused over the whole world, whereof each part is bound to maintain charity, peace, and communion with the rest upon brotherly terms.

But the Romanists arrogate to themselves the name and privilege of the only church, condemning all other churches besides their own, and censuring all for apostatical who do not adhere to them or submit to their yoke; just like the Donatists, who said that "the world had apostatized," excepting those who, upon their own terms, communicated with them; "only the communion of Donatus remained" the true church!²

The holy Scripture bids us take care of persons pretending to extraordinary inspirations, charging on the Holy Spirit their own conceits and devices.—1 John iv. 1; Jer. xxix. 8.

Such have been their synods, boldly fathering their decrees on God's Spirit, &c. And their pope is infallible, by virtue of inspiration communicated to him, when he pleases to set himself right in his chair! Whence we may take them for bodies of enthusiasts and fanatics. The difference only is, that other enthusiasts pretend singly, they conjunctly and by conspiracy; others pretend it in their own direction and defence, these impose their dreams on the whole church.

If they say that God has promised his Spirit to his church, it is true; but he has no less plainly and frequently promised it to single

¹ Sess. vi. de Justif. can. 32.

² Orbis terrarum apostatavit, et sola remansit Donati communio.—*Aug. de Unit.* xii. &c.

Christians, who should seek it earnestly of him.—Luke xi. 13; James i. 5; 1 John ii. 27; Heb. viii. 11; Rom. viii. 9; Acts v. 32.

The ancient fathers could in the Scriptures hardly discern more than two sacraments, or mysterious rites of our religion, by positive law and institution of our Saviour to be practised.¹

But the popes have devised others, and, under uncharitable curses, propound them to be professed for such,² affirming them to confer grace by the bare performance of them.

Every clergyman and monk is bound by Pius IV. to profess “there are just seven of them,”³ and the Tridentine synod “anathematizes all those who say there are more or fewer,”⁴ although the ancients never hit on that number.

“But these our sacraments both contain grace, and also confer it upon those who worthily receive them.”⁵

They require men to believe, under a curse, that each of those was instituted of Christ, and confers grace by the bare performance.

Particularly, they curse those who do not hold “matrimony for a sacrament instituted by Christ, and conferring grace.”⁶ What can be more ridiculous than to say that marriage was instituted by Christ, or that it confers grace?

Yet, with another anathema, they prefer virginity before it;⁷ and why, forsooth, is not that another sacrament? And then they must be comparing the worth of these sacraments, condemning those heavily who may conceive them equal, as being divine institutions:—

“If any shall say that these seven sacraments are so equal one to another, that one is in no respect of more worth than another, let him be anathema.”⁸

The first, as it seems, who reckoned the sacraments to be seven was Peter Lombard, whom the schoolmen followed, and Pope Eugenius IV. followed them; and afterward the Trent men formed it into an article, backed with an anathema.⁹

¹ Aug. Doctr. Christ. Ep. ad Jen.

² Si sacramenta essent pauciora, magna impietas fuisset et superstitio, &c.—*Bell. de Sac.* ii. 25. “If the sacraments were fewer, there would have been great impiety and superstition,” &c.

³ Profiteor quoque septem esse proprie et vere sacramenta.—*Bulla Pii IV.*

⁴ Si quis dixerit . . . esse plura vel pauciora quam septem . . . anathema sit.—*Syn. Trid.* sess. vii. can. 1.

⁵ Hæc vero nostra et continent gratiam, et ipsam digne suscipientibus conferunt.—*P. Eug. in Instr. Arm.* Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato, non conferri gratiam . . . anathema sit.—*Ibid.* can. 8.

⁶ Si quis dixerit matrimonium non esse vere ac proprie unum ex septem legis evangelicæ sacramentis, a Christo Domino institutum . . . neque gratiam conferre, anathema sit.—*Sess.* xxiv. can. 1.

⁷ *Sess.* xxiv. can. 10.

⁸ Si quis dixerit hæc septem sacramenta ita esse inter se paria, ut nulla ratione aliud sit alio dignius, anathema sit.—*Sess.* vii. can. 8.

⁹ Novæ legis septem sunt sacramenta, &c.—*P. Eug. in Instr. Arm.* Bellarmine could find none before him. *Vid. de Sacram.* ii. 25.

Upon which rash and peremptory sentence, touching all ancient divines, we may note:—

1. Is it not strange that an article of faith should be formed upon an ambiguous word, [sacrament,] or a term of art, used with great variety?

2. Is it not strange to define a point whereof it is most plain that the fathers were ignorant, wherein they never agreed or resolved any thing?

3. Yea, whereof they speak variously?

4. Is it not odd and extravagant to damn or curse people for a point of so little consideration or certainty?

5. Is it not intolerable arrogance and presumption to define, nay, indeed, to make an article of faith, without any manner of ground or colour of authority either from Scripture or the tradition of the ancient fathers?¹

The holy Scripture forbids us to “call any man master upon earth,” or absolutely to subject our faith to the dictates of any man; it teaches us that the apostles themselves are “not lords of our faith,” so as to oblige us to believe their own inventions; it forbids us to swallow whole “the doctrines and precepts of men” without examination of them; it forbids us to admit “various and strange doctrines.”²—Matt. xxiii. 8; 2 Cor. i. 24; 1 Thess. v. 21; Col. ii. 8; Matt. xv. 9.

But the pope and Roman church exact from us a submission to their dictates, admitting them for true, without any farther inquiry or discussion, barely upon his authority: “They who are provided of any benefices whatever, having cure of souls, let them promise and swear obedience to the Roman church.”³

They require of us without doubt to believe, to profess, to assert, innumerable propositions, divers of them new and strange, no wise deducible from Scripture or apostolical tradition, the very terms of them being certainly unknown to the primitive church, devised by human subtilty, curiosity, contentiousness; divers of them being (in all appearance, to the judgment of common sense) uncertain, obscure, and intricate; divers of them bold and fierce; divers of them frivolous and vain; divers of them palpably false;—namely, all such propositions as have been taught by their great juntos, allowed by the pope, especially that of Trent.

“Moreover, all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and oecumenical councils, and especially by the

¹ Multa dicuntur a veteribus sacramenta præter ista septem.—*Bell. de Sacr.* ii. 24.
“Many things are by the ancients called sacraments besides these seven.”

² Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις, καὶ ἕναις μὴ περιφραστοῖς.—*Heb.* xiii. 9.

³ Provisi de beneficiis quibuscunque curam animarum habentibus . . . in Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientiam spondeant ac jurent.—*Conc. Trid.* sess. xxiv. cap. 12, *de Ref.*—nec non veram obedientiam summo pontifici spondeant et profiteantur.—*Sess.* xxv. cap. 2, *de Ref.*

holy synod of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and profess; and also all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned, and rejected, and anathematized by the church, I in like manner condemn, reject, and anathematize, &c. This is the true catholic faith, out of which there can be no salvation."¹

This usurpation upon the consciences of Christians (none like whereto was ever known in the world) they prosecute with the most uncharitable censures, cursing and damning all who do not in heart and profession submit to them, obliging all their consorts [associates] to join therein, against all charity and prudence.

The Scripture enjoins us to bear with those who are weak in faith, and err in doubtful or disputable matters.—Rom. xiv. 1, xv. 1, 7.

But the popes, with cruel uncharitableness, not only censure all that cannot assent to their devices, which they obtrude as articles of faith, but sorely persecute them with all sorts of punishments, even with death itself; a practice inconsistent with Christian meekness, with equity, with reason, and of which the fathers have expressed the greatest detestation. "They have unwoven all theology from head to foot," [says Erasmus], "and from divine have turned it into sophistical."²

The pope, with his pack of mercenary clients at Trent, indeed, established a scholastical or sophistical, rather than a Christian theology, framing points devised by the idle wits of latter times into definitions and peremptory conclusions, backed with curses and censures; concerning which conclusions it is evident,—

That the apostles themselves would not be able to understand many of them.³

That the ancient fathers never thought any thing about them.

That divers of them consist in application of artificial terms and phrases, devised by human subtilty.

That divers of them are in their own nature disputable, were before disputed by wise men, and will ever be disputed by those who freely use their judgment.

That there was no need of defining many of them.

That they blindly lay about them, condemning and cursing they know not whom, fathers, schoolmen, divines, &c., who have expressly affirmed points so damned by them.

¹ Cætera item omnia a sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta Tridentina synodo tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascunque ab ecclesia damnatas et rejectas et anathematizatas, ego pariter damno, respuo, et anathematizo.—*P. Pii IV. profess.* Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nulla salus esse potest.—*Ibid.*

² Totam theologiam a capite usque ad calcem retexuerunt, et ex divina sophisticam fecerunt.—*Erasm. præf. ad Hieron.*

³ Formaliter justos.—*Sess. vi. can. 10.* Ex opere operato.—*Sess. vii. can. 8.* Character.—*Sess. vii. can. 9.*

That many truths are uncharitably backed with curses; which disparages them, seeing a man may err pardonably: Πολλὰ γὰρ πταίομεν ἁπανταίς,—“In many things we offend all,” James iii. 2.

For instance, what need was there of defining [concupiscence], what need of cursing those who think concupiscence “to be truly and properly sin,” upon St Paul’s authority calling it so?¹

[What need of cursing those who say] that “Adam, presently upon his transgression, lost the sanctity and righteousness in which he was constituted?”²

What need of cursing those who say that men are justified “by the sole remission of sins,” according to St Paul’s notion and use of the word “justification?”³

What need of cursing those who say the “grace of God, by which we are justified, is only the favour of God,” whereas it is plain enough that “God’s grace” there in St Paul doth signify nothing else, applied to that case?⁴

Or [those who say] that faith is “nothing else but a reliance on God’s mercy, remitting sins for Christ,”⁵ seeing it is plain that St Paul doth by “faith” chiefly mean the belief of that principal point of the gospel?

Or [those who say] that good works “do not cause an increase of justification,”⁶ seeing St Paul excludes justification by works, and it is a free work of God, incapable of degrees?

Or [those who say] that after remission of sin in justification, “no obligation of temporal punishment remains?”⁷

Or [those who say] that a man cannot “by his works merit increase of grace, and glory, and eternal life” (sess. vi. can. 32), seeing a man is not to be blamed who dislikes the use of so saucy a word, which divers good men have disclaimed?

What need of cursing those who do not take the sacraments to be “precisely seven?” or who conceive that some one of their seven may not be “truly and properly” a sacrament,⁸ seeing the word “sacrament” is ambiguous, and by the fathers applied to divers others things, and defined generally by St Augustine, *signum rei sacræ*, and that before Peter Lombard ever mentioned that number?

¹ Sess. v. can. 5; Rom. vii.

² Cum mandatum Dei in paradiso fuisset transgressus, statim sanctitatem et justitiam in qua constitutus fuerat amisisse.—Sess. v. can. 1.

³ Sess. vi. can. 11.

⁴ Sess. vi. can. 11. Aut etiam gratiam qua justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei.

⁵ Sess. vi. can. 12.

⁶ Sess. vi. can. 24. Non autem ipsius augendæ causam, &c.

⁷ Ut nullus remaneat reus pœnæ temporalis exolvendæ, &c.—Sess. vi. can. 30; Sess. xiv. de Pœnit., can. 15.

⁸ De sacramentis. Si quis dixerit . . . esse plura vel pauciora quam septem.—Sess. vii. can. 1.

What need of damning those who conceive the sacraments equal in dignity?—*Sess. vii. can. 3.*

What need of defining that sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*? (*sess. vii. can. 8*), which is an obscure, scholastical phrase.

What need of cursing those who say that a "character is not impressed in the soul" of those who take "baptism, confirmation, or orders,"¹ seeing what this character is, or "this spiritual and indelible mark,"² they do not themselves well understand or agree?

What need of cursing those who do not think that the validity of sacraments, and consequently the assurance of our being Christians, depends on the intention of the minister?—*Sess. vii. can. 11.*

What need of cursing those who think that a pastor of the church may change the ceremonies of administering the sacraments (*sess. vii. can. 13*), seeing St Cyprian often teaches that every pastor has full authority in such cases within his own precinct?

What need of defining the Second Book of Maccabees to be canonical (*sess. iv.*), against the common opinion of the fathers, most expressly of St Augustine himself, of the most learned in all ages, of Pope Gelasius himself (in *Decret.*), which the author [of the book] himself, calling his work an epitome, and asking pardon for his errors, disclaims, and which common sense therefore disclaims?

Their new creed of Pius IV. contains these novelties and heterodoxies:—1. Seven sacraments; 2. Trent doctrine of justification and original sin; 3. Propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; 4. Transubstantiation; 5. Communicating under one kind; 6. Purgatory; 7. Invocation of saints; 8. Veneration of relics; 9. Worship of images; 10. The Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches; 11. Swearing obedience to the pope; 12. Receiving the decrees of all synods, and of Trent.

¹ Non imprimi characterem in anima.—*Sess. vii. can. 9.*

Hoc est signum quoddam spirituale et indelebile.—*Ibid.*

Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus,

Ut quisque lingua nequior;

Solvunt ligantque quæstionum vincula

Per syllogismos plectiles.

*Prudent. in Apotheos.**

* Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, a Christian poet, born in 348, of consular dignity, and author of several hymns, one portion of which is entitled "Apotheosis." The above quotation is from his "Hymnus in Infideles."—Ed.

A DISCOURSE
CONCERNING
THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

Non habet charitatem Dei qui ecclesie non diligit unitatem.

AUG. DE BAPT., 3.

[He has not the love of God who loves not the unity of the church.

AUGUSTINE ON BAPTISM, 3.]

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following treatise has been always printed along with that on the Supremacy, both in the English and in the foreign editions. Dr Tillotson says, in reference to it : "To this treatise of *The Pope's Supremacy* I have, for the affinity of the argument, added, by way of appendix, another discourse of the same author's, concerning *The Unity of the Church*, which he so explains as quite to take away the necessity of a *visible head* over the whole church for the preservation of its unity; which is the only specious, but yet a very remote, pretence for the Pope's supremacy: for if a visible monarch of the church were granted necessary, many things more must be supposed (which neither yet are nor ever can be proved), to make the bishop of Rome the man."

The Discourse has been commended, not only as containing a powerful argument against the supremacy of the Pope, but also as forming a just estimate of less important differences. It was written in opposition to the views entertained by Mr Herbert Thorndike, prebendary of Westminster, a High-Church writer of that time, and author of "Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England," London, fol. 1659. It possesses in a high degree the characteristics which Dr Barrow could not fail to communicate to his works,—learning, clearness of comprehension, soberness, and piety. Mr Hill observes, that "by this little piece of 'The Unity of the Church,' he has better deserved of the church and religion than many who make a greater figure in ecclesiastical history and politics; for upon his principles, ecclesiasticism would be for edification, and not for destruction. It is the learned Mr Thorndike he disputes against; but that did not abate the intimate friendship that was between them." Considering the delicate and debatable ground he had to tread, the author maintains throughout the catholicity of his spirit with great success; unless we except some remarks towards the close, relative to schism, which are either not sufficiently explained to be intelligible, or not qualified enough to meet with general approval.—Ed.

A DISCOURSE
CONCERNING
THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

“One body, and one Spirit.”—EPH. iv. 4.

THE “unity of the church” is a point which may seem somewhat speculative and remote from practice; but in right judgments it is otherwise, many duties depending upon a true notion and consideration of it; so that from ignorance or mistake about it we may incur divers offences or omissions of duty. Hence in holy Scripture it is often proposed as a considerable point, and useful to practice.

And if ever the consideration of it were needful, it is so now, when the church is so rent with dissensions, for our satisfaction and direction about the questions and cases debated in Christendom; for on the explication of it, or the true resolution wherein it consists, the controversies about “church government, heresy, schism, liberty of conscience,” and by consequence many others, depend; yea, indeed, all others are by some parties made to depend thereon.

St Paul, exhorting the Ephesians, his disciples, to the maintenance of charity and peace among themselves, for inducement to that practice represents the unity and community of those things which jointly appertained to them as Christians: the unity of that “body” of which they were members; of that “spirit” which animated and acted them; of that “hope” to which they were called; of that “Lord” whom they all worshipped and served; of that “faith” which they professed; of that “baptism” whereby they were admitted into the same state of duties, of rights, of privileges; of that one “God” and universal “Father,” to whom they had all the same relations.

He begins with the “unity of the body,”—that is, of the Christian church; concerning which unity, what it is, and wherein it consists, I mean now to discourse.

In order to clearing which point, we must first state what the church is of which we discourse; for the word “church” is ambiguo-

ous, having both in holy Scripture and common use divers senses somewhat different: for,—

1. Sometimes any assembly or company of Christians is called a “church,” as when mention is made of “the church in such a house,” Rom. xvi. 5; Col. iv. 15; Philem. 2;—whence Tertullian says, “Where there are three, even laics, there is a church.”¹

2. Sometimes a particular society of Christians, living in spiritual communion and under discipline; as when “the church at such a town,”² “the churches of such a province,”³ “the churches,” “all the churches,”⁴ are mentioned;—according to which notion St Cyprian says, that there is a “church” where there is “a people united to a priest, and a flock adhering to their shepherd;”⁵ and so Ignatius says, “That without the orders of the clergy a church is not called.”⁶

3. A large collection of divers particular societies combined together in order, under direction and influence of a common government, or of persons acting in the public behalf, is termed a “church;” as the church of Antioch, of Corinth, of Jerusalem, &c, each of which at first probably consisted of divers congregations, having dependencies of less towns annexed to them, all being united under the care of the bishop and presbytery of those places. But, however, soon after the apostles’ times, it is certain that such collections were, and were named “churches.”

4. The society of those who at present or in course of time profess the faith and gospel of Christ, and undertake the evangelical covenant, in distinction to all other religions, particularly to that of the Jews, which is called the “synagogue.”—Matt. xvi. 18; Eph. iii. 10; Gal. i. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 15.

5. The whole body of God’s people, that is, ever has been, or ever shall be, from the beginning of the world to the consummation thereof, who having (formally or virtually) believed in Christ and sincerely obeyed God’s laws, shall finally, by the meritorious performances and sufferings of Christ, be saved, is called the “church.”—Acts. xii. 1, ii. 47, xx. 28; 1 Cor. x. 32, xii. 28, xv. 9, xiv. 12.

Of these acceptations the two latter only come under present consideration, it being plain that St Paul does not speak of any one particular or present society, but of all, at all times, who have relation to the same Lord, faith, hope, sacraments, &c.

¹ Ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici.—*Tert. de Ezh. Cast.*, cap. vii.

² Acts viii. 1, xiv. 27, v. 11; 1 Cor. i. 2; Col. iv. 16; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 1; Rev. ii. 1, &c.; Rom. xvi. 1.

³ Acts ix. 31; Gal. i. 2; 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19; 2 Cor. viii. 1.

⁴ Rom. xvi. 4; 1 Cor. iv. 17, xi. 16; Acts xvi. 5; Rev. ii. 7, 11; *Καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία*, Acts xiv. 28.

⁵ Ecclesia, plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhaerens.—*Cypr., Ep. lxi.*

⁶ *Χαρίς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.*—*Ignat. ad Tral.*

Wherefore, to determine the case between these two, we must observe, that to the latter of these (that is, to the catholic society of true believers and faithful servants of Christ, diffused through all ages, dispersed through all countries, whereof part sojourns on earth, part resides in heaven, part is not yet extant, Eph. i. 10, but all whereof is described in the register of divine pre-ordination, and shall be re-collected at the resurrection of the just; that, I say, to this church) especially all the glorious titles and excellent privileges attributed to the church in holy Scripture agree.

This is "the body of Christ," of which he is "the head" and Saviour, Col. i. 18, 20.

This is the spouse and wife of Christ, of which he is the bridegroom and husband, Eph. v. 25, 32; Rev. xix. 7; Matt. xxii. 2, xxv. 1.

This is "the house of God," of which our Lord is the master, Matt. xxi. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Heb. iii. 5; 1 Pet. ii. 5; Eph. ii. 21; —which is "built upon a rock, so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," Matt. xvi. 18.

This is "the city of God; the new, the holy, the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of us all," Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2, 10; Heb. xii. 22; Gal. iv. 26.

This is the "Zion, which the Lord hath chosen, which he hath desired for his habitation," where he has resolved to "place his rest and residence for ever," Ps. cxxxii. 13.

This is "the mountain of the Lord, seated above all mountains, unto which all nations shall flow," Isa. ii. 2; Micah iv. 1.

This is "the elect generation, royal priesthood, holy nation, peculiar people," 1 Pet. ii. 9.

This is "the general assembly and church of the first-born, who are enrolled in heaven," Heb. xii. 23.

This is "the church which God hath purchased with his own blood," Acts. xx. 28; and "for which Christ hath delivered himself, that he might sanctify it and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it might be holy and unblemished," Eph. v. 25–27.

To this church, as those high eulogies most properly appertain, so that unity which is often attributed to the church peculiarly belongs thereto.

This is that "one body, into which we are all baptized by one Spirit," 1 Cor. xii. 13; which is "knit together, and compacted of parts affording mutual aid and supply to its nourishment and increase," Rom. xii. 5; Eph. iv. 16; Col. ii. 19; the members whereof hold a mutual sympathy and complacence, 1 Cor. xii. 26; which is joined to one Head, deriving sense and motion from it; which is enlivened and moved by "one Spirit," 1 Cor. xii. 13.

This is that "one spiritual house," reared "upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord," 1 Pet. ii. 5; Eph. ii. 20.

This is that "one family of God," of which Christ is the *οικοδομητής*, whence good Christians are *οἰκεῖοι Θεοῦ*.—Matt. x. 25; Heb. iii. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 15.

This is that one city or corporation, endued with an ample charter and noble privileges, in regard to which St Paul says we are *συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων* (fellow-citizens of the saints), and that our *πολίτευμα* (our civil state and capacity) "is in heaven," or that we are citizens thereof.—Heb. xii. 22; Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2, 10; Eph. ii. 19; Phil. iii. 20.

[This is] that one "holy nation and peculiar people" (the spiritual Israel), subject to the same government and law (that which is called the "kingdom of heaven"), enjoying the same franchises and privileges, following the same customs and fashions, using the same conversation and language, whereof Jesus Christ is the Lord and King.—1 Pet. ii. 9; Ezek. xxxvii. 22.

This is the "one flock, under one Shepherd," John x. 16; Ezek. xxxvii. 24, xxxiv. 23.

This is the society of those for whom Christ prayed that they might "be all one," John xvii. 20, 21.

It is true, that divers of these characters are expressed to relate to the church after Christ; but they may be allowed to extend to all the faithful servants of God before, who in effect were Christians, being saved upon the same account, and therefore belonged to the same body.¹

To this church in a more special and eminent manner all those titles, and particularly that of unity, are ascribed; but the same also, in some order and measure, belong and are attributed to the universal church sojourning upon earth.

For, because this visible church infolds the other, as one mass contains the good ore and base alloy,² as one floor the corn and the chaff, as one field the wheat and the tares, as one net the choice fish and the refuse, as one fold the sheep and the goats, Matt. iii. 12, xiii. 38, 47, xxv. 32, as one tree the living and the dry branches, John xv. 2;—because this society is designed to be in appearance what the other is in reality, the same with the other;—because, there-

¹ Ex quo vocantur sancti, est ecclesia in terra.—*Aug. in Ps. cxxviii.* "Since men are called saints, there is a church upon earth." Sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratia, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt ecclesiæ constituti.—*Greg. Mag. Ep. xxiv.* "Saints before the law, saints under the law, saints under the gospel, all these make up the body of Christ, and are reckoned among the members of the church."

² "One great house hath vessels of honour and dishonour."—2 Tim. ii. 20; Rom. ix. 21.

fore, presumptively, every member of this passes for a member of the other, the time of distinction and separation not being yet come, Matt. xiii. 30;—because this, in its profession of truth, in its sacrifices of devotion, in its practice of service and duty to God, communicates with that:—therefore, commonly, the titles and attributes of the one are imparted to the other.

“All,” says St Paul, “are not Israel who are of Israel,” nor “is he a Jew that is one outwardly,” Rom. ix. 6, ii. 28; yet in regard to the conjunction of the rest with “the faithful Israelites,” John i. 47, because of external consent in the same profession, and conspiring in the same services, all the congregation of Israel is styled “a holy nation,” and “peculiar people.”¹

So likewise the apostles speak to all members of the church as to elect and holy persons, unto whom all the privileges of Christianity belong; although really hypocrites and bad men “do not belong to the church, nor are concerned in its unity,” as St Augustine often teaches.²

The places, therefore, of Scripture which represent the church one, as unquestionably they belong, in their principal notion and intent, to the true universal church, called the church mystical and invisible; so may they, by analogy and participation, be understood to concern the visible church catholic here on earth, which professes faith in Christ and obedience to his laws.³

And of this church, under due reference to the other, the question is, Wherein the unity of it consists, or upon what grounds it is called “one,” being [seeing] that it comprises in itself so many persons, societies, and nations?

For resolution of which question, we may consider that a community of men may be termed “one” upon several accounts and grounds; as,—

For specifical unity of nature, or as *unum genus*: so are all men

¹ Sicut lilium in medio spinarum, ita proxima mea in medio filiarum Unde filias appellat, nisi propter communionem sacramentorum?—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. xiii. “As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters. . . . Why doth he call them daughters, but for the communion and agreement in sacraments?”

² Non ad eam pertinent avari, raptores, foeneratores. Videntur esse in ecclesia, non sunt.—*Aug. de Bapt. contr. Don.* iv. 1, vi. 3. Ecclesiam veram intelligere non audeo nisi in sanctis et justis.—*Ibid.* v. 27. “I dare not understand the true church to be but among holy and righteous men.” Pax autem hujus unitatis in solis bonis est—sicut autem isti qui intus cum gemitu tolerantur, quamvis ad eandem Columbæ unitatem et illam gloriosam ecclesiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi non pertinent.—*Idem de Bapt.* iii. 18. Nec regenerati spiritualiter in corpore et membra Christi cōdificentur nisi boni, &c.—*Aug. de Unit.* xviii. Multi tales sunt in sacramentorum communione cum ecclesia, et tamen jam non sunt in ecclesia.—*Idem de Unit. Eccl.* cap. xx. “There are many such who communicate in sacraments with the church, and yet they are not in the church.” Omnes mali spiritualiter a bonis sejuncti sunt.—*De Bapt.* vi. 4. “All evil men are spiritually severed from the good.”

³ Ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἁγιαστῶν.—*Clem. Alex., Strom.* p. 514. “I call the church the congregation of the elect.”

one by participation of common rationality,—*τὸ ἀνθρώπινον*, *humanum genus*.

For cognation of blood, as *gens una*: so are all Jews, however living dispersedly over the world, reckoned one nation or people; so all kinsmen constitute one family; and thus also all men, as made of one blood, are one people.

For commerce of language: so Italians and Germans [Grisons?] are esteemed one people, although living under different laws and governments.

For consent in opinion, or conformity in manners and practices; as men of the same sect in religion or philosophy, of the same profession, faculty, trade. So Jews, Mohammedans, Arians; so orators, grammarians, logicians; so divines, lawyers, physicians, merchants, artisans, rustics, &c.

For affection of mind or compacts of good-will, or for links of peace and amicable correspondence, in order to mutual interest and aid; as friends and confederates.

For being ranged in order under one law and rule, as those who live under one monarchy or in one commonwealth; as the people in England, Spain, France, in Venice, Genoa, Holland, &c.

Upon such grounds of unity or union a society of men is denominated one; and upon divers such accounts it is plain that the catholic church may be said to be one: for,—

I. It is evident that the church is one by consent in faith and opinion concerning all principal matters of doctrine, especially in those which have considerable influence upon the practice of piety toward God, righteousness toward men, and sobriety of conversation; to “teach us” which “the grace of God hath appeared,” Tit. ii. 11, 12. “My sheep hear my voice,” John x. 27, 16.

As he that should in any principal doctrine differ from Plato (denying the “immortality of the soul,” the “providence of God,” the “natural difference of good and evil”) would not be a Platonist; so he that dissents from any doctrine of importance manifestly taught by Christ renounces Christianity.¹

All Christians are “delivered into one form of doctrine,” Rom. vi. 17, Col. ii. 7, to which they must stiffly and steadfastly adhere, “keeping the *depositum* committed to them,” Heb. iii. 6, xiii. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 58; Eph. iv. 14. They must “strive together for the faith of the gospel,” Phil. i. 27; and “earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints,” Jude 3. They must “hold fast the form of sound words in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus,” 2 Tim. i. 13; that “great salvation, which at first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto them by his hearers; God also

¹ *Regula fidei sola immobilis et irreformabilis, &c.—Tert. de Virg., vol. i.*

bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will," Heb. ii. 3, 4.

They are bound to "mind," or think, "one and the same thing; to "stand fast in one spirit with one mind," Phil. ii. 2, 2 Cor. xiii. 11, Phil. i. 27; to "walk by the same rule," Phil. iii. 16; to "be joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment," 1 Cor. i. 10; "with one mind and mouth to glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," Rom. xv. 6.

They are obliged to disclaim consortship with the gainsayers of this doctrine; "to stand off" from those who do *ἑρποδοξίῃ*," or who "do not consent to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness," 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5, 2 Thess. iii. 6; to "mark those who make divisions and scandals beside the doctrine which Christians have learned, and to decline from them," Rom. xvi. 17; to "reject heretics," Tit. iii. 10; to "beware of false prophets," of "seducers," Matt. vii. 15, xxiv. 11; of those who "speak perverse things to draw disciples after them," Acts xx. 29, 30, 2 Pet. ii. 1, Eph. iv. 14; to "pronounce anathema upon whoever shall preach any other doctrine," Gal. i. 8.

Thus are all Christians "one in Christ Jesus," Gal. iii. 28, 26; thus are they, as Tertullian speaks, "confederated in the society of a sacrament,"¹ or of one profession.

"This preaching and this faith the church having received, though dispersed over the world, carefully holds, as inhabiting one house; and alike believes these things, as if it had one soul and the same heart; and consonantly preaches, and teaches, and delivers these things, as if it had but one mouth."²

"As for kings, though their kingdoms be divided, yet He equally expects from every one of them one dispensation, and one and the same sacrifice of a true confession and praise: so that, though there may seem to be a diversity of temporal ordinances, yet an unity and agreement in the right faith may be held and maintained among them."³

In regard to this union in faith peculiarly the body of Christians adhering to it was called "The catholic church;" from which all those

¹ Τὸ ἓν καὶ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν.

² Ἀφίστασθαι.

³ De societate sacramenti confœderantur.—Tertull. in Marc., iv. 5.

⁴ Ταῦτα τὸ κήρυγμα περιληφθῆναι, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ περὶ ἑλθὼν τῇ πίστει διεσαρκῶν ἰσχυρίζεται ὡς ἓν εἶναι οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ἑμῶς πιστεύει τοῖς τοῖς ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωμι, ὡς ἓν στήμα συνεκτιμένη.—Iren. i. 8, apud Epiph. Hær. xxxi.

⁵ Reges . . . quorum etai divisa sunt regna, sequaliter tamen de singulis dispensationem exigit, unamque de eis veræ de se confessionis hostiam laudis expectat—ut etai dispositionum temporalium videatur esse diversitas, circa ejus fidei rectitudinem unitatis consonantia teneatur.—P. Leo II., Ep. v. ad Ervigium R. Hisp.

were esteemed *ipso facto* to be cut off and separated who in any point deserted that faith: "Such a one," says St Paul, *ἐξίστραπται*, "is turned aside," or has left the Christian way of life.¹ He in reality is no Christian, nor is to be avowed or treated as such; but is to be disclaimed, rejected, and shunned, Tit. iii. 11; Rom. xvi. 17; 2 John 10.

"He," says St Cyprian, "cannot seem a Christian who does not persist in the unity of Christ's gospel and faith."²

"If," says Tertullian, "a man be a heretic, he cannot be a Christian."³

Whence Hegesippus says of the old heretics, that they "divided the unity of the church by pernicious speeches against God and his Christ."⁴

"The virtue," says the Pastor Hermes, cited by Clemens Alex. [Alexandrinus], "which keeps the church together is faith."⁵

So the fathers of the sixth council tell the emperor that "they were members one of another, and constituted the one body of Christ, by consent in opinion with him and one another, and by faith."⁶

"We ought in all things to hold the unity of the catholic church, and not to yield in any thing to the enemies of faith and truth."⁷

"In each part of the world this faith is one, because this is the Christian faith."⁸

"He denies Christ who confesses not all things that are Christ's."⁹

Hence, in common practice, whoever appeared to differ from the common faith was rejected as an apostate from Christianity, and unworthy the communion of other Christians.

There are points of less moment, more obscurely delivered, . . . in which Christians without breach of unity may dissent, about which they may dispute, in which they may err, without breach of unity or prejudice to charity.¹⁰

¹ *Ἐξίστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος.*

² Nec Christianus videri potest, qui non permanet in evangelii ejus et fidei veritate.—*Cypr. de Unit. Eccl.*

³ Si hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt.—*Tertull. de Præscr.*, cap. xxxvii.

⁴ Οἱ τινες λήρυσαν τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθορμαίους λόγους κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.—*Euseb. Hist.*, iv. 22.

⁵ Ἡ ἐνὶ χάριτι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀμειβὴ, ἡ πίστις ἐστὶ.—*Herm.*, apud *Clem. Strom.* ii. p. 281.

⁶ Μιλλὼν ἀλλήλων ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐν σώμα συνιστάμενον Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους ὁμοδοξίας καὶ πίστεως.—*Conc. VI.*, Act. xviii. p. 271.

⁷ Per omnia debemus ecclesiæ catholicæ unitatem tenere, nec in aliquo fidei et veritatis hostibus cedere.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxi.*, ad *Quint. de Steph. P.*

⁸ Utriusque partis terrarum fides ista una est, quia et fides ista Christiana est.—*Aug. contr. Jul.* i. 2, pp. 203, 2.

⁹ Negat Christum qui non omnia quæ Christi sunt confitetur.—*Ambr. in Luc.*, lib. vi., cap. 9, p. 90; *Vid.* p. 85.

¹⁰ Alia sunt in quibus inter se aliquando etiam doctissimi atque optimi regulæ catholicæ defensores, salva fidei compage non consonant, &c.—*Aug. contr. Jul.* i. 2, p. 205. Totum hoc genus liberas habet observationes.—*Aug. ad Jan.*, *Ep. cxviii. lxxxvi.*, ad *Casal.*

The faith of Christians at first consisted in few points, those which were professed in baptism, of which we have divers summaries in the ancients (*Iren. i. 2*); by analogy whereto all other propositions were expounded, and according to agreement whereto sound doctrines were distinguished from false, so that he was accounted orthodox who did not violate them.

"So he that holds that immovable rule of truth which he received at his baptism will know the words, and sayings, and parables, which are taken out of the Scriptures," &c.¹

II. It is evident that all Christians are united by the bands of mutual charity and good-will.

They are all bound to wish one another well, to have a complacency in the good and a compassion of the evils incident to each other, to discharge all offices of kindness, succour, consolation to each other.

This is the command of Christ to all: "This is my commandment," says he, "That ye love one another," *John xv. 12*; *1 John iii. 11*; *1 Thess. iv. 9*. This is the common badge by which his disciples are discerned and distinguished: "Hereby," says he, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another," *John xiii. 35*. They must have "the same love," *Phil. ii. 2*; they must "love as brethren, be compassionate, pitiful, courteous each to other," *1 Pet. iii. 8*; they must "bear one another's burdens;" and "especially, as they have opportunity, do good to the household of faith," *Gal. vi. 2, 10*. "If one member suffer, all the members must suffer with it; and if one member be honoured, all the members must rejoice," *1 Cor. xii. 26*. "The multitude of them who believe must be" (like that in the Acts) "of one heart and of one soul," *Acts iv. 32*. "They must walk in love," and "do all things in love," *Eph. v. 2*; *1 Cor. xvi. 14*.

Whoever, therefore, highly offends against charity, maligning or mischieving his brethren, thereby separates himself from Christ's body, and ceases to be a Christian.

"They that are enemies to brotherly charity, whether they are openly out of the church, or seem to be within, they are pseudo-Christians and Antichrists." "When they seem to be within the church, they are separated from that invisible conjunction of charity; whence St John, 'They went out from us, but were not of us.' He says not, that by their going out they were made aliens, but because they were aliens, therefore he declares that they went out."²

¹ Sic autem qui regulam veritatis immobilem apud se habet quam per baptismum accepit, hæc quidem quæ sunt ex Scripturis nomina et dictiones et parabolas cognoscet, &c.—*Iren. i. 1*; *Vid. Gr. p. 4*.

² Hujus autem fraternæ charitatis inimici sive aperte foris sint, sive intus esse videntur, pseudo-Christiani sunt et Antichristi.—*Aug. de Bapt. iii. 19*. Cum intus videntur, ab illa invisibili charitatis compage separati sunt; unde Johannes, *1 John ii. 19*, 'Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis.' Non ait quod exeundo alieni facti sunt, sed quod alieni erant, propter hoc eos exisse declaravit.—*Ibid.*

Wherefore, the most notorious violations of charity being the causing of dissensions and factions in the church, the causeless separation from any church, the unjust condemnation of churches . . . whoever was guilty of any such unchristian behaviour was rejected by the fathers, and held to be no Christian. Such were the Novatians, the Donatists, the Meletians, the Luciferians, and other schismatics.

"For what can be more acceptable and pleasant than to see those who are severed and scattered into so many places, yet knit and joined together in the bond and union of charity, as harmonious members of the body of Christ?"¹

"In old time, when the church of God flourished, being rooted in the same faith, united in love; there being, as it were, one conspiracy or league of different members in one body."²

"For the communion of the Spirit is wont to knit and unite men's minds; which conjunction we believe to be between us and your charitable affection."³

"They, therefore, who by the bond of charity are incorporated into the building settled upon the rock."⁴

"But the members of Christ are joined together by the charity of union, and by the same cleave close to their head, which is Christ."⁵

III. All Christians are united by spiritual cognation and alliance, as being all "regenerated by the same incorruptible seed," being alike "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God," 1 Pet. i. 23; James i. 18; John i. 13; whence, as "the sons of God," and "brethren of Christ," they become brethren one to another, John i. 12; Gal. iii. 26: so that it is a peculiar title or appellation of Christians, "The brethren," signifying all Christian people, and "A brother" being the same with a Christian professor, Heb. ii. 10, 11; 1 Cor. vii. 15, v. 11; Rom. xiv. 10, &c.

IV. The whole Christian church is one, by its incorporation into the mystical body of Christ, or as fellow-subjects of that spiritual, heavenly kingdom of which Christ is the sovereign head and governor; whence they are governed by the same laws, are obliged by the same institutions and sanctions.⁶ They partake of the same privi-

¹ Τί γὰρ δι γίνετο χαρίστερον, ἢ τοὺς τοσούτοι τῇ πλῶδι τῶν τόπων διαγερμένους τῇ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ἑνώσει καθιεῖν εἰς μίαν μιλῶν ἁρμονίαν ἐν σώματι Χριστοῦ διδίδωμι.—*Bas. Ep. cccx.*

² Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων καιρῶν . . . ἥνικα ἦθον αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμιζόμεναι τῇ πίστει, ἡνωμέναι τῇ ἀγάπῃ. ὁμοῖον ἰσὶν ἐν σώματι μῆς συμπνοίας διαφέρου μιλῶν ὑπαρχούσης.—*Bas., Ep. cccxxviii.*

³ Ἡ κατὰ Πνεῦμα συνάφεια ἱσταντὶν εἴθους ἐν εὐνοίᾳ, ἥ ἡμῖν εἶται πρὸς τὸν ἀγάπῃ ὁμῶς πιστοποιούμεν.—*Bas., Ep. clxxxii.*

⁴ Qui ergo compage charitatis incorporati sunt edificio super petram constituto, &c.—*Aug. de Unit., cap. xviii.*

⁵ Membra vero Christi per unitatis charitatem sibi copulantur, et per eandem capiti suo coherent, quod est Christus.—*Aug. de Unit., cap. ii.* Omnes sancti sibi charitate coherent, &c.—*Aug. de Bapt. vi. 3.*

⁶ They are under a covenant of allegiance.

leges, and are entitled to the same promises, and encouraged by the same rewards, "being called in one hope of their calling," Eph. iv. 4.

So they make up one spiritual corporation or republic, of which Christ is the sovereign Lord.¹

"Though the place disjoin them, yet the Lord joins them together, being their common Lord," &c.²

Hence a habit of disobedience severs a man from this body; for "Not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven," or continue therein, Matt. vii. 21. Every such person, who "denieth God in works," is a rebel, an outlaw, renouncing his allegiance, forfeiting his title to God's protection and favour, Titus i. 16.

He is not a "sheep" of Christ, because he does not "hear his voice,"³ John x. 27.

He is separated from the body by not "holding the Head," Col. ii. 19.

"It is a lie to call one's self a Christian, and not to do the works of Christ."⁴

"He that does not the work of the Christian name seems not to be a Christian."⁵

"When, instead of the works themselves, he begins to oppose even the most apparent truth, whereby he is reprov'd, then he is cut off (from the body, or the church)."⁶

Hence St Augustine often denies wicked persons to be in the church, or to appertain unto its unity.—Vid. supra.

"For when there is one and the same Lord that dwells in us, he everywhere joins and couples those that are his with the bond of unity."⁷

V. All Christians are linked together in peaceable concord and confederacy; so that they are bound to live in good correspondence, to communicate in works of piety and devotion, to defend and promote the common interest of their profession.

Upon the entrance of the gospel by our Lord's incarnation, it was by a celestial herald proclaimed, "Peace on earth, and good-will among men," Luke ii. 14. It was our Lord's office "to preach

¹ Ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων.—Rom. x. 12.

² Εἰ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Χριστὸς, ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος αὐτοὺς συνάπτει νομὸς αἷν, &c.—Chrys. in 1 Cor. Orat. 1. Vid.

³ Qui eum non sequitur, quomodo se ovem ejus dicere audebit?—Aug. de Unit. Eccl., cap. x.

⁴ Mendacium est, Christianum se dicere, et opera Christi non facere.—Ambr.

⁵ Qui Christiani nominis opus non agit, Christianus non esse videtur.—Salv. de Gub. D. iv.

⁶ — cum pro ipsis operibus etiam veritati apertissimæ, qua redarguitur, resistere coeperit, tunc præciditur.—Aug. de Unit. Eccl., cap. xx.

⁷ Nam quum Dominus unus atque idem sit, qui habitat in nobis, conjungit ubique et copulat suos vinculo unitatis.—Firmil., apud Cyp., Ep. lxxv.

peace," Acts x. 36; Eph. ii. 17. It was a principal end and effect of his death "to reconcile all men, and to destroy enmity," Col. i. 20; Eph. ii. 14, 15. He specially charged his disciples *εἰρηνεύειν ἐν ἀλλήλοις*, to "maintain peace one with another," Mark ix. 50. It was his will at parting with them, "Peace I leave with you," John xiv. 27.

The apostles frequently enjoin to "pursue peace with all them who call upon the Lord with a pure heart," 2 Tim. ii. 22; to "follow the things which make for peace and edification mutual," Rom. xiv. 19; to "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," Eph. iv. 3.

It was in the prophecies concerning the evangelical state declared, that under it "the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid, and the sucking child should play on the hole of the asp," Isa. xi. 6-8, lxvi. 12; "They shall learn war no more," chap. ii. 4;—that is, that men of all tempers and conditions, by virtue of this institution, should be disposed to live innocently, quietly, and lovingly together, so that "they should not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain," Isa. lxv. 25; for that would be a duty incumbent on the disciples of this institution, which all good Christians would observe.

The evangelical covenant, as it allies us to God, so it confederates us together. The sacraments of this covenant are also symbols of peace and amity between those who undertake it. Of baptism it is said, "That so many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ;" and thence, "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus," Gal. iii. 27, 28. "All in one Spirit have been baptized into one body," 1 Cor. xii. 13. And in the eucharist, by partaking of one individual food, they are transmuted into one body and substance. "We," says St Paul, "being many are one bread, one body; for all of us partake of one bread," 1 Cor. x. 17.

"By which sacrament, also, our people appear to be united; for as many grains, collected, and ground, and mingled together, make one bread, so in Christ, who is the bread of heaven, we may know ourselves to be one body, that our company or number be conjoined and united together."¹

"With us there is both one church, and one mind, and undivided concord."²

"Let us hold the peace of the catholic church in the unity of concord."³

¹ Quo et ipso sacramento populus noster adunatus ostenditur: ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta, et commolita, et commixta, panem unum faciunt; sic in Christo, qui est panis coelestis, unum sciamus esse corpus, cui conjunctus sit noster numerus et adunatus.—*Cypr., Ep. lxiii.*

² Nobis et ecclesia una, et mens juncta, et individua concordia.—*Cypr. Ep. lviil.*

³ Catholicæ ecclesiæ pacem concordis unitate teneamus.—*Ep. xlv.*

“The bond of concord remaining, and the individual sacrament of the catholic church continuing,” &c.¹

“He, therefore, that keeps neither the unity of the Spirit nor the conjunction of peace, and separates himself from the bond of the church and the college or society of priests, can have neither the power of a bishop nor the honour.”³

Thus in general. But, particularly, all Christians should assist one another in the common defence of truth, piety, and peace, when they are assaulted, in the propagation of the faith and enlargement of the church; which is *συναβλεῖν τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*,—"to contend together for the faith of the gospel, to be good soldiers of Christ, warring the good warfare, striving for the faith once delivered to the saints."—Phil. i. 27; 1 Tim. i. 18, vi. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 7; Jude 3.

Hence if anywhere any heresy or bad doctrine should arise, all Christians should be ready to declare against it, that it may not infect or spread, a doubt arising, as in the case of celebrating Easter. "They all, with one consent, declared by letters the decree of the church to all everywhere."³

Especially the pastors of the churches are obliged with consent to oppose it.—Cypr. Ep. lxvii.

“While we laboured here, and withstood the force of envy with the whole strength of our faith, your speech assisted us very much.”

Thus the bishops of several churches met to suppress the heresy of P. [Paulus] Samosatenus.

This was the ground of most synods.

“So they who afterward in all places and several ways were gathered together against the innovations of heretics, gave their common opinion in behalf of the faith, as being of one mind. What they had approved among themselves in a brotherly way, that they clearly transferred to those who were absent. And they who at the council of Sardis had earnestly contended against the remainders of Arius, sent their judgment to those of the eastern churches; and they who had then discovered the infection of Apollinarius made their opinions known to the western.”⁴

¹ Manente concordiae vinculo, et perseverante catholicae ecclesiae individuo sacramen-
to, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lii., ad Anton.* p. 96.

² Qui ergo nec unitatem Spiritus, nec conjunctionem pacis observat, et se ab ecclesiae vinculo, atque a sacerdotum collegio separat, episcopi nec potestatem potest habere nec honorem, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 97.

³ Πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἰπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δόγμα τοῖς πανταρχοῖσι διτυποῦντο.—
Euseb. v. 23.

⁴ Laborantes hic nos et contra invidiæ impetum totis fidei viribus resistentes, multum sermo vester adjuvit, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. xxiii.*

⁵ Οὕτως οἱ μιτὰ ταῦτα παταχῇ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν αἰριτικῶν ἀρρωσθέντις καινίσμασι κοινῇ ὡς σύμφυχοι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ψῆφον· ἅπир ἀδιλφικῶς ἑαυτοῖς ἰδοπίμασαν, ταῦτα τραπῶς τοῖς ἀποῦσι διαπορρμύσαντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σαρδικῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἀρίου λειψάνων ἀγω-

If any dissension or faction arise in any church, other churches, upon notice thereof, should yield their aid to quench and suppress it; countenancing the peaceable, checking and disavowing the factious.

Thus St Cyprian helped to discountenance and quash the Novatian schism.

Thus when the oriental churches laboured under the Arian faction, and dissensions between the catholics, St Basil, with other orthodox bishops consorting with him, wrote to the western bishops (of Italy and France) to yield their succour.¹

"For this, my brother, we must earnestly endeavour, and ought to endeavour, to have a care, as much as in us lies, to hold the unity delivered to us from the Lord, and by the apostles, whose successors we are; and what lies in us," &c.²

All Christians should be ready, when opportunity invites, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of piety and charity, in prayer, in communion of the eucharist, in brotherly conversation, and pious conference for edification or advice.—Ep. 398.

"So that he who flies and avoids communion with us, you in your prudence may know that such a man breaks himself off from the whole church."

St Chrysostom complains of Epiphanius:—

"Then when he came to the great and holy city Constantinople, he came not out into the congregation according to custom and the ancient manner; he joined not himself with us, nor communicated with us in the word, and prayer, and the holy communion," &c.³

So Polycarp, being at Rome, communicated with P. Anicetus.⁴

If dissension arise between divers churches, another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the church of Carthage, between that of Rome and Alexandria.—Cod. Afr., can. 101.

If any bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his office, to the common damage of truth and piety, his neighbour bishops might admonish him thereto; and, if he should not reform, might deprive him of communion.—Cod. Afr., can. 123.

νοήμῳ τοῖς ἐν ἀνατολῇ τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐξίστησαν· οἱ δὲ ἐκείνῃ ἐν Ἀσολικῇ λόγῳ φερόμενοι, τοῖς ἐν δύσει τῇ ψῆφῳ ἰγνώριον.—*Syn. Chalc. ad Imper. Conc. Chalc. pars iii.* p. 78.

¹ Vid. Ep. xlii., ad Cornel. p. 77.

² Hoc enim vel maxime, frater, laboramus, et laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino, et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus, obtinere curemus; et quod in nobis est, &c.—*Cypri., Ep. xlii.* p. 78.

³ Ὅτις δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκον μὴ λαθάνειν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀντίθεον ἀνάστασιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπορήγνυς.—*Bas., Ep. lxxv.*

⁴ Ἐπεὶ τῆς μεγάλης καὶ θειοφιλῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἰσχυρὰ οὐκ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐξῆλθε κατὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ, καὶ τὸν ἀποθνήσκοντα Διοσκὸν οὐκ ἤμῃν συνίηκε, οὐ λόγῳ μετέβηκεν, ἢ ἐν λόγῳ, οὐ κοινωνίας, ἀλλ' ἀποδοὺς τοῦ πλοίου, &c.—*Chrys. ad Innoc. P., Ep. cxxii.*

⁵ Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχόμενοι δ' ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῇ Πολυεξάρσει, κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλοῦντες.—*Euseb. v.* 24.

All Christians should hold friendly correspondence, as occasion serves and as it is useful, to signify consent in faith, to recommend persons, to foster charity, to convey succour and advice, to perform all good offices of amity and peace.

"Siricius, who is our companion and fellow-labourer, with whom the whole world, by mutual commerce of canonical or communicatory letters, agree together with us in one common society."¹

"The catholic church being one body, it is consequent thereto that we write and signify one to another," &c.²

In cases of doubt or difficulty one church should have recourse to others for advice, and any church should yield it.

"Both common charity and reason require, most dear brethren, that we conceal nothing from your knowledge of those things which are done among us, that so there may be common advice taken by us concerning the most useful way of ordering ecclesiastical affairs."³

One church should acquaint others of any extraordinary transaction concerning the common faith or discipline, requesting their approbation and countenance.⁴

Thus the eastern churches gave account to all other churches of their proceedings against P. Samosatenus.—Euseb. vii. 30.

"Which letters are sent all the world over, and brought to the notice of all the churches, and of all the brethren."⁵

When any church or any pastor was oppressed or injured, he might have recourse to other churches for their assistance, in order to relief.

"Let him who is cast out have power to apply himself to the neighbouring bishops, that his cause may be carefully heard and discussed."⁶

Thus Athanasius, being overborne and expelled from his see by the Arian faction, went for refuge to the church of Rome.

St Chrysostom had recourse to the bishop of Rome and to those of the west, as also to the bishop of Antioch.

¹ Damaso Siricius hodie, qui noster est socius, cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatum in una communionis societate concordant.—*Opt.*, lib. ii. p. 40.

² Ἐνδὲς σύμματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνέλκοντες ἰστέ γράφουσ ἡμῶς καὶ σημαίνουσ ἀλλήλους, &c.—*Alex. Alexandria; Socr.* i. 6; *Theod.*

³ Et dilectio communis et ratio exposcit, fratres charissimi, nihil conscientie vestrae subtrahere de his quae apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem ecclesiasticae administrationis commune consilium.—*Cypr., Ep. xxix. ad Cler. Rom.*

⁴ The practice of this we see frequently in St Cyprian's Epistles, particularly in *Ep. 4, 16, 23, 29, 30, 42, 48.* (*P. Cornet.*)

⁵ Quae literae per totum mundum missae sunt, et in notitiam ecclesiis omnibus et universis fratribus perlatas sunt.—*Cypr., Ep. lii. ad Anton.*, p. 92. Scripsimus ad Cornelium collegam nostrum, &c.—*Ibid.*

⁶ Habeat potestatem is qui abjectus est, ut episcopus finitimos interpellat, et causa ejus audiatur ac diligenter tractetur, &c.—*Conc. Sard.*, can. 17. Vid. *Cod. Afr.*, can. 126.

VI. Now, because in the transacting of these things the pastors have the chief hand, and act in behalf of the churches which they inspect, therefore is the church united also by their consent in doctrine, their agreement in peace, their maintaining intercourse, their concurrence to preserve truth and charity.

"We ought all to be vigilant and careful for the body of the whole church, where members are dispersed through many several provinces"¹

"Seeing the church, which is one and catholic, is not rent nor divided, but truly knit and united together by the bond of priests united one to another."²

"This agrees with the modesty, and discipline, and the very life of all, that many of the bishops meeting together might order all things in a religious way by common advice."³

"That, since it having pleased God to grant us peace, we begin to have greater meetings of bishops, we may also by your advice order and reform every thing."⁴

"Which that, with the rest of our colleagues, we may steadfastly and firmly administer, and that we may keep the peace of the church in the unanimity of concord, the divine favour will vouchsafe to accomplish."⁵

"A great number of bishops, we met together."⁶

Bishops being chosen acquainted other bishops with it. "It was sufficient," says St Cyprian to Cornelius, "that you should by your letters acquaint us that you were made a bishop."⁷

"Declare plainly to us who is substituted at Arles in the room of Marcian, that we may know to whom we should direct our brethren, and to whom we should write."⁸

All churches were to ratify the elections of bishops duly made by

¹ Omnes nos decet pro corpore totius ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare.—*Cypr., Ep. xxx. Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. P.* Quod servis Dei, et maxime sacerdotibus.—*Cypr., Ep. xlii. ad Cornel.* Idcirco copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lxvii. p. 161.*

² Quando ecclesia, quæ catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, et coherentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata.—*Cypr., Ep. lxix.*

³ Hoc verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium convenit—ut episcopi plures in unum convenientes—disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus.—*Cypr., Ep. xiv. Clero suo.*

⁴ Ut cum pace a Domino nobis data plures præpositi convenire in unum coeperimus, communicato etiam vobiscum consilio disponere singula et reformare possimus.—*Cypr., Ep. xv. Clero Rom.*

⁵ Quod ut simul cum cæteris collegis nostris stabiliter ac firmiter administremus, atque ut catholicæ ecclesiæ pacem concordiæ unanimitate teneamus, perficiet divina dignatio.—*Cypr., Ep. xlv. ad Cornel.*

⁶ Copiosus episcoporum numerus, in unum convenimus.—*Cypr., Ep. lii. ad Anton.*

⁷ Satis erat, ut tu te episcopum factum literis nunciare.—*Cypr. ad Cornel., Ep. xlii.*

⁸ Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, et cui scribere debeamus.—*Cypr., Ep. lxvii. P. ad Steph.*

others, and to communicate with those; and likewise to comply with all reasonable acts for communion.¹

To preserve this peace and correspondence, it was a law and custom that no church should admit to communion those which were excommunicated by another or who schismatically divided.

"We are all believed to have done the same thing, whereby we are found to be all of us associated and joined together by the same agreement in censure and discipline."²

The decrees of bishops were sent to be subscribed.³

VII. All Christian churches are one by a specifical unity of discipline, resembling one another in ecclesiastical administrations; which are regulated by the indispensable sanctions and institutions of their Sovereign.

They are all bound to use the same sacraments, according to the forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any substantial alteration.

They must uphold that sort of order, government, and ministry, in all its substantial parts, which God "appointed" in the church, or "gave thereto," as St Paul expresses it; it being a temerarious and dangerous thing to innovate in those matters which our Lord had a special care to order and settle.—1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; Rom. xii. 7; Acts xx. 28.

"Nor can they continue in the church that have not retained divine and ecclesiastical discipline, neither in good conversation nor peaceable life."⁴

In lesser matters of ceremony or discipline, instituted by human prudence, churches may differ, and it is expedient they should do so, in regard to the various circumstances of things and qualities of persons to which discipline should be accommodated; but no power ought to "abrogate," destroy, or infringe, or violate the main form of discipline, constituted by divine appointment.⁵

Hence, when some confessors had abetted Novatianus against Cornelius (thereby against a fundamental rule of the church, necessary for preserving of peace and order therein, that but one bishop should be in one church),⁶ St Cyprian thus complains of their proceeding:—

¹ Cyp., Ep. 41, 42, 52, p. 93; Theod. v. 9; Euseb. de P. Samos.

² Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes censura, et disciplinæ consensione sociati.—*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr., Ep. xxxi.*

³ Vid. Conc. Sard. P. Leonis II. Ep. ii. (ad Hisp. Episc.) N. B. p. 385, tom. v.; P. Bened. II., Ep. xvi. p. 404.

⁴ Nec remanere in ecclesia possunt qui deificam et ecclesiasticam disciplinam nec actus sui conversatione, nec morum pace tenuerunt.—*P. Cornel. apud Cypr., Ep. xlviii., Vid. Ep. lxxiii. ad Juv.*

⁵ Ep. Firmil. p. 198; Aug. Ep. cxviii. et lxxxvi., supra.

⁶ Gravatus enim me, atque contristatus, &c.—*Ep. xlv., ad Confess. Rom.*

To act any thing "against the sacrament of divine ordination and catholic unity, once delivered, makes an adulterate and contrary head out of the church."¹

"Forsaking the Lord's priests, contrary to the evangelical discipline, a new tradition of a sacrilegious institution starts up."²

"There is one God, and one Christ, and one church, and one see founded upon Peter by the word of the Lord; besides one altar and one priesthood, another altar cannot be erected, nor a new priesthood ordained."³

Hence were the Meletians rejected by the church for introducing ordinations⁴

Hence was Aërius accounted a heretic, for meaning to innovate in so grand a point of discipline as the subordination of bishops and presbyters.

VIII. It is expedient that all churches should conform to each other in great matters of prudential discipline, although not instituted or prescribed by God; for this is a means of preserving peace, and is a beauty or harmony; for difference of practice alienates affections, especially in common people.

So the synod of Nice:—

"That all things may be alike ordered in every diocese, it has seemed good to the holy synod that men should put up their prayers to God standing,"⁵—namely, between Easter and Whitsuntide, and upon the Lord's day.

The church is like the world;—for as the world consists of men, all naturally subject to one king, Almighty God; all obliged to observe his laws, declared by natural light; all "made of one blood," and so brethren; all endowed with common reason; all bound to exercise good offices of justice and humanity toward each other, to maintain peace and amity together, to further each other in the prosecution or attainment of those good things which conduce to the welfare and security of this present life: even so does the church consist of persons spiritually allied, professing the same faith, subject to the same law and government of Christ's heavenly kingdom, bound to

¹ Contra sacramentum semel traditum divinæ dispositionis et catholicæ unitatis adulterum et contrarium caput extra ecclesiam facit.—*Cypr., Ep. xlii., ad Cornel.*

² — relictis Domini sacerdotibus contra evangelicam disciplinam, nova traditio sacrilegæ institutionis exurgat.—*Cypr. Ep. xi., Plebi sue.*

³ Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et ecclesia una, et cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium, non potest.—*Ibid.*

⁴ A dash occurs here, as in various other passages of the Discourse, indicating a blank which the author had intended to supply.—*Ed.*

⁵ Ὅτι τοῦ πᾶντος ἐν πάσῃ κακοῦνίᾳ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐστῶμεν, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀποδίδοναι τῇ θεῷ.—*Can. xx.* Πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὕτως ἐνεστὶν ἐννοεῖν, ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρᾶγματι, καὶ τοιαύτῃ ὁρμησίᾳ ἐκτὴν διαφορίαν ἕχουσιν ἐκείνους ἀλλήλους.—*Const. M. in Ep. ad Eccles., Euseb. Vit. Const., iii. 18.*

exercise charity, and to maintain peace toward each other, and to promote each other's good in order to the future happiness in heaven.

All these kinds of unity plainly agree to the universal church of Christ; but the question is, Whether the church is also necessarily, by the design and appointment of God, to be, in way of external policy, under one singular government or jurisdiction of any kind, so as a kingdom or commonwealth are united under the command of one monarch or one senate?

That the church is capable of such an union is not the controversy; that it is possible it should be so united, supposing it may happen that all Christians may be reduced to one nation or one civil regiment [government], or that several nations spontaneously may confederate and combine themselves into one ecclesiastical commonwealth, administered by the same spiritual rulers and judges, according to the same laws, I do not question; that when in a manner all Christendom consisted of subjects to the Roman empire, the church then arrived near such an unity, I do not at present contest;—but that such an union of all Christians is necessary, or that it was ever instituted by Christ, I cannot grant; and for my refusal of that opinion I shall assign divers reasons:—

1. This being a point of great consideration, and trenching upon practice, which every one were concerned to know, and there being frequent occasions to declare it, yet the holy Scripture nowhere expresses or intimates such a kind of unity; which is a sufficient proof that it has no firm ground. We may say of it, as St Augustine says of the church itself, “I will not that the holy church be demonstrated from human reasonings, but from the divine oracles.”¹

St Paul particularly, in divers epistles, designedly treating about the unity of the church, together with other points of doctrine neighbouring thereon, and amply describing it, does not yet imply any such unity then extant, or designed to be.—Eph. iv.; 1 Cor. xii.; Rom. xii.; Gal. iii. 28.

He mentions and urges the unity of spirit, of faith, of charity, of peace, of relation to our Lord, of communion in devotions and offices of piety; but concerning any union under one singular visible government or polity he is silent. He says, “One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all;”—not, one monarch, or one senate, or one sanhedrim: which is a pregnant sign that none such was then instituted, otherwise he could not have slipped over a point so very material and pertinent to his discourse.

2. By the apostolical history it may appear that the apostles, in

¹ *Nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis sanctam ecclesiam demonstrari.—Aug. de Unit., cap. iii.*

the propagation of Christianity and founding of Christian societies, had no meaning, took no care, to establish any such polity.

They resorted to several places, whither divine instinct or reasonable occasion carried them, where, by their preaching, having convinced and converted a "competent number" of persons (ἐχλυσεν αὐτοὺς, Acts xi. 26) to the embracing Christian doctrine, they appointed pastors to instruct and edify them, to administer God's worship and service among them, to contain them in good order and peace, exhorting them to maintain good correspondence of charity and peace with all good Christians elsewhere. This is all we can see done by them: Χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαι,—"When they had ordained them elders in every church," Acts xiv. 23.

3. The fathers, in their set treatises, and in their incidental discourses about the unity of the church, which was *de facto*, which should be *de jure* in the church, make it to consist only in those unions of faith, charity, peace, which we have described, not in this political union.

The Roman church gave this reason why they could not admit Marcion into their communion,—they would not do it without his father's consent, between whom and them "there was one faith and one agreement of mind."¹

Tertullian in his Apologetic, describing the unity of the church in his time, says, "We are one body, by our agreement in religion, our unity of discipline, and our being in the same covenant of hope."

And more exactly and largely in his Prescriptions against Heretics, the breakers of unity: "Therefore, such and so many churches are but the same with the first apostolical one, from which all are derived. Thus they become all first, all apostolical; whilst they maintain the same unity; whilst there are a communion of peace, names of brotherhood, and contributions of hospitality among them, the rights of which are kept up by no other means but the one tradition of the same mystery."²

"They and we have one faith, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same baptism; in a word, we are but one church."³

And Constantine the Great, in his Epistle to the churches:—

(Our Saviour) "would have his catholic church to be one, the

¹ — μία γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ πίστις καὶ μία ἡ ἐλπίς.—*Epiph. Hær. xlii.*

² Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et discipline unitate, et spei federe.—*Apol. xxxix.*

³ Itaque tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ una est illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes; sic omnes primæ, et omnes apostolicæ; dum unam omnes probant unitatem; communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis; quæ jura non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem sacramenta una traditio.—*Tertul. Præscript., cap. xx.*

⁴ Una nobis et illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta; semel dixerim, una ecclesia sumus.—*Tert. de Virg., vel. ii.*

members of which, though they be divided into many and different places, are yet cherished by one Spirit,—that is, by the will of God.”¹

And Gregory the Great:—

“Our head, which is Christ, would therefore have us be his members, that by the joints of charity and faith he might make us one body in himself.”²

Clemens Alexandrinus defines the church,—

“A people gathered together out of Jews and Gentiles into one faith,—by the giving of the testaments fitted into unity of faith.”³

“This one church, therefore, partakes of the nature of unity, which heresies violently endeavour to divide into many; and therefore we affirm the ancient and catholic church, whether we respect its constitution or our conception of it, its beginning or its excellency, to be but one: which into the belief of that one creed which is agreeable to its own peculiar testaments, or rather to that one and the same testament, in times however different, by the will of one and the same God, through one and the same Lord, unites and combines together all those who are before ordained, whom God hath predestinated, as knowing that they would be just persons, before the foundation of the world.”⁴

Many passages in the fathers applicable to this point we have allged in the foregoing discourses.⁵

4. The constitution of such an unity involves the vesting some person or some number of persons with a sovereign authority, subordinate to our Lord, to be managed in a certain manner, either absolutely, according to pleasure, or limitedly, according to certain rules prescribed to it.

But that there was ever any such authority constituted, or any rules prescribed to it, by our Lord or his apostles, does not appear; and there are divers reasonable presumptions against it.

It is reasonable, that whoever claims such authority should, for assuring his title, show patents of his commission, manifestly express-

¹ Καὶ μίαν εἶναι τὴν καθολικὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν βιβούλῃται ἥς εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ διαφοροὺς τόπους τὰ μέρη διήρηται, ἀλλ’ ἕως ἐν Πνεύματι, ταῦτίσι τῇ Θεῷ βουλήματι δάλλονται.—*Const. M. in Ep. ad Eccles., Euseb. Vit. Const.* iii. 18.

² Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in se corpus efficeret.—*Greg. M., Ep.* vii. 111.

³ Ὁ ἐκ νόμου καὶ ἐξ ἰδῶν εἰς τὴν μίαν πίστιν συναγόμενος λαός.—*Strom.* vi. init. Τῇ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας δόξῃ συναζόμενοι εἰς ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως.—*Ibid.* vii. p. 616.

⁴ Τῇ γοῦν τοῦ ἱνὸς φύου συγκληροῦται ἐκκλησία ἡ μία, ἣν εἰς πολλὰς κατατίμουν βιάζονταί αἱρέσεις· κατὰ τι οὖν ὀρίσασθαι, κατὰ τι ἰσῖναι, κατὰ τι ἀρχὴν (principium), κατὰ τι ἔξοχον, μόνον εἰναί φαινι τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἑνότητα πίστεως μίᾳς τῆς κατὰ τὰς εἰκίας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἰνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ βουλήματι δι’ ἱνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαι τοὺς ἥδη κατατισταγμένους, εὖς προώρουν, δικαίους ἱσμείνους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἰγνώκας.—*Strom.* vii. p. 649.

⁵ Catholicam facit simplex et verus intellectus, intelligere singulare, ac verissimum sacramentum, et unitas animorum.—*Opt. I., p. 14.* Ecclesia non parietibus consistit, sed in dogmatum veritate, &c.—*Hier. Ps.* cxxxiii.

ing it; how otherwise can he justly demand obedience, or any wil satisfaction yield thereto?

It was just that the institution of so great authority should be fortified with an undoubted charter, that its right might be apparent and the duty of subjection might be certain.

If any such authority had been granted by God, in all likelihood it would have been clearly mentioned in Scripture, it being a matter of high importance among the establishments of Christianity, conducing to great effects, and grounding much duty; especially considering that,—

There is in Scripture frequent occasion of mentioning it; in way of *history*, touching the use of it, the acts of sovereign power affording chief matter to the history of any society; in way of *direction* to those governors how to manage it; in way of *exhortation* to inferiors how to behave themselves in regard to it; in way of *commending* the advantages which attend it. It is therefore strange that its mention is so balked [overlooked].

The apostles do often speak concerning ecclesiastical affairs of all natures,—concerning the decent administration of things, concerning preservation of order and peace, concerning the furtherance of edification, concerning the prevention and removal of heresies, schisms, factions, disorders; upon any of which occasions it is marvellous that they should not touch that constitution which was the proper means appointed for maintenance of truth, order, peace, decency, edification, and all such purposes, and for remedy of all contrary mischiefs.

There are mentioned divers schisms and dissensions, which the apostles strove, by instruction and persuasion, to remove; in which cases, supposing such an authority in being, it is a wonder that they do not mind the parties dissenting of having recourse thereto for decision of their causes, that they do not exhort them to a submission thereto, that they do not reprove them for declining such a remedy.

It is also strange that no mention is made of any appeal made by any of the dissenting parties to the judgment of such authority.

Indeed, if such an authority had then been avowed by the Christian churches, it is hardly conceivable that any schisms could subsist there being so powerful a remedy against them, then notably visible and most effectual, because of its fresh institution, before it was darkened or weakened by age.

Whereas the apostolical writings inculcate our subjection to one Lord in heaven, it is much they should never consider his vicegerent or vicegerents upon earth, notifying and pressing the duties of obedience and reverence toward them.

There are, indeed, exhortations to honour the elders, and to obey

the guides of particular churches; but the honour and obedience due to those paramount authorities, or universal governors, is passed over in dead silence, as if no such thing had been thought of.

They expressly avow the secular pre-eminence, and press submission to the emperor as supreme; why do they not likewise mention this no less considerable ecclesiastical supremacy or enjoin obedience thereunto? Why "Honour the king," and "Be subject to principalities," so often, but "Honour the spiritual prince or senate" never occurs?—Rom. xiii. 1; Titus iii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

If there had been any such authority, there would probably have been some intimation concerning the persons in whom it was settled, concerning the place of their residence, concerning the manner of its being conveyed,—by election, succession, or otherwise.

Probably the persons would have some proper name, title, or character to distinguish them from inferior governors; [it is probable] that to the place some mark of pre-eminence would have been affixed.

It is not unlikely that somewhere some rules or directions would have been prescribed for the management of so high a trust, for preventing miscarriages and abuses, to which it is notoriously liable.

It would have been declared absolute, or the limits of it would have been determined, to prevent its enslaving God's heritage.

But of these things in the apostolical writings, or in any near those times, there does not appear any footstep or pregnant intimation.

There has never to this day been any place but one (namely, Rome) which has pretended to be the seat of such an authority; the plea whereof we largely have examined.*

At present we shall only observe, that before the Roman church was founded, there were churches elsewhere. There was a great church at Jerusalem;¹ which indeed was the "mother of all churches,"² and was by the fathers so styled, however Rome now arrogates to herself that title.—Acts ii. 41, 47, iv. 4, vi. 1, viii. 1. There were issuing from that mother a fair offspring of churches (those of Judea, of Galilee, of Samaria, of Syria and Cilicia, of divers other places) before there was any church at Rome, or that St Peter did come thither, which was at least divers years after our Lord's ascension.³—Acts ix. 31, xv. 41, xi. 19, viii. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19; Rom. xvi. 4. St Paul was converted; . . . after five [three] years he went to Jerusalem, then St Peter was there; after fourteen years thence he went to Jerusalem again, and then St Peter was there; after that he met with St Peter at Antioch.—Gal. i. 18, 19, ii. 1, 9, 11. Where then was

* Referring to his *Treatise on the Supremacy*, pp. 208, &c.—Ed.

¹ Ἐκλήνυστο ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφῆδρα.—Acts vi. 7.

² Μητέρα ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμοις.—*Conc. Const. in Synod. Ep. Theod.* v. 9.

³ Valea. in Euseb. ii. 16.

this authority seated? How then did the political unity of the church subsist? Was the seat of the sovereign authority first resident at Jerusalem, when St Peter preached there? Did it walk thence to Antioch, fixing itself there for seven years? Was it thence translated to Rome, and settled there ever since? Did this roving and inconstancy become it?

5. The primitive state of the church did not well comport with such an unity.

For Christian churches were founded in distant places, as the apostles found opportunity, or received direction to found them; which, therefore, could not, without extreme inconvenience, have resort or reference to one authority anywhere fixed.

Each church, therefore, separately ordered its own affairs, without recourse to others, except for charitable advice or relief in cases of extraordinary difficulty or urgent need.

Each church was endowed with a perfect liberty and a full authority, without dependence or subordination to others, to govern its own members, to manage its own affairs, to decide controversies and causes incident among themselves, without allowing appeals or rendering accounts to others.

This appears by the apostolical writings of St Paul and St John to single churches, wherein they are supposed able to exercise spiritual power for establishing decency, removing disorders, correcting offences, deciding causes, &c.—Rev. ii. iii.; 1 Cor. xiv. 40; 1 Thess. v. 14; 1 Cor. v. 12, vi. 1.

6. This *αὐτονομία*, and liberty of churches, appears to have long continued in practice inviolate, although tempered and modelled in accommodation to the circumstances of place and time.

It is true, that if any church notoriously forsook the truth, or committed disorder in any kind, other churches sometimes took upon them, as the case moved, to warn, advise, reprove it, and to declare against its proceedings, as prejudicial not only to the welfare of that church, but to the common interests of truth and peace; but this was not in way of commanding authority, but of fraternal solicitude, or of that liberty which equity and prudence allow to equals in regard to common good. So the Roman church interposed in reclaiming the church of Corinth from its disorders and seditious (Iren. iii. cap. 2); so St Cyprian and St Denis of Alexandria meddled in the affairs of the Roman church, exhorting Novatian and his adherents to return to the peace of their church.

It is also true, that the bishops of several adjacent churches used to meet upon emergencies (concerning the maintenance of truth, order, and peace; concerning settlement and approbation of pastors, &c.), to consult and conclude upon expedients for attaining such

ends. This probably they did at first in a free way, without rule, according to occasion, as prudence suggested, but afterwards, by confederation and consent, those conventions were formed into method, and regulated by certain orders established by consent; whence arose an ecclesiastical unity of government within certain precincts, much like that of the united states in the Netherlands;—which course was very prudential, and useful for preserving the truth of religion and unity of faith against heretical devices springing up in that free age, for maintaining concord and good correspondence among Christians, together with a harmony in manners and discipline: for that otherwise Christendom would have been shattered and crumbled into numberless parties, discordant in opinion and practice, and consequently alienated in affection,—which inevitably, among most men, follows difference of opinion and manners,—so that in short time it would not have appeared what Christianity was, and consequently the religion, being overgrown with differences and discords, must have perished.

Thus in the case about admitting the Lapsi* to communion, St Cyprian relates, “When the persecution” of Decius “ceased, so that leave was now given us to meet in one place together, a considerable number of bishops, whom their own faith and God’s protection had preserved sound and entire,” from the late apostasy and persecution, “being assembled, we deliberated of the composition of the matter with wholesome moderation,” &c.¹

“Which thing also Agrippinus of blessed memory, with his other fellow-bishops, who then governed the church of Christ in the African province and in Numidia, established, and, by the well-weighed examination of the common advice of them all together, confirmed it.”²

Thus it was the custom in the churches of Asia, as Firmilian tells us in these words:—

“Upon which occasion it necessarily happens that every year we, the elders and rulers, come together to regulate those things which are committed to our care, that if there should be any things of greater moment, by common advice they be determined.”³

Yet while things went thus, in order to common truth and peace,

* Those who had *lapsed* into heresy, apostasy, or crime.—Ed.

¹ Persecutione sopita, cum data esset facultas in unum conveniendi, copiosus episcoporum numerus, quos integros et incolumes fide sua ac Domini tutela protexit, in unum convenimus, et scripturis diu ex utraque parte prolati, temperamentum salubri moderatione libravimus, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lii. ad Antonian.*

² Quod quidem et Agrippinus bonæ memoriæ vir, cum cæteris coepiscopis suis, qui illo tempore in provincia Africa et Numidia ecclesiam Domini gubernabant, statuit et librato consilii communis examine firmavit.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxi. ad Quint.*

³ Qua ex causa necessario apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus, ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt, ut si qua graviora sunt communi consilio dirigantur, &c.—*Cypr., Ep. lxxv.*

every church, in more private matters, touching its own particular state, retained its liberty and authority, without being subject or accountable to any but the common Lord. In such cases even synods of bishops did not think it proper or just for them to interpose, to the prejudice of that liberty and power which derived from a higher source.¹

These things are very apparent, as by the course of ecclesiastical history, so particularly in that most precious monument of antiquity, St Cyprian's Epistles,² by which it is most evident that in those times every bishop or pastor was conceived to have a double relation or capacity,—one toward his own flock, another toward the whole flock.

One toward his own flock, by virtue of which he, taking advice of his presbyters, together with "the conscience of his people assisting," ordered all things tending to particular edification, order, peace, reformation, censure, &c., without fear of being troubled by appeals, or being liable to give any account but to his own Lord, whose vicegerent he was.³

Another toward the whole church in behalf of his people, upon account whereof he, according to occasion or order, applied himself to confer with other bishops for preservation of the common truth and peace, when they could not otherwise be well upheld than by the joint conspiring of the pastors of divers churches.

So that the case of bishops was like to that of princes, each of whom has a free superintendence in his own territory; but for to uphold justice and peace in the world, or between adjacent nations, the intercourse of several princes is needful.

The peace of the church was preserved by communion of all parts together, not by the subjection of the rest to one part.

¹ Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes aut a jure communione aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes, &c.—Vid. *Conc. Carthag.*, apud *Cypr.* p. 399. Vid. *Syn. Ant.*, can. ix.

² Vide Ep. xxviii. 39, xiv. 18.

³ Sub populi assistentis conscientia.—*Cypr.*, Ep. lxxviii.

⁴ — actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.—*Cypr.*, Ep. lii. "Every bishop ordereth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpose to the Lord." Cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, ac æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiat ubi est crimen admissum; et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regit unusquisque prepositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. *Cypr.*, Ep. lv. ad —, "Since it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise just and equal, that every man's cause should be there judged where the crime is committed; and to each pastor a portion of the flock is assigned, which [he] is to rule and govern, being to give an account of his act to the Lord." Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, nec legem damus, cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque prepositus rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.—*Cypr.*, Ep. lxxii. ad *Steph. P.*; Vide Ep. lxxiii p. 186; Ep. lxxvi. p. 212. "In which matter neither do we offer violence to any man nor prescribe any law, since every bishop hath, in the government of his church, the free power of his will, being to render an account of his own act unto the Lord."

7. This political unity does not well accord with the nature and genius of the evangelical dispensation.

Our Saviour affirmed that "his kingdom is not of this world," John xviii. 36; and St Paul tells us that it consists in a spiritual influence upon the souls of men, producing in them virtue, spiritual joy, and peace, Rom. xiv. 17.

It disavows and discountenances "the elements of the world," by which worldly designs are carried on and worldly frames sustained.—Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.

It requires not to be managed by politic artifices or "fleshly wisdom," but by simplicity, sincerity, plain dealing, 1 Pet. ii. 1. As every subject of it must "lay aside all guile and dissimulation," so especially the officers of it must do so, in conformity to the apostles, who "had their conversation in the world" (and prosecuted their design) "in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God;" not "walking in craftiness," or "handling the word of God deceitfully," &c.—2 Cor. i. 12, ii. 17, iv. 2; 1 Thess. ii. 3, 5.

It needs not to be supported or enlarged by wealth and pomp, or by compulsive force and violence; for "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty, and base, despicable things," &c., "that no flesh should glory in his presence."—1 Cor. i. 27–29; James ii. 5. And, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God," &c.—2 Cor. x. 4.

It discountenances the imposition of new laws and precepts, beside those which God has enjoined, or which are necessary for order and edification, derogating from the liberty of Christians and from the simplicity of our religion.—Matt. xv. 9; Col. ii. 8, 20, 21; Gal. iv. 10.

The government of the Christian state is represented [as] purely spiritual; administered by meek persuasion, not by imperious awe; as an humble ministry, not as stately domination;—for the apostles themselves did not "lord it over men's faith," but "co-operated to their joy," 2 Cor. i. 24. They did "not preach themselves, but Christ Jesus to be the Lord; and themselves their servants for Jesus' sake," 2 Cor. iv. 5.

It is expressly forbidden to them to "domineer over God's people," 1 Pet. v. 3; Matt. xx. 25, 26.

They are to be qualified with gentleness and patience; they are forbidden to "strive," and enjoined to be "gentle toward all, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves."—2 Cor. vi. 4; 1 Tim. iii. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25; Tit. ii. 2.

They are "to convince, to rebuke, to exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine."¹—Chrys. Isid.; 2 Tim. iv. 2.

¹ *Episcopus præest volentibus, non nolentibus.*—*Hier. Ep. iii. ad Nepot.*

They are furnished with no arms beside the "divine panoply;" they bear no "sword" but that "of the Spirit, which is the word of God," Eph. vi. 17; . . . they may teach, reprove, . . . they cannot compel.

They are not to be entangled in the cares of this life.¹—2 Tim ii. 4.

But supposing the church was designed to be one in this manner of political regiment, it must be quite another thing, nearly resembling a worldly state, yea, in effect soon resolving itself into such an one. Supposing, as is now pretended, that its management is committed to an ecclesiastical monarch, it must become a worldly kingdom; for such a polity could not be upheld without applying the same means and engines, without practising the same methods and arts, whereby secular governments are maintained.²

Its majesty must be supported by conspicuous pomp and phantastry [fantasy].

Its dignity and power must be supported by wealth; which it must corrade [scrape together] and accumulate by large incomes, by exaction of tributes and taxes.

It must exert authority in enacting of laws for keeping its state in order and securing its interests, backed with rewards and pains; especially considering, its title being so dark, and grounded on no clear warrant, many always will contest it.

It must apply constraint and force, for procuring obedience and correcting transgression.

It must have guards, to preserve its safety and authority.

It must be engaged in wars, to defend itself and make good its interests.

It must use subtlety and artifice, for promoting its interests, and [to] countermine the policies of adversaries.

It must erect judicatories, and must decide causes with formality of legal process; whence tedious suits, crafty pleadings, quirks of law and pettifoggeries, fees and charges, extortion and barratry, &c., will necessarily creep in.⁴

All which things much disagree from the original constitution and design of the Christian church, which is averse from pomp, rejects domination, does not require craft, wealth, or force, to main-

¹ Ἀναλίσσῃσι τὴν πανουργίαν τοῦ.—Eph. vi. 18.

² Μάλιστα γὰρ πάντων Χριστιανῶν οὐκ ἰφίεται πρὸς βίαν ἰσχυροῦν τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανίωνται πταίσματα, &c.—Chrys. de Sacerd. ii. Ἐνταῦθα οὐ βιαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πείθοντα δι' αὐτῶν ἀμύνει τὸν τοιούτων.—Ibid.

³ Ἐστὶν τι παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς οἱ ἄρχοντες.—Arist. Pol. IV. 15.

⁴ Is modus qui frequentatur execrabilis plane, et qui non dico ecclesiam, sed nec forum deceret, &c.—Bern. de Consid. i. 9. Attendens itaque S. synodus, quod spiritualia sine carnalibus sustineri nequeant.—Syn. Bas. sess. xlii. p. 108.

tain it; but did at first, and [still] may, subsist without any such means.¹

I do not say that an ecclesiastical society may not lawfully, for its support, use power, policy, wealth, in some measure, to uphold or defend itself; but that a constitution needing such things is not divine, or that, so far as it uses them, it is no more than human.

Thus, in effect, we see that it has succeeded, from the pretence of this unity; which has indeed transformed the church into a mere worldly state, wherein the monarch beareth the garb of an emperor, in external splendour surpassing all worldly princes, crowned with a triple crown.²

He assumes the most haughty titles of "Our most holy Lord," "The Vicar-general of Christ," &c.; and he suffers men to call him "The Monarch of Kings," &c.

He has respects paid him like to which no potentate assumes, having his feet kissed, riding upon the backs of men, letting princes hold his stirrup and lead his horse.³

He has a court, and is attended with a train of courtiers surpassing in state and claiming precedence to the peers of any kingdom.⁴

He is encompassed with armed guards,—*Switzers*.

He has a vast revenue, supplied by tributes and imposts sore and grievous, the exaction of which has made divers nations of Christendom to groan most lamentably.

He has raised numberless wars and commotions for the promotion and advancement of his interests.

He administers things with all depth of policy to advance his designs.

He has enacted volumes of laws and decrees, to which obedience is exacted with rigour and forcible constraint.⁵

He draws grist from all parts to his courts of judgment, wherein all formalities of suspense, all the tricks of squeezing money, &c., are practised, to the great trouble and charge of parties concerned.

Briefly, it is plain that he exercises the proudest, mightiest, subtlest domination that ever was over Christians.⁶

8. The union of the whole church in one body, under one government or sovereign authority, would be inconvenient and hurtful,

¹ Omnis pulchritudo filiae regis intrinsecus.—*Aug. Ep. lxxiii.*

² One crown doth serve an emperor, but he must have a triple: to kiss the hands of a king is a sufficient respect, but you cannot salute him without kissing "his blessed feet."

³ That which Seneca did take for a piece of enormous pride in Caligula.—*De Benef. ii. 12.*

⁴ Carden. vid. Uss. p. 108.

⁵ Sub mortali. He imposes rigorous oaths of fealty and obedience.

⁶ Exaltatio, et inflatio, et arrogans ac superba jactatio, non de Christi magisterio, qui humilitatem docet, sed de Antichristi spiritu nascitur.—*Cyprian, Ep. lv. ad P. Cornel.*

prejudicial to the main designs of Christianity, destructive to the welfare and peace of mankind in many respects.

This we have showed particularly concerning the pretence of the Papacy; and those discourses being applicable to any like universal authority (perhaps with more advantage, monarchy being less subject to abuse than other ways of government), I shall forbear to say more.

9. Such an union is of no need, would be of small use, or would do little good, in balance to the great mischiefs and inconveniences which it would produce.

This point also we have declared in regard to the Papacy; and we might say the same concerning any other like authority substituted thereto.

10. Such a connection of churches is not any wise needful or expedient to the design of Christianity, which is to reduce mankind to the knowledge, love, and reverence of God, to a just and loving conversation together, to the practice of sobriety, temperance, purity, meekness, and all other virtues, Tit. ii. 12; all which things may be compassed without forming men into such a policy.

It is expedient there should be particular societies, in which men may concur in worshipping God, and promoting that design by instructing and provoking one another to good practice, in a regular, decent, and orderly way.

It is convenient that the subjects of each temporal sovereignty should live, as in a civil, so in a spiritual uniformity, in order to the preservation of good-will and peace among them (for that neighbours differing in opinion and fashions of practice will be apt to contend each for his way, and thence to disaffect one another), for the beauty and pleasant harmony of agreement in divine things, for the more commodious succour and defence of truth and piety by unanimous concurrence.

But that all the world should be so joined is needless, and will be apt to produce more mischief than benefit.

11. The church, in the Scripture sense, has ever continued one, and will ever continue so, notwithstanding that it has not had this political unity.

12. It is, in fact, apparent that churches have not been thus united which yet have continued catholic and Christian.

It were great, no less folly than uncharitableness, to say that the Greek church has been none.

There is no church that has in effect less reason than that of Rome to prescribe to others.

13. The reasons alleged in proof of such an unity are insufficient and inconcluding; which (with great diligence, although not with

like perspicuity), advanced by a late divine of great repute, and collected out of his writings with some care, are those which, briefly proposed, do follow, together with answers declaring their invalidity.

Arg. I. The name "church" is attributed to the whole body of Christians, which implies unity.—Ep., p. 38; Lat., p. 114.

Ans. This, indeed, implies an unity of the church, but determines not the kind or ground thereof, there being several kinds of unity. One of those which we have touched, or several, or all of them, may suffice to ground that comprehensive appellation.

Arg. II. Our creeds import the belief of such an unity: for in the Apostolical we profess to believe "The holy catholic church;" in the Constantinopolitan, "The holy catholic" and "apostolic church."—Ep.; Lat. p. 144.

Ans. 1. The most ancient summaries of Christian faith extant in the first fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, &c., do not contain this point.—Iren.; Tert.; Cypr.; Conc. Nic.

The word "catholic" was not originally in the Apostolical or Roman Creed, but was added after Ruffin and St Augustine's time.

This article was inserted into the creeds upon the rise of heresies and schisms, to discountenance and disengage from them.

Ans. 2. We avow a "catholic church" in many respects one; wherefore, not the unity of the church, but the kind and manner of unity, being in question, the creed does not oppose what we say, nor can with reason be alleged for the special kind of unity which is pretended.

Ans. 3. That the unity mentioned in the Constantinopolitan Creed is such as our adversaries contend for, of external policy, is precariously assumed, and relies only upon their interpretation obtruded on us.

Ans. 4. The genuine meaning of that article may reasonably be deemed this: That we profess our adhering to the body of Christians, which, diffused over the world, retains the faith taught, the discipline settled, the practices appointed, by our Lord and his apostles; that we maintain general charity toward all good Christians; that we are ready to entertain communion in holy offices with all such; that we are willing to observe the laws and orders established by authority or consent of the churches, for maintenance of truth, order, and peace; that we renounce all heretical doctrines, all disorderly practices, all conspiracy with any factious combinations of people. Παράνομα.

Ans. 5. That this is the meaning of the article may sufficiently appear from the reason and occasion of introducing it, which was to secure the truth of Christian doctrine, the authority of ecclesiastical discipline, and the common peace of the church; according to the discourses and arguments of the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, St

Augustine, Vincentius Lirinensis, which plainly countenance our interpretation.

Ans. 6. It is not reasonable to interpret the article so as will not consist with the state of the church in the apostolical and most primitive ages, when evidently there was no such a political conjunction of Christians.

Arg. III. The apostles delivered one rule of faith to all churches, the embracing and professing whereof, celebrated in baptism, was a necessary condition to the admission into the church, and to continuance therein; therefore, Christians are combined together in one political body.—Ep., p. 40; Lat., p. 144, 151.

Ans. 1. The consequence is very weak; for from the antecedent it can only be inferred that, according to the sentiment of the ancients, all Christians should consent in one faith: which unity we avow, and who denies?

Ans. 2. By like reason all mankind must be united in one political body; because all men are bound to agree in what the light of nature discovers to be true and good, or because the principles of natural religion, justice, and humanity, are common to all.

Arg. IV. God has granted to the church certain powers and rights, as *jura majestatis*,—namely, the power of the keys (to admit into, to exclude from, the kingdom of heaven); a power to enact laws, for maintenance of its order and peace, for its edification and welfare; a power to correct and excommunicate offenders; a power to hold assemblies for God's service; a power to ordain governors and pastors.—Ep., p. 37, 49; Lat., p. 153, 118; *Leges ferre*; Lat., p. 171, 54.

Ans. 1. These powers are granted to the church because granted to each particular church or distinct society of Christians; not to the whole as such, or as distinct from the parts.

Ans. 2. It is evident that by virtue of such grants particular churches exercise those powers; and it is impossible to infer more from them than a justification of their practice.

Ans. 3. St Cyprian often from that common grant infers the right of exercising discipline in each particular church; which inference would not be good but upon our supposition; nor, indeed, otherwise would any particular church have ground for its authority.

Ans. 4. God has granted the like rights to all princes and states; but does it thence follow that all kingdoms and states must be united in one single regiment? The consequence is just the same as in our case.

Arg. V. All churches were tied to observe the same laws or rules of practice, the same orders of discipline and customs; therefore, all make one corporation.—Ep., p. 42, 49; Lat., p. 151, 219.

Ans. 1. That all churches are bound to observe the same divine institutions argues only an unity of relation to the same heavenly King, or a specifical unity and similitude of policy; the which we avow.—1 Cor. xi. 16.

Ans. 2. We also acknowledge it convenient and decent that all churches, in principal observances introduced by human prudence, should agree so near as may be; an uniformity in such things representing and preserving unity of faith, of charity, of peace.

Whence the governors of the primitive church endeavoured such an uniformity; as the fathers of Nice profess in the canon forbidding of genuflection on Lord's-days and on the days of Pentecost.¹

Ans. 3. Yet does not such an agreement, or attempt at it, infer a political unity; no more than when all men, by virtue of a primitive general tradition, were tied to offer sacrifices and oblations to God, that consideration might argue all men to have been under the same government; or no more than the usual agreement of neighbour nations in divers fashions concludes such an unity.

Ans. 4. In divers customs and observances several churches varied, with allowance; which rather infers a difference of polity, than agreement in other observances argues an unity thereof.²

Ans. 5. St Cyprian affirms that in such matters every bishop had a power to use his own discretion, without being obliged to comply with others.—Cypr., Ep. lxxiii.

Arg. VI. The Jewish church was one corporation, and in correspondence thereto the Christian church should be such.—Ep., p. 39; Lat., p. 159.

Ans. 1. As the Christian church does in some things correspond to that of the Jews, so it differs in others, being designed to excel it; wherefore, this argumentation cannot be valid, and may as well be employed for our opinion as against it.

Ans. 2. In like manner it may be argued that all Christians should annually meet in one place; that all Christians should have one archpriest on earth; that we should all be subject to one temporal jurisdiction; that we should all speak one language, &c.

Ans. 3. There is a great difference in the case; for the Israelites

¹ Ὅτι τὸ πᾶν ἐν πάσῃ κοινῇ ὁμοίως φυλάσσεται.—*Conc. Nic.*, can. xx; Vide de Paschate.

² Vide Aug., Ep. lxxvi., ad Casul.; Ep. cxviii., ad Jan.; Cypr., Ep. lxxv., p. 198; Iren., apud Euseb. v. 24; Socr. v. 22, vii. 19. Cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, hac lege manente, &c.—*Tert. de Virg. vel Thorn. Lat.*, p. 219; *P. Greg. I.* In una fide nihil officit sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa.—*P. Greg. I.*, Ep. i. 41; *P. Leo IX.*, Ep. i. cap. xxix. Nil obsunt saluti credentium diversæ pro loco et tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quæ potest uni Deo commendat omnes.—*P. Nic. I.*, Ep. vi. De consuetudinibus quidem, quem nobis opponere visi estis, scribentes per diversas ecclesias diversas esse consuetudines, si illis canonica non resistit auctoritas, pro qua eis obviare debeamus, nil judicamus vel eis resistimus, &c.

were one small nation, which conveniently might be embodied, but the Christian church should consist of all nations, which renders correspondence in this particular unpracticable, at least without great inconvenience.

Ans. 4. Before the law, Christian religion, and consequently a Christian church, in substance subsisted; but what unity of government was there then?—Euseb. Hist. i. 4; Baron., App. ii.

Ans. 5. The temporal union of the Jews might only figure the spiritual unity of Christians in faith, charity, and peace.

Arg. VII. All ecclesiastical power was derived from the same fountains, by succession from the apostles; therefore, the church was one political body.—Ep. p. 51–55; Lat., p. 157.

Ans. 1. Thence we may rather infer that churches are not so united, because the founders of them were several persons endowed with co-ordinate and equal power.—Iren. iii. 3; Tert. Præscr. xxi, xxxii.

Ans. 2. The apostles in several churches constituted bishops independent from each other; and the like may be now, either by succession from those or by the constitutions of human prudence, according to emergencies of occasion and circumstances of things.

Ans. 3. Divers churches were *ἀντρείουσαι*, and all were so according to St Cyprian.

Ans. 4. All temporal power is derived from Adam and the patriarchs, ancient fathers of families. Does it thence follow that all the world must be under one secular government?

Arg. VIII. All churches exercised a power of excommunication, or of excluding heretics, schismatics, disorderly and scandalous people.—Ep., p. 59, 125; Lat., p. 185, 195.

Ans. 1. Each church was vested with this power. This, therefore, only infers a resemblance of several churches in discipline; which we avow.

Ans. 2. This argues that all churches took themselves to be obliged to preserve the same faith, to exercise charity and peace, to maintain the like holiness of conversation. What then? do we deny this?

Ans. 3. All kingdoms and states punish offenders against reason and justice, banish seditious and disorderly persons, uphold the principles and practice of common honesty and morality. Does it thence follow that all nations must come under one civil government?¹

Arg. IX. All churches maintained intercourse and commerce with

¹ Excommunication of other churches is only a declaration against the deviation from Christian truth, or piety, or charity. *Communio suspensa restituitur demonstrati causas, quibus id acciderat, jam esse detersas, et profitenti condiciones pacis impletas*.—*P. Inn. I., Ep. xvi. de Attico Constant. Ep.*

each other by formed, communicatory, pacificatory, commendatory, synodical epistles.—Ep., p. 69; Lat., p. 222¹

Ans. 1. This signifies that the churches, by admonition, advice, &c., helped one another in maintenance of the common faith, endeavoured to preserve charity, friendship, and peace. This is all which thence may be concluded.

Ans. 2. Secular princes are wont to send ambassadors and envoys with letters and instructions for settlement of correspondence and preserving peace; they sometimes recommend their subjects to other princes; they expect offices of humanity toward their subjects travelling or trading anywhere in the world; common reason requires such things; but may common union of polity from hence be inferred?

Arg. X. The effectual preservation of unity in the primitive church is alleged as a strong argument of its being united in one government.—Ep., p. 64; Lat., p. 221.

Ans. 1. That unity of faith, and charity, and discipline, which we admit, was indeed preserved, not by influence of any one sovereign authority, whereof there is no mention, but by the concurrent vigilance of bishops, declaring and disputing against any novelty in doctrine or practice which did start up; by their adherence to the doctrine asserted in Scripture and confirmed by tradition; by their aiding and abetting one another as confederates against errors and disorders creeping in.

Ans. 2. The many differences which arose concerning the observation of Easter, the rebaptization of heretics, the reconciliation of revoltors and scandalous criminals, concerning the decision of causes and controversies, &c., more clearly show that there was no standing common jurisdiction in the church; for had there been such an one, recourse would have been had thereto, and such differences by its authority would easily have been quashed.

Arg. XI. Another argument is grounded on the relief which one church yielded to another, which supposes all churches under one government, imposing such tribute.—Ep., p. 119; Lat., p. 209.

Ans. 1. This is a strange fetch, as if all who were under obligation

¹ *Litteræ formatæ.*—*Optat.* ii.; *Conc. Milen.*, can. xx. *Communicatoriæ.*—*Aug.*, *Ep.* clxii., clxiii. *Και τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικά.*—*Euseb.* vii. 80; *Cypr.*, *Ep.* lv. lxvii. *Γράμματα συστατικά.*—*Apost. Can.* xii. *Ειρηναί.*—*Conc. Chalced.*, can. xi. *Συνδικαί.*—*Soz.* vii. 11; *Conc. VI.* Act. 11, p. 158, 198, 223; *Greg. M.*, *Ep.* — *P. Zach.*, *Baron.*, ann. 743, sect. 29. Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, et cui scribere debeamus, &c.—*Cypr. Ep.* xlii. lxvii., *ad P. Steph.*, p. 161; *Ep.* lv. *N. B.*, p. 113. 'Ενὶ σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς τηρεῖν σύνδεσμον τῆς ἰμωρίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀκούσαντες ἰστέι γραφὴν ἡμῶν, καὶ σημαίνον ἀλλήλοις σὰ περ' ἑκάστου γιγνόμενα, &c.—*Alexandri Ep. Socr.* i. 6. "The catholic church being one body, there being, moreover, a command in the holy Scriptures to preserve the bond of peace and concord; hence it follows, that what things (happen to, or) are done by any of us, we ought to write and signify to each other."

to relieve one another in need were to be under one government. Then all mankind must be so.

Ans. 2. It appears by St Paul that these succours were of free charity, favour, and liberality, and not by constraint.¹

Arg. XII. The use of councils is also alleged as an argument of this unity.—Ep., p. 51; Lat., p. 400.

Ans. 1. General councils, in case truth is disowned, that peace is disturbed, that discipline is loosed or perverted, are *wholesome* expedients to clear truth and heal breaches; but the holding them is no more an argument of political unity in the church than the treaty of Munster was a sign of all Europe being under one civil government.

Ans. 2. They are extraordinary, arbitrary, prudential means of restoring truth, peace, order, discipline; but from them nothing can be gathered concerning the continual ordinary state of the church.

Ans. 3. For during a long time the church wanted them, and afterwards had them but rarely. "For the first three hundred years," says Bellarmine, "there was no general assembly; afterwards, scarce one in a hundred years."²

And since the breach between the oriental and western churches, for many centuries, there hath been none.

Yet was the church from the beginning one till Constantine, and long afterwards.

Ans. 4. The first general councils (indeed all that have been with any probable show capable of that denomination) were congregated by emperors to cure the dissensions of bishops; what, therefore, can be argued from them but that the emperors found it good to settle peace and truth, and took this for a good mean thereto?

Alb. Pighius said that general councils were an invention of Constantine, and who can confute him?—Bell. de Conc. i. 13.

Ans. 5. They show rather the unity of the empire than of the church, or of the church as national under one empire than as catholic; for it was the state which called and moderated them to its purposes.

Ans. 6. It is manifest that the congregation of them depends on the permission and pleasure of secular powers, and in all equity should do so (as elsewhere is showed.)³

Ans. 7. It is not expedient that there should be any of them, now

¹ 2 Cor. viii. 3, *Αἰδούμενοι*. Verse 8, *Ὁὐ κατ' ἰσχυρὰν*. Chap. ix. 7, "Ἐκαστος κατὰς ἀποσιμῆται." Rom. xv. 26, *Εὐδοκῶσαν*. Acts xi. 29; xxiv. 17, "Ἐλπιμύνας παρίσαν."

² Primis trecentis annis nulla fuit congregatio generalis; postea vero vix centesimo anno.—*De Rom. P. i. 8.*

³ The validity of synodical decrees (as spiritual) doth proceed from the obligation to each singular bishop; as if princes in confederacy do make any sanction, the subjects of each are bound to observe them, not from any relation to the body confederating, but because of their obligation to their own prince consenting.

that Christendom stands divided under divers temporal sovereignties; for their resolutions may intrench on the interest of some princes, and hardly can they be accommodated to the civil laws and customs of every state.

Whence we see that France will not admit the decrees of their Tridentine synod.

Ans. 8. There was no such inconvenience in them while Christendom was in a manner confined within one empire; for then nothing could be decreed or executed without the emperor's leave or to his prejudice.

Ans. 9. Yea, as things now stand, it is impossible there should be a free council, most of the bishops being sworn vassals and clients to the pope, and by their own interests concerned to maintain his exorbitant grandeur and domination.¹

Ans. 10. In the opinion of St Athanasius² there was no reasonable cause of synods, except in case of new heresies springing up, which may be confuted by the joint consent of bishops.

Ans. 11. As for particular synods, they only signify that it was useful for neighbour bishops to conspire in promoting truth, order, and peace, as we have elsewhere showed.³

Councils have often been convened for bad designs, and been made engines to oppress truth and enslave Christendom.

That of Antioch against Athanasius, of Ariminum for Arianism; the second Ephesine to restore Eutyches and reject Flavianus; the second of Nice to impose the worship of images;⁴ the synod of Ariminum to countenance Arians. So the fourth synod of Lateran (*sub Inn. III.*) to settle the prodigious doctrine of transubstantiation, and the wicked doctrine of papal authority over princes; the first synod of Lyons to practise that hellish doctrine of deposing kings; the synod of Constance to establish the maim of the eucharist, against the Calixtines of Bohemia. The Lateran (under Leo X.) was called, as the archbishop of Patras affirmed, "for the exaltation of the apostolical see;"⁵ the synod of Trent to settle a raff of errors and superstitions.

Obj. II. [XIII.] It may farther be objected, that this doctrine favours the conceits of the Independents concerning ecclesiastical discipline.

I answer, no; for,—

¹ Hist. Trid., p. 67. A free council.—*P. Leo I., Ep.* —.

² Αἱ δὲ οὕτως ποιούμεναι παρ' αὐτῶν σύνοδοι σέως ἔχουσιν ὕλην αἰτίας, &c.—*Athan. de Syn.* p. 873.

³ Subrependi enim occasiones non pretermittit ambitio, et quoties ob intercurrentes causas generalis congregatio facta fuerit sacerdotem, difficile est ut cupiditas improborum non aliquid supra mensuram suam non molietur appetere.—*Leo M., Ep. liii. ad Maximum Ant., Ep.* —.

⁴ In all the former editions this word "images" has been unaccountably printed "babies."—Ed.

⁵ Pro apostolicæ sedis exaltatione.—*Lat. Syn., sess. x. p. 129.*

1. We assert that every church is bound to observe the institutions of Christ, and that sort of government which the apostles ordained, consisting of bishops, priests, and people.

2. We avow it expedient (in conformity to the primitive churches, and in order to the maintenance of truth, order, peace) for several particular churches or parishes to be combined in political corporations, as shall be found convenient by those who have just authority to frame such corporations; for that otherwise Christianity, being shattered into numberless shreds, could hardly subsist, and that great confusions must arise.

3. We affirm that, such bodies having been established and being maintained by just authority, every man is bound to endeavour the upholding of them, by obedience, by peaceable and compliant demeanour.

4. We acknowledge it a great crime, by factious behaviour in them, or by needless separation from them, to disturb them, to divide them, to dissolve or subvert them.¹—Jude 19, *Οἱ ἀποδοριζήσαντες*.

5. We conceive it fit that every people under one prince (or at least of one nation, using the same language, civil law, and fashions) should be united in the bands of ecclesiastical polity; for that such a unity apparently is conducive to the peace and welfare both of church and state, to the furtherance of God's worship and service, to the edification of people in charity and piety, by the encouragement of secular powers, by the concurrent advice and aid of ecclesiastical pastors, by many advantages hence arising.²

6. We suppose all churches obliged to observe friendly communion, and, when occasion invites, to aid each other by assistance and advice, in synods of bishops or otherwise.

7. We affirm that all churches are obliged to comply with lawful decrees and orders, appointed in synods with consent of their bishops, and allowed by the civil authorities under which they live; as, if the bishops of Spain and France assembling should agree upon constitutions of discipline which the kings of both those countries should approve, and which should not thwart God's laws, both those churches, and every man in them, were bound to comply in observance of them.

From the premises divers corollaries may be deduced:—

1. Hence it appears that all those clamours of the pretended

¹ We allow the Apost. Can. xxxi. *Εἴ τις καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου χωρὶς συναγωγῆς, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἴσταιν πῆξῃ, μηδὲν κατιγικὸς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διπλωσίᾳ, καθαιρίσθω ὡς φίλαρχος,* &c. "If any person, despising his own bishop, shall set up a separate meeting and build another altar, having nothing to condemn in his bishop, either for his piety or uprightness, let him be deposed as one that ambitiously affects to be a governor," &c.

² *Δίκαιον οὖν ἔστι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαιοῦ κίτῳ διδασκάλους τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῦ νόμου φρονεῖν, καὶ μὴ διαφόρους διδασκαλίας τὴν πίστιν μαίνειν.*—*Syn. Rom., apud Theod. ii. 22.*

Catholics against other churches, for not submitting to the Roman chair, are groundless, they depending on the supposition that all churches must necessarily be united under one government.

2. The injustice of the adherents to that see, in claiming an empire or jurisdiction over all, which never was designed by our Lord, heavily censuring and fiercely persecuting those who will not acknowledge it.

3. All churches, which have a fair settlement in several countries, are co-ordinate, neither can one challenge a jurisdiction over the other.

4. The nature of schism is hence declared, viz., that it consists in disturbing the order and peace of any single church; in withdrawing from it obedience and compliance with it; in obstructing good correspondence, charity, peace, between several churches; in condemning or censuring other churches without just cause, or beyond due measure; in refusing to maintain communion with other churches without reasonable cause, whence Firmilian challenged Pope Stephanus with schism.¹

5. Hence the right way of reconciling dissensions among Christians is not [by] affecting to set up a political union of several churches, or subordination of all to one power; not for one church to enter upon the liberty of others, or to bring others under it, as is the practice of the Roman church and its abettors;—but for each church to let the others alone, quietly enjoying its freedom in ecclesiastical administrations, only declaring against apparently hurtful errors and factions; showing good-will, yielding succour, advice, comfort, upon needful occasion; according to that excellent advice of the Constantinopolitan fathers to the pope and western bishops. After having acquainted them with their proceedings, towards the conclusion they thus exhort them:—

“We having in a legal and canonical way determined these controversies, beseech your reverence to congratulate with us, your charity spiritually interceding, the fear of the Lord also compressing all human affection, so as to make us to prefer the edification of the churches to all private respect and favour toward each other; for by this means the word of faith being consonant among us, and Christian charity bearing sway over us, we shall cease from speaking after that manner which the apostle condemns, ‘I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I am of Cephas;’ for if we all appear to be ‘of Christ,’ who is not divided amongst us, we shall then, through God’s grace, preserve the body of the church from schism, and present ourselves before the throne of Christ with boldness.”²

¹ Excidisti enim teipsum; noli te fallere; siquidem ille est vere schismaticus, qui se a communione ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit.—Firmil., apud *Cypr.*, Ep. lxxv.

² Οἱ ἰδὶοί μας καὶ πασινοὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν κληρικοὶ καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων συγχάρων παρακαλοῦμεν ἐντάλναι, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσσηνείας ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυρίου θέου πάσαν μὴν

6. All that withdraw their communion or obeisance from particular churches fairly established, unto which they belong, or where they reside, incur the guilt of schism: for such persons being *de jure* subject to those particular churches, and excommunicating themselves, consequentially sever themselves from the catholic church; they commit great wrong toward that particular church, and toward the whole church of Christ.^{1*}

7. Neither does their pretence of joining themselves to the Roman church excuse them from schism: for the Roman church has no reason or right to admit or to avow them; it has no power to exempt or excuse them from their duty; it thereby abets their crime and involves itself therein; it wrongs other churches.—Syn. Sard. can. xiii. Gr. As no man is freed from his allegiance by pretending to put himself under the protection of another prince, neither can another prince justly receive such disloyal revoltors into his patronage.

It is a rule grounded upon apparent equity, and frequently declared by ecclesiastical canons, that no church shall admit into its protection or communion any persons who are excommunicated by another church, or who withdraw themselves from it (Thornd. Lat. p. 220); for self-excommunication, or spiritual felony *de se*, involves the church's excommunication, deserving it and preventing it:² *Αὐτοκατάκριτος*, "Condemned of himself," Tit. iii. 11.

Which canon, as the African fathers allege and expound it, prohibits the "pope himself" from receiving persons rejected by any other church.³

καταστύλλοντες (compressing) *ἀνθρωπίνην προσπάθειαν*, τὴν δὲ ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομὴν προσηγορίαν ποιούντας τῆς πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐκκλησίας ἢ χάριτος· οὕτω γὰρ ταῦτι τῆς πίστεως συμφωνηθέντος λόγου, καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς κυριαρχίας ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάσας παυσίμεθα λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατηγιωσμένοι, Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κεφῶ· πάντες δὲ Χριστοῦ φανίστις, ὅς ἐν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴρίσται ἄσχιστοι τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταῦτά σμεν, καὶ τῷ βήματι τοῦ Κυρίου μετὰ παύρησίας παραστήσμεθα.—Theod. v. 9.

¹ Aug. contra Jul. Ep. ii. Te certe occidentalis terra generavit, occidentalis generavit ecclesia: quid ei quæris inferre quod in ea non invenisti, quando in ejus membra venisti? imo quid, &c.

* This sentiment does not seem to be sufficiently qualified, unless by "churches fairly established" is meant churches established upon a scriptural foundation. Barrow himself elsewhere admits that there must be "lawful and orthodox bishops" in the church to render separation "a mortal schism," or, as he explains it, "a very grave sin." De Regimine Episcopali.—Ed.

² Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφωρισμένος, ἤτοι ἄδικτος ἀπειθῶν, ἐν ἑτέρῃ πόλει διχρὲς ἂν ὑπαγεῖν συστατικῶν, ἀφορίζεται καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ, καὶ ἐν διχρὲς.—Apost. Con. xii. Εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἢ γῆν κατὰ τὸν κανὼνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρῳ ἀποκληθέντας, ὑφ' ἑτέρῳ μὴ προσίεσθαι.—Conc. Nic., can. v. "If any clerk or laic, who hath been excommunicated, and not yet re-admitted (by his own church), shall depart thence, and be received in another city without letters commendatory, both he who receives him and he that is received let them be excommunicated. Let the sentence be ratified which is according to that canon which commands others not to admit those whom others have ejected."

³ Μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκλεισθέντας εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ λαοῦ Σίλατι δέχεσθαι, ἰσχυρὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ ὁρισθὲν ἐκχωρῶς ἰσχυρὰ ἢ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.—Syn. Afr. Ep. ad P.

So when Marcion, having been excommunicated by his own father, coming to Rome, sued to be received by that church into communion, they refused, telling him that "they could not do it without the consent of his reverend father, between whom and them there being one faith and one agreement of mind, they could not do it in opposition to their worthy fellow-labourer, who was also his father."¹

St Cyprian refused to admit Maximus, sent from the Novatian party, to communion.—Ep. lv., p. 113.

So Pope Cornelius rejected Felicissimus, condemned by St Cyprian, without farther inquiry.²

It was charged upon Dioscorus as a heinous misdemeanour, that "he had, against the holy canon, by his proper authority, received into communion persons excommunicated by others."³

The African synod, at the suggestion of St Augustine, decreed, that "if it happened that any for their evil deeds were deservedly expelled out of the church, and taken again into communion by any bishop or priest whomsoever, that he also who received him should incur the same penalty of excommunication."⁴

The same is by later papal synods decreed:—"The authority of the holy canons has enacted, and the universal custom of the church proves, that the person who has been justly excommunicated by any one bishop, no other bishop may presume to absolve." "Those who have been excommunicated by their own bishops we most imperatively forbid to be received into communion by other bishops, abbots, or clergy." "Let him who presumes to communicate knowingly with an excommunicated man, before he has been absolved by him who excommunicated him, be held to be himself obnoxious to the same sentence."⁵

Celest. I. Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἱερατικῶν ἀκαινώτητος γίγιναι, μὴ σφύρινον αὐτὸν παρ' ἑτέρου δεχθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθῆναι τοῦ ἰδίου ἱερατικῶν, &c.—*Conc. Ant.*, can. vi.; *Idem in Conc. Sard.*, can. xiii. xiv., *Grec.*

¹ "Ελεγε, τί μὴ ἠθελήσαί μοι ὑποδείξασθαι; τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα εἶναι τῆς ἐκτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ἡ ἡμέροια, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἠναντιωθῆναι τῇ καλῇ συλλειτουργίᾳ, πατρὶ δὲ σφ.—*Ephr. Hær.* xlii.

² Ep. lv. init. (abs te rejectum.) Vid. Rig. p. 79.

³ — quosdam a diversis conciliis rite damnatos, in communionem, propria auctoritate, suscepit, sanctis regulis præcipientibus excommunicatos ab aliis, in communionem alios non debere suscipere.—*Ep. Syn. Chalc. ad Imper.*, Act. iv. p. 286. — καθαιρεθῆναι κακοῦ κατὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἱερατικῶν αὐθεντήσας ἀκαινίστους εἰς κοινωνίαν ἰδίῳ.—*Evag.* ii. 4.

⁴ Augustinus episcopus, legatus provincie Numidie dixit; Hoc statuere dignamini, ut si qui forte merito facinorum suorum ab ecclesia pulsati sunt, et sive ab aliquo episcopo vel presbytero fuerint in communionem suscepti, etiam ipse pari cum eis crimine teneatur obnoxius, &c.—*Cod. Afr.*, can. ix.

⁵ Sanctorum quippe canonum sanxit auctoritas, et ea passim ecclesie consuetudo servat, ut a quolibet juste excommunicatum episcopo, alius absolvere non presumat.—*P. Urb. II.*, Ep. xx., apud Bin. A suis episcopis excommunicatos, ab aliis episcopis, abbatibus et clericis in communionem recipi proculdubio prohibemus.—*Conc. Lat. I.*, sub *P. Calisto II.*, cap. ix. — Qui vero excommunicato antequam ab eo qui eum excommunicaverit absolvatur, scienter communicare presumpserit, pari sententie teneatur obnoxius.—*Conc. Lat. II.*, sub *Innoc. II.*, can. iii.

The words of Synesius are remarkable. He having excommunicated some cruel oppressors, thus recommends the case to all Christians: "The church of Ptolemais has thus arranged with the brethren throughout the world. If any despise the church, and shall receive those proscribed by it, let him know that this is to rend the church, which Christ would have to be one," &c.¹

Upon which grounds I do not scruple to affirm the recusants in England to be no less schismatics than any other separatists.² They are, indeed, somewhat worse: for most others only forbear communion; these rudely condemn the church to which they owe obedience, yea, strive to destroy it;—they are most desperate rebels against it.*

8. It is the duty and interest of all churches to disclaim the pretences of the Roman court, maintaining their liberties and rights against its usurpations; for compliance therewith, as it greatly prejudices truth and piety, leaving them to be corrupted by the ambitious, covetous, and voluptuous designs of those men, so it removes the genuine unity of the church and peace of Christians,—unless to be tied by compulsory chains, as slaves, be deemed unity or peace.

9. Yet those churches which, by the voluntary consent or command of princes, adhere in confederation to the Roman church, we are not, merely upon that score, to condemn or reject from communion of charity or peace; for in that they do but use their liberty.

10. But if such churches maintain impious errors; if they prescribe naughty practices; if they reject communion and peace upon reasonable terms; if they vent unjust and uncharitable censures; if they are turbulent and violent, striving by all means to subdue and enslave other churches to their will or their dictates; if they damn and persecute all who refuse to be their subjects,—in such cases we may reject such churches as heretical, or schismatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjust in their proceedings.³

¹ 'Επὶ τούτοις ἡ Πτολεμαΐδης ἐκκλησία τὰδε πρὸς τὰς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἰασηῆς ἐδιέφευ διατάττεται, &c. Εἰ δὲ τις ὡς μικροπολίτην ἀπεικονίζῃ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ διζῆται τοὺς ἀποκηρύκτους αὐτῆς (proscribed by it) ὡς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τῇ πίνεσθαι σείβεσθαι, ἴστω σχίσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν μίαν ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βούλεται, &c.—*Ep.* lviii., p. 203, edit. Petav.

² P. Leo, *Ep.* lxxxiv. cap. 9.

* By "the recusants in England," Barrow plainly means Romanists, in distinction from Protestant Dissenters, whom he calls "other separatists."—*Ep.*

³ *Quicumque hæresi communicans merito judicatur a nostra societate removendus.—Gelas., Ep. i., ad Euphem.* An communicare, non est consentire cum talibus?—*P. Sym. I., Ep. vii.*

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